Riots – 1917.

Say Government Has Not Acted in St. Louis Riots, Raise Roosevelt's Stand

ROCHESTER N Y CHRONICLE
JULY 9 1917

At a general meeting of colored citizens of this city held last night at Trinity Presbyterian Church to protest against what they conceive to be the attitude of the national government toward the assaults against colored people in East St. Louis, the following resolutions, copies of which were forwarded to President Wilson and the two congressmen from this district, were drawn up:

Resolved, first: That democracy in America does not include in its operation colored people.

Second: It has been a failure so far as maintaining government without discrimination to all of its citizens.

Third: Our entering the war to make the world safe for democracy cannot be accepted in good faith until we make good at home.

Fourth: The silence on the part of the Chief Executive of this nation, respecting the outrages upon colored people weakens us before the world and convicts us of hypocrisy.

Fifth: It would seem unfair to conscript colored men to fight for a country that refuses them protection.

Sixth: We do not believe that democracy for the world is safe until Great Britain emancipates Ireland and America gives justice to colored people.

Lastly: We commend most highly the attitude of Colonel Roosevelt toward the St. Louis affair; we are ashamed of all apologists, and we appeal for a square deal.

BRITISH COUNSEL CALLED ON

It seemed for a while Tuesday that some international complications would result from the work of the East St. Louis riot when Dr. Barret, of East St. Louis, appealed to the British Counsel, Mr. Pearson, at St. Louis, for protection as a British subject. Mr. Pearson called Mayor Mollman and demanded protection for all British subjects otherwise the United States Government would be involved. It is stated that a special guard has been placed around Dr. Barrett's office and his automobile was placed in the city's garage for safe keeping.

Dr. E. H. Gordon, a physician, with offices at 2607 Lawton, who is also a British subject was offered protection when he had a professional call to the East Side. At the same time Undertaker Green, who is a loyal American, was refused protection, being told it was dangerous, when he wanted to return home to arrange a funeral.

LAWLESSNESS IN EAST ST. LOUIS

ROCHESTER N Y CHRONICLE
JULY 5 1917

One significant fact that stands out clearly in connection with the "race war" at East St. Louis is that murder was committed with the tacit approval of the public authorities. The police were reinforced by National Guardsmen, but neither took effective steps to protect the negroes when attacked by mobs of whites.

The result was, of course, that the lawless element took advantage of the opportunity and committed excesses which have rarely been exceeded in the whole history of white aggressions on the colored race. Such rare sport as shooting terrified negroes as they fled from their burning dwellings was varied by dragging negro women from streetcars and brutally beating them, or by old-fashioned lynchings, in which still other negroes were strung up to telephone poles.

This outbreak, by a strange irony of events, occurred within twenty-four hours of the publication of statistics collected at Tuskegee Institute, showing a decided decrease in the number of lynchings for the first six months of 1917, as compared with similar period of 1916 and 1915. The total number for the six-month period this year was fourteen, whereas it was twenty-five in 1916, and thirty-four in 1915. Any inferences that might have been drawn from these figures that mob violence was diminishing in the United States, and that respect for law and order was increasing, were speedily corrected by occurrences at East St. Louis.

That attacks on negroes are due rather to racial prejudices than to anything else, even the commission of nameless crimes, is shown by the fact that the bloody scenes described in the news columns did not take place in the "black belt" of Alabama, but in a community where the whites predominate and where even the poor excuse of fear of negro domination was not available.

SOUTHERN MEN OFFER AID TO THE NEGROES

Advertiser 7/7/17

(Associated Press.)

ST. LOUIS, MO., July 6.—An offer by three Mississippi business men and plantation owners to charter a steamboat or special trains to take 500 to 1,000 negro families back to Mississippi has been made to the St. Louis Red Cross, which is helping in the work of providing for the refugees from East St. Louis who came to St. Louis.

The offer was made by LeRoy W. Valliant, Henry Crittenden, former owner of the traction system of Greenville, Miss., and James A. Mann, a merchant of Greenville.

East St. Louis

BLACK TROOPS.

Immediately upon our declaration of war German spies attempted to start a Negro rebellion in the south. Everywhere Negroes hooted the spies.

The draft came, and Negroes stood up to it like men. There were anti-draft commotions among I. W. W.'s, Indians, aliens, and Americans of native stock, but none among Negroes. Of many races the black was the whitest.

This heightens the tragedy of Houston, where black troops have repeated the brutalities of Brownsville, and no friend of the Negro can view the affair without the bitterest sorrow. It matters little whether there were two sides to the case. It happened. It happened in Texas. It happened shortly after southerners had begged that no colored troops be sent south. It was followed by threats of mob violence.

CHICAGO ILL TRIBUNE
AUGUST 25 1917

Nothing can mend the mischief already accomplished, but much can be done to prevent further insubordination and violence among black troops. Technically and officially it is up to the army chiefs. Morally and socially it is up to the entire Negro race. They can stop this sort of thing by making every colored soldier realize his responsibility to that race. It was never so great as now.

Roughly speaking, a tenth of the national army will be black. Roughly speaking, ten regiments. They have a chance to cover themselves with glory. They will fight not only for America but for their race. If they prove themselves the equal of white troops in point of discipline, self-restraint, and courage they will do a lot toward diminishing race prejudice. If not, they will take the consequence for many a long year to come.

Unfortunately they face this crucial situation without the guidance of their old time leaders. Gen. Armstrong's successor, Dr. Frissell, has just died. Booker Washington's successor, Maj. Moton, is new at the business. North or south there is no one man, black or white, whose word can sway the masses of the Negro population.

However, there are organizations and there are men who can powerfully influence those organizations—such men, for instance, as Moton, as Du Bois, as Tanner, as Chesnutt, as Braithwaite, as E. E. Wilson. If they represent various types of opinion, so much the better. Let them unite in demanding that the colored churches, the colored fraternal orders, the colored business men's league, the colored universities, and the colored newspaper editors awaken the whole race to the seriousness of the present crisis, so that every colored trooper will be made to feel that his own people are unanimous in holding him to honorable behavior.

Meanwhile let white men who have to do with black troops employ ordinary sense. Let them avoid the tactless, overbearing, insolent attitude that provokes insubordination and violence, and give the Negro an even break in his effort to keep straight. Nothing less is manly. He has come to the most critical moment in his career. Permit him to make good.

Let the South Lead Way For Illinois and Nation

Editor Constitution: No one living in the south can help being thankful that if scores of negroes were to be murdered by white mobs the atrocity did not occur in the south, where we have lynchings too many already. Constitution

But will you not allow a southern woman to suggest that it would be well for our legislature, in inviting the negroes who have gone north to come back, to assure them of better protection in Georgia, as regards both life and property, than has hitherto been accorded to them in some parts of our state? 7—10—17

The resolutions, as published, seem to make light of our own shortcomings, though that, doubtless, was not intended. None of us can feel that the murder of 75 negroes and the burning of hundreds of homes in one state makes the murder of five and the burning of churches and lodges in another state a trivial matter.

It is estimated that the negro exodus will this year cost the south $200,000,000. In many cities, including Atlanta, leading white citizens have met to call in leading colored men and ask them why their people leave. In every city and state where this has been done the negroes have put this lack of state-wide security as a leading cause of the exodus. One unpunished unlawful act in a single county fills the negroes of a whole state with uneasiness, lest their own section be the next place for an outbreak. The punishment of the leaders of one mob in the south would do more to bring the negroes back and to stabilize our labor supply than a score of resolutions from every southern legislature.

We are at war, we say, to protect the weak folk of the earth from injustice. As things are, to remain at peace with Germany would be our lasting shame. But if we are to fight with clean hands we must do justice to our own weak folk. England, we demand, must do justice to Ireland; Russia must be just to Jews and Finns. America must be just to negroes. They are our part of a world-test, a world-obligation.

It is my hope and prayer that in meeting it the south will lead the way for Illinois, and for the whole nation.

(Mrs.) L. H. HAMMOND.

Dalton, Ga., July 8, 1917.

LANDIS WILLING TO INVESTIGATE RIOTS IN EAST ST. LOUIS

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 22, 1917

Federal District Attorney Confers With Judge and Forwards Report to Washington.

U. S. District Attorney Karch of East St. Louis, returned yesterday from La Crosse, Wis., where he had gone to confer with Federal Judge Kenesaw M. Landis on the subject of investigating the recent East St. Louis riots. Karch was intrusted by the Department of Justice to learn Judge Landis' views on the situation.

Karch said last night that the visit was satisfactory, and that he has mailed his report on the circumstance to Washington. Until it is received no statement will be made on what will be done.

There has been widespread demand on the part of the better element of the city for a Federal probe, and it has been particularly desired that Judge Landis direct it. His energetic methods, and his admitted willingness to waive technicalitis to get to the bottom of things, have been pointed to as peculiar advantages in such an inquiry.

A Post-Dispatch reporter learned from an authoritative source that Judge Landis has taken great interest in the riot situation, and also that he is willing to conduct a Federal investigation. It is first necessary, however, to decide what Federal laws have been violated, and it would also be necessary for Judge Otis Humphrey, of Springfield, who is temporarily presiding in the district, to invite Judge Landis to occupy the bench. It is not believed that Judge Humphrey would offer any obstacle if convinced that the people wanted Judge Landis.

The St. Clair County Grand Jury will resume its inquiry early this week, under the direction of G. C. Middlekauf, Assistant Attorney-general of Illinois. Evidence bearing on the riots was taken all of last week, up to Saturday.

BROOKLYN N Y EAGLE
JULY 3, 1917

RACE RIOTS.

It may be that seventy-five negroes and half a dozen whites have been killed in the race riot at East St. Louis, which is in Abraham Lincoln's State of Illinois. Even at that New York City need not make contemptuous remarks about violence in the South and West. Plenty of men are now living who recall vividly the draft riots on Manhattan Island, July 13 to 16, 1863, when the Colored Orphan Asylum was burned by a mob, colored persons were hanged to lamp posts in many parts of the town and 1,000 human beings, nearly all negroes, perished. Let the city that is without sin cast the first stone.

Fortunately, though coming in draft times, this East St. Louis outbreak is not a "draft riot" as the New York one was. The murderous mob is not hostile to the United States, only hostile to having negroes used as strikebreakers. If it sets fire to the cabins of innocent colored people and shoots the inmates as they try to emerge, if it clubs to death men and women in the streets for no fault save the color of their skins, if it defies police and militia and creates anarchy, it has only one motive—the elevation of labor, bootstrap elevation through higher wages and shorter hours, and the annihilation of hateful principles of political economy.

Too little attention has been given by the press and by sociologists to the shifting of negro population in the United States. It is said that since the European war began to make wages high in the North, not less than 300,000 negroes have come from the Cotton States to New York City. A like invasion has affected other Northern municipalities. Fear of lynchings, anxiety to be really free, have had a part in the migration. The Cotton States are themselves to blame in a measure. But the chief new element was wage swelling in the North.

Thousands who came, of course, found it hard or impossible to locate themselves. They were not mechanics. Unskilled labor they could do. Some of it was ready for their hands. But in the very nature of things they became an unsettling element for the labor unions to deal with. They were available as strikebreakers on many jobs. Hence a prophet might have figured that violence would appear in aggravated form somewhere, as it has appeared in East St. Louis.

But the rioting imposes a disagreeable duty on the Governor of Illinois and the courts of Illinois. They must see that the rioters are arrested and punished for murder, not for mere disorder. In that way, and only in that way, can the reputation of the State be vindicated after what has happened.

N Y C JRNL OF COMMERCE
JULY 9, 1917

AN UNFORTUNATE TEMPER.

Ex-President Roosevelt had a fine opportunity for the display of his American spirit at the reception of the Russian Commission at Carnegie Hall on the evening after its arrival in the city. He made good use of it so far as his remarks were pertinent to the occasion. But he marred it terribly by letting his wrath over the attack of a mob of workmen in East St. Louis upon "imported negro workers" from the South oversway his equilibrjum. 'He had a right to express himself freely on that subject at a proper time and place, but it could not have been more untimely or out of place than on that occasion.

He knew that Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, was to follow him with remarks equally patriotic and equally sympathetic with Russian democracy and he virtually challenged him to the defense of the union workmen whom he so violently attacked. Mr. Gompers could hardly be expected to refrain from a somewhat heated reply which was so directly provoked. It was an unseemly exhibition which Mr. Roosevelt ought to regret more than anybody else. It could do no good and could only make a bad impression upon the distinguished visitors. This is a time when it is well for the leading men of this country to keep their temper, exercise self-control and work together in a common cause.

EAST ST. LOUIS TROOPS LACKED AMMUNITION

Constitution

Springfield, Ill., July 8.—A detailed report of the race riot at East St. Louis last Monday and the part Illinois troops had in suppressing the killing of negroes and burning of their houses will be placed in the hands of Adjutant General Dixon tomorrow by Colonel S. O. Tripp, who was in command at the rioting. It is understood that Colonel Tripp will say the reason the troops did not disperse the mob was that the soldiers were without ammunition until 7 p. m. Monday and that up to 7 p. m. he had slightly more than 100 troops with which to patrol seventy blocks, making impossible any mass operations.

7-9-17

Colonel Tripp's report will say that members of the Missouri national guard units crossed the bridge into East St. Louis and watched the rioting and that it was these men in uniform who were mistaken for Illinois guardsmen, occasioning statements that militiamen stood by and watched indifferently the disorders.

East St. Louis, Ill., July 8.—Rumors of trouble between negroes and whites at Hartford and Wood River, Ill., near Alton, today, proved unfounded. About a hundred negroes, refugees from East St. Louis, have been in camp about a mile from Hartford, since Wednesday but telephone communication revealed that there had been no signs of hostility on the part of either race.

EAST SIDE BLACKS RIOT IN ST. LOUIS

Amsterdam news
7/11/17

White Man Beaten and Trampled, Probably Fatally, in Reprisals

(Special to the Amesterdam News.)

St. Louis, July 10—With one white man so severely beaten he may die, a colored man in jail for attempting to incite to riot and a black's home in the colored district here destroyed by fire, St. Louis Wednesday night experienced its first trouble since the influx of thousands of refugees from across the river.

Mike Grogan, white, was set upon early in the evening by three colored men for using insulting language. They attacked him at Compton and Easton avenues, knocked him down, kicked him in the face and trampled him with their heels until he became unconscious.

"We're from East St. Louis, and we'll get even with you whites," one of them told Grogan as the fight began. "Remember East St. Louis" was their parting reminder.

John Samples, colored, was dragged from a box in front of the Municipal Lodging House by a policeman, who overheard him attempting to inflame the refugees here to retaliate for the ill-treatment they had received on the East Side. Samples was locked up.

A fire of mysterious origin destroyed one colored home in the north part of the city.

The majority of the refugees here refused offers of jobs in the South.

N Y C CALL
JULY 13. 1917

Our Colored Sisters.

In these days of near fulfillment, when the white woman is fast approaching her complete liberation, our attention is forcibly called to the need of our less fortunate colored sisters. The white woman still bears the remnants of that burden of sex oppression which has been her lot through the ages of social evolution. The Negro still bears the stigma placed upon him by the white man's stupid brutal race prejudice and his desire to rule over the supposedly inferior race. The black woman bears both these burdens. Race prejudice and sex oppression combine to make her doubly exploited and doubly degraded. Of all unfree people in this country, the Negro woman is the furthest removed from freedom.

During the unspeakable outrages perpetrated against Negro citizens of the United States in East St. Louis last week, women were not spared. No sense of chivalry, no protective masculine instinct, shielded the colored women and their little children from a mob violence which has only been equalled by the programs of old-time Russia. Chivalry and the protective male instinct, of which our conservative south is so boastfully proud, have never been extended to the women of the colored race. The superior white man has invariably regarded the colored woman as a servant at best, and, at worst, as the legitimate prey of his unbridled sex indulgence.

The Negro women of East St. Louis, who were made homeless and husbandless, who were driven out in a reign of terror, worse than that brought about by the Germans during their invasion of Belgium, have no redress. The government that is waging a war for democracy abroad, has so far not moved a finger to atone for the terrible wrong they have suffered. The thousands of white women who are sentimentally knitting for soldiers in France, have not dropped their pleasant work to extend a helping hand to the victims. Even the powerful suffrage organizations, who are continually teaching and preaching equality and justice to women, have, so far, not issued any resolution or manifesto voicing their indignation and demanding justice for their colored sisters.

These absurd, outraged, unprotected women are voteless; worse still, the majority of them will continue to be voteless even after white women vote in every state of the union. For the same reactionary powers in our southern states, the sons and grandsons of the former slave owners, who, by political tricks and undemocratic legislation, prevent Negroes from voting, will successfully withhold the ballot from colored women. Every suffragist in the country knows this to be a fact, yet little has been said on the subject, because to demand votes for colored women in the south would mean to hopelessly injure the white woman's chances of success. The south is just beginning to relax its opposition to woman suffrage, as far as white women are concerned, but it would rather delay the enfranchisement of white women for another hundred years than increase the Negroes' power by enfranchising their women.

Such is the situation as we must face it. Middle-class suffragists may evade the issue for reasons of expediency, but Socialist suffragists cannot. Socialist suffragists who stand unqualifiedly for human justice, regardless of nationality, race, creed or sex, must demand votes for colored women even more urgently, more insistently, than for white women, in order that these, the least protected of our sisters, may be given a weapon to protect themselves.

The East St. Louis Riots

The race riots in East St. Louis are of economic origin. The truth is that northern cities do not take kindly to the negro laborer. They prefer the Hunyak or the Wop to the black man.

It shows again that the South is the place for the colored people. The Southerners understand them, like them, are sympathetic and helpful to them. They prefer the negro to the European immigrant.

In respect to its attitude toward the negro, Evansville is more nearly Southern than Northern.

There is no need to waste tears over the frightful work of the mob. It is no different in character from that of any other mob. Once arouse the mob spirit and the same tendencies come to the surface.

What is needed is to prevent the outbreak of the horrible mob spirit. The reasons which lead to manifestations like that in East St. Louis exist in every community, but they do not necessarily lead to the forming of mobs. Antagonisms exist but they are repressed.

Two causes are needed to bring on the mob. First is an overt act of some kind. Then comes the assemblage of the crowd, which is soon transformed into the irresponsible mob.

Ninty-nine times out of a hundred a firm attitude by the authorities at the start would prevent the mob. The trouble is that the authorities themselves become imbued with a semi-mob spirit. They are partly sympathetic and soon the situation gets away from them.

The solution is state constabulary, whose sole duty is to preserve order. Called at the first manifestation of mobbishness and they would be able to bring about tranquility with little effort.

The horrors of the mob's work is not lost on us. What we hope is that the feeling of shame and indignation that will go up all over the country something may be done to prevent future repetitions.

This can be accomplished by an efficient state constabulary.

POLICE GUARDING NEGRO DISTRICTS

DETROIT NEWS JOURNAL
JULY 4 1917

Special details of detectives and uniformed policemen were assigned to negro districts in Detroit Wednesday.

The department learned that colored citizens had been stirred to anger by the reports of atrocities committed in East St. Louis, Ill.

Deep resentment had been manifested in gatherings of negroes on the streets.

Negro merchants, it was said, had cut out the newspaper headlines and posted them in their windows and crowds thus attracted had given expression to the shameful treatment accorded men of their race.

The colored population of Detroit has been increasing in a steady flow for months. One estimate is that 500 negroes arrive every day.

The police officials do not expect trouble, but think it wise to adopt precautionary measures.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

TWO WOMEN INDICTED IN EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS

Chicago Defender 9/22/17

St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 21.—The St. Clair County grand jury continues to return indictments and there is no telling where the end will be, as each added culprit makes the detection of others much easier. Last week two white women were indicted; they were Dorothy Ruth, a sixteen-year-old girl who resides at 461 Collinsville avenue, and Mrs. Alice Taylor, eighteen years old, who lives at 11 S. Fourth street. To date no Colored women have been indicted, and there are no indications any will be. The white women are under arrest.

Harry A. Fletcher, 126 S. Fourth street, and C. Montrose, 981 N. Eighteenth street, were arrested on riot and conspiracy charges and are in jail. Both are white rowdies.

East St. Louis, while considered safe so far as danger of life is concerned, is not deemed a very desirable place for Colored people to reside. There are as many men employed on the East Side as ever, but they reside in St. Louis. Most of the best people are leaving and finding homes on the Missouri side, where they are accorded every welcome and given plenty of work.

Mollman Asked to Resign

The Pastors' Alliance, of which Rev George W. Allison, white, is president wrote Mayor Mollman a strong letter, asking him to resign while under charges. Their argument was that he was no more entitled to remain in office than the police whom he removed while under charges. Mollmar did not comply with the request.

Judge Does Not Ask for Indictments

Judge Gilham, of Edwardsville, convened the September St. Clair County grand jury in Bellville Monday and did not ask for any additional indictments because of the riots. When the jury made its final report representatives of Attorney General Brundage stated that several phases of the riot which had not been considered would be taken up by the September grand jury. Instructions may be given the jury later, but if they are not, it can take up the matter of its own accord. Edward P. Miller, of Millstadt, was elected foreman.

...EVERY E. ST. LOUIS RIOTER, PASTOR URGES

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 9, 1917

"... say now that every man and woman in East St. Louis who participated in last Monday's orgy should be hanged—every single, solitary one of them, without exception."

Such was the declaration last night by Rev. Dr. James W. Lee, chaplain of Barnes Hospital, in a sermon at the Grand Avenue Methodist Church, on the East St. Louis race riots, "I could not restrain the tears from filling my eyes while I read of the massacre of these poor, innocent darkies almost at our very doors," he said.

BUFFALO, N. Y., TIMES
JULY 3, 1917

THE EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS.

The racial and industrial trouble which has long been seething in East St. Louis, culminated yesterday in a frenzy of murder and incendiarism. At least 15 negroes were killed; probably many more, and two white men were numbered among the dead. Negro quarters in different parts of the city were set on fire. The flames spread to other sections, the property loss is estimated at $3,000,000, and hundreds of men were put under arrest.

It is a degrading and horrible showing. The shame of East St. Louis is shared with the great city which is its neighbor, for hundreds of persons crossed the river from St. Louis, and swelled the numbers of the mobs.

Despite its racial aspect, the East St. Louis carnival of fire and blood was not, in the literal and strict interpretation of the phrase, altogether an anti-negro riot. It was directed against negroes, not because they were negroes, but because they wanted to work.

The East St. Louis disorders, of which yesterday furnished the hideous climax, have all along sounded in the industrial question. The disgrace is dyed with an uglier hue, by the infamous attempt to make the wish to earn an honest living a crime, with lynch law as adjudicator.

It is all the more infamous, in view of the loyalty shown by the negro population of the Union in their participation in the plans of military preparedness. It is an unspeakable abomination that while negroes are making ready to fight the battles of their country, they are subjected to such outrages as those which have left an indelible blot on East St. Louis.

ANTI-NEGRO PLOT RUMORS STIR BLACKS

LOS ANGELES CAL RECORD
JULY 10, 1917

A wave of fear and anger sweeping over the negro population of the west end, resulting in wild rumors and in immediate preparations for arming themselves against attacks similar to the outrages on the negro population of St. Louis, followed a joking remark made by a West Jefferson street car conductor to F. W. Lee, colored, of 1593 W. Thirty-sixth st., on the 9th.

This street car conductor told Lee in a joking way that the jitney bus drivers were going to wipe out the west end negroes because they were responsible for the passing of the anti-jit ordinance.

Immediately the rumor spread, growing larger and more defined, until practically the entire negro population of the city had an idea that they were in immediate danger of death. Lee himself went over the district, looking over the stock of arms and ammunition and spreading the news as he went.

At this point, according to Chief Butler, the merest traffic accident in which a jitney bus man ran down and injured a negro might have resulted in deadly riots.

Other negroes then carried the matter to Asst. Supt. Van Vranken of the L. A. Railway Co., who was told excitedly that the jitney bus men, backed by high officials of the railroad company, were out to kill all negroes; other rumors indicated that a prominent sporting goods firm had supplied negroes with $500 in ammunition.

Van Vranken informed the chief Monday night and an investigation was immediately started.

"There is absolutely nothing, of course, in the rumor concerning the jitney drivers," said Chief Butler. "That the negroes are undoubtedly excited, and that a dangerous situation may yet arise is undoubtedly true. We must make sure that the matter is perfectly straight in their minds before the danger is over."

WICHITA KANS EAGLE
JULY 4, 1917

THE UNDERLYING CAUSE

Let not the nation try to console itself with the reflection that the East St. Louis riot was due to labor troubles. The fear that the negro would take away the white man's job was, indeed, cleverly worked upon by agitators, but that was not the main and inciting cause of the riots. Wages in East St. Louis had not been reduced by the negro influx, nor had white men been forced out of work. There was work for all, both whites and blacks, and at good wages.

The sinister and disappointing truth is that racial antagonism was at the bottom of what happened at East St. Louis. An influx of white men, working for small wages, would not have brought about a like result. The plain truth is that a very large part of the American people, while they prate of freedom and equality, still have in mind a freedom and equality only for white men. Among ignorant whites, and, therefore, especially among recent immigrants, such as formed a large proportion of the East St. Louis mobs, this feeling is especially strong.

The position of the negro has been improved since the Civil war. A long, long way is still to go, however, before he secures anything like equal justice. It was only a few miles up the Mississippi from East St. Louis, at Alton, that Elijah Lovejoy was slain for preaching abolition. The East St. Louis riot proves what disappointingly slow progress has been made since Lovejoy's murder. In no other way does America fall so far short of making good her boast of being a Christian nation as in her treatment of the negro. And East St. Louis proves that this is not a sectional sin; the North is as guilty as the South.

Condemn Race Riot at Boston Meeting

N Y C HERALD
JULY 19, 1917

BOSTON, Wednesday.—Resolutions condemning the recent riots at East St. Louis, Ill., and calling upon the government to prevent a recurrence of them were passed at a mass meeting to-night celebrating the fifty-fourth anniversary of the defence of Fort Wagner, in the civil war. Several survivors of the famous charge made by the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts regiment (negro) were present.

When William H. Lewis, formerly Assistant United States Attorney General, in an address preceding the adoption of the resolution mentioned Theodore Roosevelt as "the only great American who had courage and humanity enough to condemn" the riots, the big audience stood and cheered for several minutes.

Referring to the draft army, Mr. Lewis warned the government that the negroes of the country "will fight to the death for this nation in the war, but will never work on farms."

"Nearly a million citizens of color," he said, "registered for military service, and are are eagerly and anxiously waiting to see whether colored men are to be conscripted for labor only or are to be given soldier's chance for service on the battlefield."

N Y C CALL
JULY 19, 1917

Democracy is all right as a term, but we are too prone to grow sentimental about it and fasten it upon the other fellow.

There is no better example than the wave, we always wave, of indignation that followed the shooting of 75 or 100 Negroes in East St. Louis. No sooner had the casualty lists been ascertained than Mr. Roosevelt attempted to punch Mr. Gompers' head, and Democrats of a lesser ability than Mr. Roosevelt, men who democrat every day in the week on a quiet scale, demanded the punishment of the Negro killers.

Since when has an American citizen lost the free-born privilege of shooting niggers? And, now, that the civil war has settled the status of the black man in the archives of the government, it should be theoretically the right of a Negro to shoot the white.

If we insist upon repressing these tendencies, we will severely injure the reputation of the nation abroad. No European living but looks to America for the ideals of unsuppressed individualism. The knowledge that we have shut down upon manslaughter will make our claim to the tile of "uncrowned kings" ridiculous and empty.

Already New York state has led the way in originating caste distinction in gunnery. The average citizen has been robbed of his right to carry weapons, and shooting has fallen into the hands of a few favored individuals like the late Mr. Frank Cirofici, the late Mr. Jack Zelig and others.

Who is behind this movement to punish the free citizens of East St. Louis? Certainly, whoever they be, it is evident they are enemies of freedom and Americanism. No sooner will this right of slaughter en masse be abrogated than the Southerners will be penalized for lynching. Citizens, awake!

BUFFALO N Y ENQUIRER
JULY 6, 1917

Just how much of the responsibility for the lawlessness at East St. Louis must fall upon the Mayor cannot be determined at the moment. Troops that were called out in May had been withdrawn, and weeks had gone by

without anything to indicate that the would be needed again. Yet there had been evidences of bad blood for several days before the report of the State Council of Defence, which held that the negroes had been induced to go to East St. Louis by labor agents; and on Saturday night, following the publication of the report, "minor clashes" occurred between negroes and whites. These signs of renewed trouble should have been sufficient for the authorities one would think, in view of what had happened already. But the warning was not perceived, or at least not taken and the city was caught with utterly inadequate protection. The militia could not be everywhere at once, and none but the militia could manage the mob. That defect is being remedied, more troops having been dispatched to the city, and there can be no question of responsibility if for some time to come the first indications of disorder do not result in a prompt summons for whatever additional forces are required to handle any situation that may develop.

The worst feature of the outbreak was its extent. "Thousands of persons were in the mobs," says one dispatch. We may discount the estimate of 50,000 men and women in the streets, more than two-thirds being armed, but the stories of small boys carrying and using revolvers, and especially [illegible] joining in the assaults upon peaceable negro women, are more plausible. This affair would be enough to put an end to any holier-than-thou attitude on the part of the North towards the South, if there had not been so many manifestations before it to prove that the mob spirit is not confined to any one section of the country. This latest exhibition was due to economic rather than to racial jealousy. The negroes must not take away the white men's jobs, if they had to be killed to make them understand. But it speedily became racial when the mob attacked negroes indiscriminately, especially negro women, without knowing whether they were recent arrivals or natives of the city. It would be a most idle and pernicious thing for either North or South to point the finger at the other. Both should instinctively and fearlessly condemn lawlessness wherever it occurs. The only difference in the condemnation should be increasing sharpness as the disgrace comes nearer home.

TROOPS CALLED OUT TO PROTECT WHITES FROM NEGRO ATTACKS

Advertiser 7/8/17

(Associated Press)

ST. LOUIS, MO., July 8.—Colonel Donnelly, commanding the First regiment, Missouri National Guard, early this morning received a call to send troops from Alton, Ill., to Hartfgord, Ill., to protect the whites there against a threatened negro attack.

A company of the First Missouri Regiments is in federal service at Alton, Ill., and for this reason the appeal for troops was made to the commandant of the Missouri Guard.

Troops from Alton have been ordered to the scene. According to the report received here, the whites at Hartford and at Wood River, Ill., have barricaded themselves in their houses and are prepared to resist attack.

Sixty to one hundred negroes are reported in the advancing band. These negroes are refugees from Sast St. Louis, who arrived at Hartford today.

BOSTON POST ON MASSACRE.

Guardian 7/7/17

(Boston Post, July 4, 1917.)

THE LATEST TRAGEDY.

For sheer wilful brutality the action of the cowardly mob in East St. Louis has hardly been equalled in all the long list of outrages on Negro citizens in this country. Drunk with lust for blood, these savages shot down colored men and women, burned their homes and spread terror throughout the city. They will escape punishment, of course. The community is as cowardly as these blood hunters, for they will be protected in their crime.

If only sometime, somewhere, some one of these brutal Negro haters was actually brought to trial and adequately punished, it would be a milestone in the history of American justice.

So long as these communities remain what they are it appears to be disgracefully impossible.

WESTERLY R I SUN
JULY 9, 1917

ILLINOIS' SHAME

The great influx of southern negroes in recent months was bound to cause trouble at many points in the northern states, much smaller arrivals in former years having resulted in murderous rioting repeatedly, and intolerance of even native negroes having been violently exhibited from time to time in almost every northern commonwealth. In all instances the chief underlying causes of the outbreaks were instinctive race prejudice and the hostility of white laboring classes inclined to look upon negroes, either native or imported, as presumptuous rivals without rights any white man is bound to respect. Antipathy grounded in these two causes is readily fanned into flame by the misbehavior of relatively few blacks. For years it has been plain that northern labor will not tolerate negroes either as union members or as independent rivals.

The several outbreaks at East St. Louis, Ill., are attributed to the conflict of white unions and imported negro labor, but, as indicated above, this is not the whole of the matter. White laborers of East St. Louis claimed that incoming negroes took their jobs, but large employers there are quoted as saying that not a white man has been deprived of work and that even with the addition of the negroes it was difficult to get enough labor. It may be accepted as true, of course, that some of the negroes were guilty of burglaries, hold-ups, petty crimes and insulting behavior, and they had killed at least two whites in previous riots. A southern mob would have dealt with or sought to deal only with the guilty, leaving the great mass of negroes unharmed. But the Illinois mob, like those at a number of points in the middle west in recent years, was an anti-negro mob, caring nothing for the innocent and sparing neither age nor sex, being determined to drive out of the country every negro who escaped death from torch or gun. The reports show that the rage against negroes in general was unparalleled, venting itself in shocking cruelty and barbarity as well as murder. At points the sickening story suggests that the furious whites regarded their victims as wild beasts rather than human beings as they drove thousands of negroes out of the state of Abraham Lincoln and into southern territory, thus causing them to flee from death among their "liberators"—as Mr. Dooley would say—to safety among their "oppressors." What would Abraham Lincoln or Harriet Beecher Stowe have said in the presence of such a spectacle? The worst feature of the revolting and inexcusable affair was the secret sympathy of the Illinois National Guard with the white rioters, a sympathy that in some instances, according to the reports, took the form of active aid. Had they forgotten that they might soon be called into our foreign war aimed largely to protect the weak from the tyranny of the strong? The facts show that the authorities of a great state were warned in time yet failed of their duty.

[illegible] HERALD
JULY 13, 1917

Urges Right of Labor.

Chicago, July 10.—To the Editor: I would like to take exception to the remarks of T. M. Foot of Clinton, Iowa, in regard to the particular association or organization that he speaks of as being responsible for the East St. Louis outrages. I am a free born American citizen and believe that every man or woman should have an equal show in earning a livelihood, but if capital has a right to form into a trust in order to raise the price of what we eat and wear labor has an equal right to organize to better the living conditions of every man and woman.

And the class that will ship in the poor, ignorant negro of the South by the trainload to keep down organization of labor should be held criminally responsible for the recent bloodshed at East St. Louis.

C. A. HALST[illegible]

TO GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

Herald 7/12/17

Hon. Frank O. Lowden,
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Gov. Lowden:

Having read of the disgraceful holiday of arson and murder in East St. Louis, Illinois, I am sure that every decent citizen of the State of Abraham Lincoln and John A. Logan, feels deeply humiliated and disgraced.

That such an uncalled for massacre of American citizens could occur in an enlightened American commonwealth at the very time when our nation is at war for the rights of humanity, is most unfortunate, and calculated to put us in an awkward position in the eyes of the world. If the guilty are allowed to go unpunished or slightly punished, it will certainly lay bare to our friends as well as our foes abroad, the utter insincerity of our position.

For this and other reasons the eyes of all the nation are upon you, as Governor of the State, and we earnestly hope you will not stop until every guilty man is brought to time.

R. R. WRIGHT, JR.,
Editor Christian Recorder.
631 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa.

SPRINGFIELD MASS. REPUBLICAN
JULY 10, 1917

Apropos of the East St. Louis mob outbreak, the Louisville Courier-Journal makes the point that the issue where issues arises, between the whites and the blacks anywhere in the United States, is racial, not geographic. In support of this contention there is the record of the race conflicts in other cities north of the Mason and Dixon line in recent years. In any event the recurrence of these outbreaks robs the North of any right to point the finger of accusation and scorn at the South. The mob spirit is the same wherever it shows itself in any part of the country, and it is no less abominable in the North than in the South. In fact, it is more to the shame of the North to permit such outbreaks of race feeling, as this section has been wont to plume itself on its tolerance and broadmindedness and its respect for law and order.

SENATE TOLD RIOTING IS LIKELY TO BE RENEWED

The Argus, Albany 7/20/17

WASHINGTON, July 16.—Urging prompt adoption of his resolution for a congressional investigation of the recent race riots at East St. Louis, Ill., Senator Sherman today told the Senate the situation still was serious there and "there is as much influence in procuring acquittal of guilty men in Illinois as there ever was in Georgia."

"I ask this because this country is liable to be again humiliated," said Senator Sherman. "Both the Negro and the white citizens of East St. Louis are living on the edge of another commotion, on the edge of a volcano, that may result in a riot worse than the previous one."

Senator Lewis said any federal investigation should not interfere with state action and that the Department of Justice already had put its machinery in motion to deal with the situation.

UTICA N. Y. HERALD-DISPATCH
JULY 7, 1917

The East St. Louis riots were not race riots, but labor riots. They were not aimed at negroes, but at underbidding workmen who happened to be negroes. It was not their color which offended the mob mind, but their appearance in large numbers in the labor market. If they had been contract laborers from southern Europe, appearing in the same circumstances, the result might have been the same, for East St. Louis has an evil record in the matter of labor riots, and this was not her first offense. Negroes have lived in East St. Louis until now in such peace as is possible for anybody in that town. Once the mob spirit was loosed, it did not discriminate, nor ask its victims if they were new arrivals. The riots are comparable to those in California against the Chinese in the seventies. Though the Chinese were the victims, those were not race riots; they were a ruffianly protest against cheap labor.—New York Times.

Riots—1917

Indictments in East St. Louis

The grand jury which is now investigating the race riots that took place East St. Louis, Illinois, last month in has returned sixty-eight indictments against 105 persons and warrants are out for the arrest of the accused. Among the first men to be arrested were several members of the municipal police force and two men prominent in petty politics: Thomas Benton, a white man who was once a candidate for sheriff, and Dr. Bundy, a negro dentist who was involved in election fraud charges last fall. Other "leading citizens," white and black, may be drawn into the case. Thirty-two persons are accused of murder, and others of conspiracy, arson, riot, assault, burglary and malicious mischief.

The strongly worded report of the grand jury gives an excellent account of the whole affair. The jury finds that the riots were deliberately plotted and that the police could have prevented them but for the fact that "indolent public officials heard the rumblings, but overawed by cowardly inclinations remained inactive." "Engendered with false fears," says the report, "negroes wantonly murdered policemen bent on aiding them. A rival flame of passion and unreasoning violence—all introduced into the community by intriguing ringleaders—caused white men to draw guns and clubs and shoot and beat to death some of the oldest and most respected negro citizens of East St. Louis." The jury wisely remarks that such outbreaks were the inevitable result of "contempt for law in small matters" such as the East St. Louis authorities had long tolerated. The report concludes with a recommendation for the establishment of a State constabulary in Illinois of at least a thousand members who "would not be affected by local prejudices."

Late Race News; The Illinois Riots

St. Louis, Mo. (Special to The News).—The Associated Press accounts of the riots in East St. Louis, Ill., have been "doctored." Your correspondent and others know of more than thirty instances in which white men who had atacked colored men had been shot or beaten by the colored in self-defense. The evident idea of the Associated Press in making it appear that many colored and few whites have been injured, is to make colored people in other communities feel there is no use in trying to defend themselves. But the people of East St. Louis have fought back and many members of the mob are sorry they started this thing. The colored people had to fight not only the mob but State guards and police. Everybody knows under the circumstances any colored man ought to be armed as a matter of protection. But invariably the police arrest colored men for carrying concealed weapons and failed to notice whites doing the same thing. Court colored men are fined as high as $200 on that charge.

The whole thing grew out of nothing but race prejudice. White labor had no kick on the influx of Colored laborers, supposed to be about 800 in the last two months. Work is plentiful for white and colored but the feeling that many ignorant whites have that colored folks have no rights they are bound to respect is the whole cause of the strife. Your correspondent is glad to inform your readers that the outnumbered and despite the assistance of State guards and city officials that the colored people "fought nobly" and when assaulted took up for themselves.

DR. BUNDY MUST STAND RIOT TRIAL

St. Louis Dispatch 11/17

Dr. Leroy N. Bundy, dentist, now held in jail in Cleveland, Ohio, for alleged complicity in the East St. Louis race riots, will be brought back to East St. Louis to stand trial on a charge of murder, according to a dispatch from Columbus, Ohio.

Gov. Cox late Thursday honored the requisition of Gov. Lowden of Illinois, and in explaining the delay granting it, said that it had been caused by his fear that race feeling in St. Clair Co. was so strong that harm might come to the Negro. The lapse of more than three months' time, he said, had served to temper the public feeling in the matter and give more assurance of Bundy's safety.

Bundy's May Be Next Case

The requisition was honored, it was further pointed out, in conformity between the two states and upon assurance that the Illinois authoritics will see that Dr. Bundy is afforded protection during his journey and fair treatment during his trial.

Sheriff Logan Mellon, of St. Clair County left for Cleveland Friday to bring back the prisoner. The court refused to grant continuance of Bundy's trial, leaving the case on call. It probably will be the next case called.

East St. Louis

HOLYOKE MASS TRANSCRIPT
AUGUST 15, 1917

Still the Negro Exodus.

The exodus of the negroes from the South is still a very vexed question. The Southern people cannot seem to realize that it is opportunity that the black man wants, the chance to get ahead and develop. Here is an authentic letter from a resident of Birmingham, Ala., to a New Yorker, which throws light upon another angle of the problem:

"Only a few days ago two young negroes, who left Lowndes county the latter part of last year because they could not make a living (and against the will of the white man whom they had been working for all their lives, for nothing), hearing that their old father was dying, went back to see the last of him. Simply because they would not agree to stay, the white man, as usual, began to cuff and kick them around. When they attempted to defend themselves, and having made their way to Montgomery, they were arrested as they started to board the train for Birmingham, where they had work. Carried back, on the way a mob, as usual, overpowered the sheriff and hanged them both to the first tree they could find, simply because they would not stay and work on the farm, where they could not even get enough to eat."

The gentleman to whom this letter was addressed, a former member of the legislature of Alabama, adds this comment:

"The reelection of President Wilson has caused the 'south in the saddle' oligarchy to feel that they have the nation by the tail and a down hill pull; while a sort of go as far as you like with the 'damn a negro anyhow' sentiment is enthroned. Sooner or later this thing is going to cause this whole country to hang its head in shame."

The South will never cease to look through its colored glasses until it learns to be less conceited, less selfish, but over-awed by cowardly inclinations remained inactive.

"We have found it obligatory to indict a high police official. An attorney at law accused of making an inflammatory speech advocating mob violence has been summoned by an indictment to answer the charge.

"We believe that the riot was caused by a propaganda of intolerance which the races were taught to have for each other. During the last two years there has been an influx of negroes estimated at 8,000. This influx was brought about largely through the advanced prices of labor and the demand for labor in East St. Louis."

The report says that a strike was won at the aluminum works by white men, but that in February of this year, the same workers again struck for higher wages; "and the discovery was then made by the workers that the large influx of negroes had put them at a disadvantage in dealing with employers."

"That employers abused this situation," the report continues, "seems to us to be a warranted charge."

105 Persons Indicted In Race Riots

The Montgomery Advertiser
8/15/17
(Associated Press.)

BELLEVILLE, ILL., Aug. 14.—Sixty-eight indictments against 105 persons, the charges including murder, arson, conspiracy, rioting and assault to murder, were returned here today by the grand jury which has been investigating the race riots in East St. Louis, July 1 to 3.

The report of the grand jury said: "We believe the riots, at least the occurrences which led up to them, were deliberately plotted. Indolent public officials heard the rumblings,

L. N. BUNDY, NEGRO DENTIST ACCUSED IN EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS, HELD IN CLEVELAND

ST. LOUIS DEMOCRAT
AUGUST 14, 1917

Prisoner Denies He Was Implicated in Any Violence During Recent Disorders.

Leroy N. Bundy, negro dentist and politician of East St. Louis, charged with being a leader of the mob that killed Detective Sergeant Sam Coppedge and Detective Frank Wodley and wounded Patrolmen Hobbs and Walker, was arrested in Cleveland, Ohio, yesterday.

Chief of Police Frank Keating was notified of the arrest. Sheriff Logan Mellon, now in Chicago, will proceed to Cleveland and return with Bundy, who left East St. Louis July 3, the day of the rioting, and is supposed to have been in St. Louis several weeks.

Several witnesses before the grand jury and the coroner's inquest testified, it was said, as to Bundy's leadership of the negro mob whose action in firing on the police led to the race riot the following day. It is not thought that Bundy will be taken through East St. Louis on his way to the County Jail in Belleville.

Bundy was arrested on a mitimus issued at the coroner's inquest, which was a secret investigation.

Negroes in St. Louis have known where Bundy was, it was said, but they were inclined to assist him. They had heard, they said, that he had been blamed for inciting the negroes and certain factions had offered a reward for his death.

A friend speaking for Bundy said: 'Bundy has said he has no fear of arrest or for the consequences of any part he may have had in the riots. Bundy is hiding because he is afraid he will be taken back to East St. Louis. If authorities would promise Bundy would not be taken to East St. Louis, where his life would be in danger, he would readily surrender."

Bundy denied to the Cleveland police that he was implicated in any violence during the riots.

U.S. Orders E. St. Louis Riot Inquiry Oct. 1

TRIBUNE
SEPTEMBER 12, 1917

House Committee Plans Rigid Investigation of Anti-Negro Riots

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11.—Investigation of the East St. Louis riots will begin October 1, it was announced today by the newly appointed Congressional investigating committee.

The five members—Representatives Ben Johnson, of Kentucky; Foster and Foss, of Illinois; Baker, of California, and Cooper, of Wisconsin—will hold all their hearings at East St. Louis.

Letters received here from Edward J. Brundage, Attorney General of Illinois, indicated that he would be glad to cooperate with the committee in every way, and that he would place at the disposal of the committee the evidence in regard to the riots collected by his office. Grand jury records also will be summoned by the House committee, as well as city and county authorities.

The House committee will not undertake the investigation until after the next grand jury, which meets on Monday, has finished its investigation. The grand jury probe will last for two or three weeks.

Following the adoption to-day of the Postoffice Department's resolution calling for an investigation by the House it developed that Speaker Clark had been swamped with the applications of members of Congress for places on the committee. Publicity seeking members of the House, seeing in the investigation a chance for personal exploitation, brought every pressure possible to bear on the Speaker for their appointments. It is understood that none of the members of the committee actually appointed was an applicant for a place.

GUARDSMEN KILLED 2 NEGROES DURING RIOTING RECENTLY

Advertiser 7/11/17
(Associated Press)

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., July 10.—Two negroes were shot and killed by Illinois guardsmen during the rioting here July 2, it was testified at the secret session of the coroner's jury yesterday, according to information today. This testimony was reported to have been given by Col. E. P. Clayton who was in command of the troops

The negroes were killed on order of a police sergeant, who said they had fired at policemen and soldiers, according to the report of the testimony.

A man arrested by Captain O. C. Smith, F. Company Fourth Illinois infantry was released by the police according to the captain. Captain Smith asserted he heard the man say:

"I've killed my share of negroes today. I have killed so many I am tired and somebody else can finish them."

When Captain Smith went to the police station yesterday to prefer a formal charge he found that the prisoner had been released.

EAST ST. LOUIS

MURDERERS ON TRIAL

Daily Herald

East St. Louis, Ill., Oct. 18.—Wanton shooting at Negroes by soldiers on patrol duty during the race riots here last May was testified to before the Congressional Committee investigating the riots today. Charles Roger, president of a large chemical company here, told the committee that he saw a uniformed soldier shoot a Negro who was standing with a group of his fellows a block away, merely to show some white men, who were twitting him, that he could shoot.

Mr. Roger testified that a man in a crowd of whites remarked to one of the soldiers:

"What are you doing with that gun, you can't shoot."

"The hell I can't," Roger quoted the soldier as saying.

Whereupon the soldier fired into the crowd of Negroes and one of the Negroes fell, wounded, testified the witness.

Mr. Roger said he told Gov. Frank O. Lowden of that and similar incidents, but that no special effort was made to learn the identity of the soldier.

Frank A. Hunter, general manager of the Swift & Co.'s packing plant, testified that the riots had driven 40 per cent of their Negro employ from work, and that Government ders are being delayed.

HELD FOR FORM ING 'BLACK ARM

Amsterdam News 7/11/17

Twelve Colored Men Accus of Organizing Blacks for Reprisals

(Special to The Amsterdam News)

St. Louis, July 9.—Following "revelations" in a white daily h that three black armies had b trained, armed and drilled in East Louis, the Chief of Police rounded 12 colored men, one a city detective, he believed to have been connected with the organizing of the blacks.

Dr. L. N. Bundy, the East St. Louis dentist and alleged leader of the colored men in the recent rioting, is still eluding the police. Although a truckload of police, deputy sheriffs and soldiers were sent to the Beckman farm, four miles south of East St. Louis, on a tip that Dr. Bundy was concealed there, they returned empty-handed, and the heroic colored leader is still at large.

Cuban Veteran Approached.

The story of the black armies goes that an elderly colored man who had seen service with the Ninth Cavalry in the Cuban campaign, was approached by colored leaders and offered $700 if he would take charge of one of these armies. The armies were to m arch at a given signal on July 4 on the white murderers of East St. Louis in reprisals for the mob outrages on colored men, women and children. It was also to attract the attention of the U. S. Government to the seriousness of the situation and to the new temper of the colored people throughout the country.

Those arrested in connection were: James Vardaman, city detective; N. W. Parden, Othaniel Peoples, William Palmer, Jerry Humphrey, Nathan Jones, Walker Hilley, Thomas Tackett, Chas. Foster, Jas. Bayles, Henry Meeks and Horace Thomas.

N. Y. SUN CALLS WILSON'S HAND

The Amsterdam News 7/9/17

Reminds Him of 1912 Letter to Bishop Walters and of Rights of Colored Citizens

In its leading editorial, the New York Sun of Saturday, August 4, under the caption of "Why Woodrow Wilson Will Stand by His Colored Fellow Citizens" reminds Pres. Wilson of his pledge to the colored race through the letter which he wrote the late Bishop Walters under date of October 1, 1912, assuring "my colored fellow citizens of my earnest wish to see justice done them in every matter, and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling. Every guarantee of our law, every principle of our constitution, commands this, and our sympathies should make it easy."

The Sun reminds President Wilson that "Colonel Roosevelt has already spoken manfully and indignantly in behalf of the colored citizen's equal right to work for a living wherever opportunity offers. An expression of the same just sentiments by President Wilson, similarly vigorous and perhaps from his official position even more practically effective, cannot, it would seem, be delayed much longer."

Speaking of the various protests and appeals made by colored citizens within the last few months, the Sun also remarked:

"They are appealing to the President in respectful terms for a right, not for a favor. They are appealing with unanswerable logic."

East St. Louis Is Short Of Workingmen

The St. Louis Argus 8/10/17

East St. Louis, Aug. 8.—"Knowing that there is plenty of work in this city for any man who wants to work I will, upon information from reliable parties, whose names will not be disclosed, cause the arrest and prosecution of these public nuisances, and every citizen of this city is appointed a committee of one to assist in bringing about the enforcement of this order."

Frank Keating,
Chief of Police.

The above warning, issued by Chief of Police Frank Keating, of East St. Louis, Ill., places the lie on the charge that Negroes, recently coming to the town, were taking jobs away from the whites. It also confirms the investigations made by a reporter for the St. Louis Argus, which disclosed the fact that the factories must close if they cannot get Negro labor. There are more jobs than there are men in East St. Louis who will take them. The vagabonds caused the recent riots and the new chief is determined to rid the place of this undesirable element.

ANNUAL SERMON

The Annual Sermon of the Uniform Rank K. of P. will be held at First Baptist Church, Sunday August 12, at 3:00 p. m. The regiment will form at the Armory, 3137 Pine St., and will proceed to the church. Rev. B. G. Shaw, pastor of Metropolitan A. M. E. Z. Church will preach. All Courts and other Organizations are cordially invited to take part. B. J. Riley Colonel Commander; Wm. H. Butler Brigade Commander.

Anti-Negro Trouble Is Well in Hand

Advertiser 8-1-17

(Associated Press.)

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLS., May 31.—Anti-negro riots which began Monday night have recurred each night but with decreasing violence and Colonel C. E. Clayton, commanding the six companies of Illinois National Guardsmen now on duty today declared he believed the officials had the situation well in hand and that there would be little more disturbance.

Last night despite the fact that the city was patrolled by police, special deputies and national guardsmen, fifty men, massed shortly after the saloons closed at 6 o'clock and began a search for negroes. One was shot and wounded, while two others were beaten with fists and clubs and warned to leave town.

The mob congregated near a negro section in the outskirts of the city and the shooting attracted the national buardsmen who soon dispersed it.

There was no further trouble until early today when three shots were fired from the second story window of a house near a negro district at a group of guardsmen who were standing under an arc light. None of the guardsmen was hit.

The disturbances, which started Monday night, grew out of a protest of the importation of negro labor from the south, made by labor leaders at a meeting of the city council.

PEBBLES CAUSE WORKHOUSE RIOT

6-13-17 St Louis Argus

Report, as Usual, Exaggerated by Daily Papers. One Shot Fired

Pebble throwing was the cause of the riot at the workhouse June 7. The pebbles were replaced with rocks and the affair finally ended in a number of Negroes being injured by one load of shot fired from a shotgun. A white prisoner by the name of Greaser was taunting a Negro by throwing pebbles at him. This led to stone throwing and finally to the Negro being beaten by a gang of whites. When one of the guards saw the trouble he fired one load of his shotgun into the air to attract other guards. He was attacked by several white prisoners and his shotgun taken from him. He held onto the revolver. Greaser, who got the gun, fired its only load at the Negroes, wounding several, one of them losing an eye. Greaser was overpowered and he and another white prisoner have been kept in solitary confinement ever since. The daily papers, as usual, exaggerated in reporting the affair. Only one shot was fired. The guards did not attack the Negro prisoners. The officials informed an Argus reporter that Negro prisoners give very little trouble. Greaser has been in the workhouse a couple of years. His time was out Friday but Director of Public Welfare, John Schmoll, stated that he had asked the Circuit Attorney to issue a warrant against him and Walsh, another white prisoner, Thursday.

ST JOSEPH, MO PRESS

JULY 9, 1917

At a meeting of negroes in the Francis Street Negro Baptist Church yesterday afternoon resolutions condemning the killing of negroes in the riots in East St. Louis were adopted. Colonel Roosevelt's stand on the subject of the race riots also was approved in the resolutions, and the meeting declared for him for another term as president.

IMPORTED NEGROES ATTACKED BY MOB IN EAST ST. LOUIS

Cincinnati Enquirer 5-29-17

Three Thousand Persons Sweep Through the Streets Beating the Negroes Wherever They Are Found

East St. Louis, Ill., May 29.—A mob estimated at 3,000 persons determined, as they shouted, to rid the city of negroes imported to work in factories and munitions plants, swept through the streets last night and early this morning, attacking and beating negroes wherever found. Several negroes have been injured so severely they probably will die.

Testifies Illinois Mob Threw Negro Child Into Flames

RECEIVED OBER 23, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Monday.—Testimony that during the race riots here on July 2 a mob threw a negro child into a burning house after he had escaped from the flames was offered at the Congressional inquiry into the riots to-day by Edwin Ropkess, a reporter for a St. Louis newspaper.

He said he also saw four or five militiamen shoot and kill two negroes who ran from a burning house.

John W. Paton, general manager of the Morris & Co. packing plant, said he was present at the meeting of the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce on the afternoon of July 2 after the mob had begun its work.

He said the Mayor told the Chamber of Commerce meeting that "police work has got beyond his control."

Representative Raker here interrupted and said:—"You are a big, strong man, physically and mentally. Why didn't you go and get fifty rifles and stand between that mob and the men and women they were murdering?"

"That is just what we thought," said Mr. Paton. "But we thought the Mayor and the police ought to take care of the situation."

"But," said Representative Raker, "you knew they were not doing it, so why didn't you men do it?"

"Well, to tell the truth," replied Mr Paton, "we were afraid for our lives."

Riots—1917

N Y C POST

SEPTEMBER 10, 1917

The indictment of the Mayor of East St. Louis for malfeasance is one of the most helpful things in connection with lawlessness against the negroes of this country that has yet happened. The grand jury finds that he failed to give directions to the militia, to call upon the Sheriff, or to deputize citizens who offered their services to put down the mobs. It rightly holds that if this was due to neglect, he is unfit, and that if it was due to cowardice or lack of ability, he should be removed at once. The grand jury further finds that the "coterie of corrupt politicians" responsible for the riots and "for the undoing of the Mayor" has made it impossible for the new Police and Fire Commission, composed of three able and fearless citizens, to carry on the work of reorganizing the city from the point of view of law and order, and that it will not be able to do so until the Mayor is removed. Altogether, the grand jury has now indicted 144 persons, and regrets that it cannot indict and apprehend many more. It has, however, indicted the Mayor's secretary for conspiracy with the rioters, in that he ordered the police and the militia to prevent moving-picture men from photographing the mob, thus giving "greater [illegible]e to the rioters." Now, if con- only be obtained, a long [illegible]e been taken towards re- [illegible]ot of this hideous outrage [illegible]rican name.

N Y C HERALD

JULY 18, 1917

The Blackest Belt.

In Representative Rodenberg's discussion of the causes of the unspeakably disgraceful affair at East St. Louis there is a serious indictment of labor unionists of that city. According to Mr. Rodenberg's explanation, the orgy of murder that has brought disgrace to the city of his residence and, incidentally, to the country had its inspiration in insistence by labor leaders upon unions being recognized by manufacturers who chose to conduct their business on the "open shop" principle. It is to be hoped that unionists will be able to show that charge to be unwarranted.

It is to be hoped also that some of the scenes described in press despatches are the products of "yellow" imaginations. If all that is said to have happened did happen then indeed is the Illinois Black Belt well named.

RED CROSS WORKER FACES DEPORTATION BY EAST ST. LOUIS

ST. LOUIS MO TIMES

AUGUST 17, 1917

Miss Mary Pullian, a Red Cross worker in East St. Louis, may be deported from that city as a result of remarks she is said to have made to Louis Ross, Overseer of the Poor of East St. Louis.

It is alleged that Miss Pullian said that the negroes in St. Louis should "come over to East St. Louis and do to the whites there what the whites did to the negroes" in the recent riots.

Ross reported the remark to James K. Ewing, superintendent of the Humane Society of East St. Louis, who in turn told F. H. Hammer, president of the St. Clair County Humane Society.

The Red Cross headquarters in East St. Louis is in the offices of the Humane Society in the City Hall. A meeting of the society will be held in the near future to investigate this and other remarks Miss Pullian is alleged to have made. If the charges are substantiated she will be dismissed from service in the city, officials say.

Miss Pullian until recently has been doing Red Cross work in St. Louis, but was given charge of the work in East St. Louis.

Lowden Lauds Attorney General for Conviction Of E. St. Louis Rioters

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

OCTOBER 15, 1917

Governor Frank O. Lowden today telegraphed Attorney General Edward J. Brundage congratulating him for "a great service to the public" in the prosecutions he has conducted at East St. Louis over the recent race rioting.

Politicians from all over the state have watched these prosecutions. The first trial under the direction of the attorney general resulted in the conviction of ten negroes for murdering East St. Louis policemen. The next trial, which was concluded last week, resulted in the conviction for murder of two white men who had killed colored citizens of East St. Louis in the rioting. It has been a matter of speculation in high councils of both the Republican and Democratic party that politics would eventually interfere, and when the "show down" came, Attorney General Brundage would balk at securing conviction of white men for attacking negroes. Governor Lowden's telegram follows:

"I send you my heartiest congratulations over the results at East St. Louis. You have rendered a great service to the cause of orderly government in Illinois."

Prosecution of all those involved in the rioting is to proceed as soon as the cases are reached and juries selected, Mr. Brundage said today.

East St. Louis

EAST ST. LOUIS RIOT IMPOSSIBLE IN SOUTH

Principal Moton, of Tuskegee, Tells 2,000 Negroes at Newport News

ATLANTA GA CONSTITUTION

AUGUST 1, 1917

Newport News, Va., July 31.—In an address urging loyalty to their employers and admonishing them to work six days a week and save their money, R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee institute, told two thousand negro employees of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Docks company here today that they have an opportunity "which makes them soldiers as well as those on ships at sea or those in the trenches of Europe." No people can be more loyal than the negro, he added, and none will be more loyal.

After thanking the company for what it is doing for its employees, Moton said:

"We all know of the East St. Louis riot, where black men were shot and killed for trying to make an honest living. I say to you that while this affair was a disgrace to the state of Illinois and to this nation, it was not what the best white people wanted. But I am glad to say that such a thing would not happen in Newport News and in the south."

MANY NEGROES LEAVE E. ST. LOUIS

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH

OCTOBER 8, 1917

Out of 1,000 Men Summoned for Draft in Third District, 550 Respond.

An unprecedented exodus of negroes from East St. Louis, as a result of the race riots of July 1 and 2, is evidenced by the response of negroes to the call for examination for the National Army in District No. 3.

That district is inhabited largely by negroes, and out of 1,000 men called for examination only 550 reported.

Making a final effort to complete the required contingent of recruits before the end of the week the Draft Board of the district is working day and night to get the necessary number. The district has sent only 11 out of a required quota of 40.

Of the 550 who responded yesterday for physical examination only 91 white men were certified. Thirty-five men were sent to Camp Taylor, Louisville, on Sunday from District No. 3, and 40 from District No. 2.

N Y C GLOBE

JULY 18, 1917

A Race Conference.

Editor Globe:—I feel that there ought to be a national congress composed of both white and black citizens who would make a calm and analytical study of the relationship of one race to the other and just what should be the attitude of the country toward its colored citizens. Atrocities such as occurred in East St. Louis should not be allowed to happen again in this country and steps should be taken at once to prevent a repetition.

If, as stated by Mr. Gompers, the labor question is behind the East St. Louis riot, then there ought to be some definite understanding on the part of the American Federation of Labor as to what attitude it is to assume. If the situation was brought about as the result of the large Negro exodus from the south the south ought to provide for the economic and industrial safety of the Negroes and to make their happiness so secure that they will have no inclination to leave the south.

There are, however, certain definite agreements that can only come about as the result of the kind of congress I propose, and for the genuine good of our country the best Americans, both white and black, should get together and stamp out these things that are bringing disgrace to our America.

CLEVELAND G. ALLEN.

New York, July 10.

DR. BUNDY MUST HAVE SOME HELP

Dr. Leroy Bundy, charged with being a leader in the East St. Louis riots, is in jail in Belleville, Ill., and he says he is innocent, which most of the people believe is true. A representative of the Chicago Defender will visit Dr. Bundy in prison this week. The race as a whole must stand by this man, who is being prosecuted. Bundy's relatives and friends have exhausted their supply of money and the doctor is now in need of financial assistance. He must secure counsel to ably defend him, and if found guilty by the lower courts money must be had to appeal the case. It is not the fight of one man, but a fight of the entire Race, who must stand back of Dr. Bundy.

The Chicago Defender appeals to every member of the Race, to every leader, to every minister, head of every lodge, whether it be woman or man. All subscriptions will be honored through these columns, and will be forwarded to Mrs. Bundy, who is with her husband in Belleville.

Let not one town, hamlet, city or state contribute, but all the people from everywhere that have a spark of love for their Race.

ROBT. S. ABBOTT, Editor

NORTHERN MIGRATION

CINCINNATI O ENQUIRER

JULY 4, 1917

Negroes Caused By Fear of Southern Lynch Law.

Tuskegee Institute, Ala., July 1, 1917.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENQUIRER.

I send you the following relative to lynchings for the first six months of the year. I find according to the records kept by Monroe N. Work, head of the division of records and research of the Tuskegee Institute, that in this period there have been 14 lynchings. This is 11 less than the number (25) for the first six months of 1916 and 20 less than the number (34) for the first six months of 1915. In 10 instances, through the bravery of officers of the law and by other means, mobs were thwarted and lynchings prevented.

Of those lynched 13 were negroes and one was white. Four of those put to death—one white and three negroes—were charged with the crime of rape. One of those put to death was a negro woman, reported to have been of unsound mind, who, in resisting arrest, wounded an officer of the law.

I gather from reading negro newspapers and from other sources, that in spite of the notable decrease in the number of victims of mob violence for the six months, the horrors connected with the recent burning at the stake near Memphis has increased among negroes the fear of lynchings and accelerated their migration to the North.

Robert R. Morton,
Principal Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.

[illegible] TRIBUNE

JULY 10, 1917

NEGROES HERE SEEK REVENGE, POLICE TOLD

Several anonymous telephone calls received by the Hyde Park police yesterday led them to fear the Negroes of the south side might be planning to avenge the deaths of their fellows in East St. Louis. The police suspect they have been made the victims of a hoax.

A man called the Hyde Park station. "Posters have been tacked on the telegraph poles along Forty-third street around Cottage Grove avenue," he informed the sergeant. "They say there is going to be a drive by colored men along Thirty-ninth street, near Drexel boulevard."

A search failed to reveal any of the posters.

Another informant said the poster read: "Follow the example of East St. Louis in our big drive on Thirty-ninth street."

Patrolmen were instructed to be quick to report any disturbance in the black belt.

ST LOUIS MO REPUBLIC

JULY 4, 1917

BAR ASSOCIATION OFFERS LEGAL AID TO RIOT VICTIMS

The Bar Association of St. Louis yesterday offered free counsel to indigent negroes who wish to start legal action to recover damages for their burned homes and property in East St. Louis. James C. Jones, president of the association, said that counsel would be furnished to all negroes on their application to William F. Fahey, secretary of the association. His office is in room 609 of the Third National Bank building.

Jones cited the laws of Illinois, which provide that any city or county of the State is liable for three-fourths damages when property is destroyed by mobs composed of a dozen or more persons.

Two More White Men Die, Victims of Riot in East St. Louis

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
JULY 18, 1917

Two more white men in the East St Louis race riot of July 2 died at St Mary's Hospital, East St. Louis, yesterday afternoon, bringing the total of white men killed up to nine. The total number of negroes killed is thirty-eight, and it is presumed that fifty more bodies still will be recovered.

Robert F. Murray, 26 years old, a locomotive fireman, died from blood poisoning due to a bullet wound in the left leg. His body will be sent to his home in Lincoln City, Ind.

Stephen Hoskins, 18 years old, son of James W. Hoskins, employed by the East Side Levee and Sanitary District, residing at 728 North Thirty-second street, died from the effects of a bullet wound in the left breast.

Both men were wounded during the riot on Broadway. An inquest over the two bodies will be held today. Both men told the police they were spectators to the disturbance.

N Y C COMMERCIAL
JULY 17, 1917

FOR EAST ST. LOUIS INQUIRY.

Senator Sherman Urges Congress to Investigate Race Riots.

WASHINGTON, July 16.—Urging prompt adoption of his resolution for a Congressional investigation of the recent riots at East St. Louis, Ill., Senator Sherman to-day told the Senate the situation still was serious there and that "there is as much influence in securing acquittal of guilty men in Illinois as there ever was in Georgia."

"I ask this because this country is liable to be again humiliated," said Senator Sherman. "Both the colored and the white citizens of East St. Louis are living on the edge of another commotion, on the edge of a volcano that may result in a riot worse than the previous one."

He urged that the Federal authorities either through the Department of Justice or a Congressional committee investigate the situation, or if the House refuses to concur in the resolution, that a Federal grand jury be empanelled to investigate and prosecute those responsible for the riot, because prosecutions would be "inconclusive and incomplete," unless made by Government authorities.

Senator Tillman made a speech supporting the resolution, remarking that the "average Yankee" wanted the negroe's vote and nothing else but that the North was beginning to understand the South and the race problem.

Senator Lewis said any Federal investigation should not interfere with State action, and that the Department of Justice already had put its machinery in motion to deal with the situation.

Freeman 7/14/17

From all accounts the East St. Louis situation will be probed to the bottom. An Illinois Senator thought that the Government should take no notice of it because it would attach an importance that would be too much to the liking of Negroes. The theory of the Senator is worthy of careful thought. It is plain that he wishes to diminish the importance of the race. It is to be hoped that there are not many like him.

East St. Louis Police Ask Public to Give $500 to Indicted Men

Detective Bureau Member Circulates List to Raise Fund for Defense.

George Haeffner of the East St. Louis Detective Bureau yesterday began the circulation of a subscription list in an attempt to raise $500 as a defense fund for the seven members of the police force indicted in the race riots of May 28 to July 3.

The indicted men face at least several weeks' enforced idleness while they are awaiting trial, and some of them are seeking temporary employment during this period. The Board of Police and Fire Commissioners suspended the indicted men pending acquittal.

The men expect to employ an attorney to defend the first man to be tried and to make a test case of the charge against him. It is believed the disposition of the first case will have a bearing on the outcome of the other cases.

A. J. McCabe, 24 years old, one of the men indicted by the grand jury at Belleville, was released on a $5000 cash bond.

A message was received yesterday by the Mechanics-American Bank, St Louis, directing a draft for $5000 on the Mellen Bank of Pittsburgh to be deposited in the Southern Illinois National Bank as surety for the release of McCabe.

Employed as Timekeeper.

Henry Albrecht, a director of the bank, signed McCabe's bond and he was ordered released from the County Jail in Belleville.

Albrecht said he knew nothing of who was advancing the money and that he was signing the bond as a matter of accommodation for the banks handling the $5000.

McCabe is a native of Pennsylvania and came to East St. Louis as timekeeper for a contractor in structural iron work at the Aluminum Ore Company.

An indictment charges him with rioting, conspiracy and arson. He lives at 2901 Bond avenue.

Thirty-four of the persons indicted are at liberty. Six of these are in the Third Illinois Artillery at Springfield, and one is in the regular army. The others, it is believed, will not be arrested because of the limited description of them.

In some capiases only part of a name is given, and in others addresses are wrong. Persons who have been arrested, it was said, were known to deputy sheriffs and there was no difficulty in identifying the persons wanted. In some instances the whereabouts of persons indicted are not known.

One of the two women indicted is named in the capias as "Jane Doe." The other woman's name is given, but her address is not set forth.

The habeas corpus proceedings in the case of Dr. Leroy Bundy, negro dentist, under arrest in Cleveland, Ohio, on a charge of being a fugitive from justice in connection with the riots were postponed until August 31. According to dispatches from Cleveland, the postponement was granted on the application of C. W. Middlekauf and N. C. Bainum of Illinois, sent there with five witnesses by the Illinois attorney general to obtain Bundy's extradition.

Bundy's attorney agreed to postpone the habeas corpus proceedings until Gov. Cox passes on the application for Bundy's extradition, August 29.

Bundy's attorney is fighting extradition on the following grounds: That Bundy was not in East St. Louis, but at Belleville, fourteen miles away, at the time of the crime charged to him; that he is not now a fugitive from justice in the sense of the law, and that to take him back to Illinois would be liable to rekindle ill feeling between negroes and whites.

SYRACUSE N Y POST-STANDARD
JULY 10, 1917

Negroes South and North.

The Southern newspapers have resisted the temptation to do some gloating over the race riot at East St. Louis. They regard it as the deplorable but not unexpected result of wholesale migration of Negroes from their traditional environment to a strange and inhospitable Northern community. But they do not hesitate to advise the Negroes that if they yield to the blandishments of Northern industrial agents and move in large numbers into sections where they will be in sharp competition with white labor they must look for conflict.

The Southerner preaching to the Negro his duty to stick to the South with which he is familiar and resist the call of higher wages in the North is not convincing. The Southerners have not shown a tolerance of the Negro, a willingness to aid him to higher wages and a more comfortable living, or a welcome to him as competitor with white labor that shines brightly in comparison with the blackness of East St. Louis. Nevertheless The Atlanta Journal is probably right in saying that "the thickly populated industrial districts of the North are highly unfavorable if not highly dangerous for Negroes bred and born to the ways of the South." It is certainly right in holding that it is in "the spacious agricultural South" rather than in the crowded industrial communities of the North the vast majority of Negroes will continue to live.

The cities along the Ohio river have large Negro populations, which have lodged there for a generation. The Negroes who have come North for higher wages to the dispair of the South, which needs their labor, will mostly remain. But there will be no general exodus North. The Negro is at home in the South and there he will remain. The climate and the easy going life he leads there suits him, and for all his intolerance the white man gets along with him better than the white worker does in the North when the Negro becomes a factor in the industrial situation.

Wounded Negro Is Found in a Sewer Crazed From Pain

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 3, 1917

The East St. Louis mob disposed of the bodies of its victims by burning in many instances.

A negro, badly wounded, was taken from a sewer at Broadway and Main street, early this morning by a militiaman. In addition to being wounded, the negro was crazed by his sufferings and squatted down on all fours like an animal.

Another incident is told of a negro appealing to a policeman for protection at Broadway and Eighth street. "Go on down to the militia if you want protection," was the answer. Just then a citizen stepped up and said to the negro: "Come with me, I'll protect you." He led the negro into an alley in the vicinity of Fourth street, turned with a snarl and said:

"Now I've got you."

He whipped out a revolver and shot the negro down.

N Y C SUN
JULY 11, 1917

SAY TROOPS SHOT NEGROES.

Fired by Order of Police Sergeant, East St. Louis Report.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 10.—So tight has the curtain of secrecy been drawn about the police investigation and Coroner's inquest into the deaths resulting from the race riots of last week that little information concerning official reports of the rioting can be obtained.

One of the Coroner's jurors is said to have asserted to-day that Illinois guardsmen had shot and killed two negroes on the order of a police sergeant. Col. E. R. Clayton of the guardsmen is said to have testified to that incident. Col. Clayton would neither confirm nor deny the statement to-night.

Attorney-General Brundage announced to-night that he and three assistants would attend the inquest being held by the Coroner, and that his department would conduct the county Grand Jury investigation into the rioting.

"There is rottenness in East St. Louis somewhere, and we expect to find it," he said. "When we do it will have to go." between the two Governments are severed "in spite of the veiled threat made by the acting Imperial German Consul in his 'published statement of 'War News,' issued and circulated in this city under the official seal of his Imperial Government on the 21st of April, to the effect that Powers of the third and last importance will be held to strict accountability for all damage done to German interests, the bill for which will be presented and payment thereof enforced after the happy issues of the war."

SUMTER S C ITEM
JULY 3, 1917

The treatment that negroes are receiving in East St. Louis, Ill., is brutal, abominable and without reasonable excuse. The situation in that city where repeated attacks are made on the negroes by blood-thirsty mobs is worse than anything that ever happened in the South, and the negro loving South-haters in all sections of the North and West should make haste to do something about it. They have been advising the South for 50 years how to treat the negro and they are not living up to their preachments, now that they have the negroes close at hand, where it would be easy to treat them as friends and brothers.

ROCHESTER N Y TIMES
JULY 10, 1917

COLORED PEOPLE MEET AND PASS RESOLUTION

At a meeting of negroes in Trinity Presbyterian Church on Sunday evening resolutions asking for protection and justice for the colored people of the United States was passed, as follows:

Resolved, first—That democracy in America does not include in its operation colored people.

Second—It has been a failure so far as maintaining government without discrimination to all of its citizens.

Third—Our entering the war to make the world safe for democracy cannot be accepted in good faith until we make good at home.

Fourth—The silence on the part of the chief executive of this nation, respecting the outrages upon colored people weakens us before the world and convicts us of hypocrisy.

Fifth—It would seem unfair to conscript colored men to fight for a country that refuses them protection.

Sixth—We do not believe that democracy for the world is safe until Great Britain emancipates Ireland and America gives justice to colored people.

Lastly—We commend most highly the attitude of Colonel Roosevelt toward the St. Louis affair; we are ashamed of all apologists, and we appeal for a square deal.

PHILADELPHIA PA BULLETIN
JULY 7, 1917

The East St. Louis Race Riots

To the Editor of The Bulletin.

Sir: The race riots at East St. Louis add more proof that the theory of evolution is essentially correct, that human beings even in their remote descendants of today, still resemble the wild beast, wherefrom the species originated. Under certain conditions the nature of the beast is easily revived in the average person and we are not much surprised to read about mobs rioting, burning houses, torturing and killing innocent people, etc. Human passions under certain conditions are easily worked up to a fever heat and abuses will result.

But the pertinent question is, can the civil authorities protect the lives and liberties of the citizens entrusted to their care? The East St. Louis massacre has shown that the civil authorities were either incapable or else unwilling to protect the population from one of the most brutal race riots that has ever occurred in this country. There was a time when race persecutions and race riots were the privileged methods of the Czars of Russia. Now since the Czar is out of power the methods and outrages of Czardom are being transplanted to the soil of free America. Shall we tolerate them? Shall we allow the good old name of free America to be disgraced with race riots, lynchings and mob rule and become a byword of lawlessness among nations?

Let us hope not. Let us hope that all those guilty of acts of violence during the recent East St. Louis outbreak will be punished without mercy, so that the world may see that "the land of the free and the brave" is also a land of justice and tolerance.

A. W. LEVER.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

CHICAGO ILL TRIBUNE
JULY 6, 1917

NEGROES PLAN TO SUE E. ST. LOUIS FOR $1,000,000

Suits involving more than $1,000,000 are threatened against the city of East St. Louis in behalf of the Negroes whose homes were destroyed and whose means of livelihood were withdrawn in the recent riots. Action is said to be under way by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which Judge Edward Osgood Brown is the local president.

It is declared that each of the Negroes has a cause of action for loss of property, life, and limb and that each suit may, under the statute, claim $5,000.

It also is declared that an action will be started against the sheriff of the county and that if the evidence supports the contention that prisoners were taken from the sheriff he will be ousted from office by the governor. Investigators already are on the ground for the purpose of obtaining evidence upon which to proceed.

JULY 6, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS MASSACRE.

The massacre at East St. Louis has caused the rest of the nation to wonder what sort of savages inhabit that city. The negro in the bonds of slavery was not worse treated. There he was punished, and compelled to work to his limit under duress, and no doubt the description that his treatment was brutal fitted the circumstances. But what shall be said of the murder and arson at East St. Louis? It puts the blush of shame on the cheeks of America, and it gives our Teuton enemies an excellent retort to our charges of savagery in the slaughter of innocent women and children through the agency of U-boats and airships. More than that it makes the situation for the negro peculiarly discouraging, whether he is living in the North or South. The protest against mob rule will not be confined to the negro race. It will be the voice of decent-minded men of the nation, who want the disgrace of the East St. Louis massacre wiped out, and its recurrence there or elsewhere made impossible.

N Y C POST
JULY 3, 1917

remember that in so doing they are presumably enlisting as servants and protectors, not as bullies, of the civil public. They ought to be even more solicitous than the rest of us to observe the law, and in these times of strain and excitement to help to keep the peace, not to be the leaders in the breaking of it. Soldiers who cannot behave themselves at home are hardly fit to help in abolishing military brutality abroad.

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 7, 1917

Hurd's Riot Article.

To the Editor of the Post-Dispatch.

I have often wondered if, when difficulties arose between the black and white races there was a reporter or correspondent who would have the fearnessness and fair-mindedness to chronicle things unbiased and without prejudice. There is such a man. His name is Carlos F. Hurd. The negro race, of which I am a member, has few things to thank the press of St. Louis for, but among those few may be mentioned the masterly special by your writer. Would to God in heaven that there were more like him!

J. K. H.

The Raleigh Independent 7/7/17

THE EAST SAINT LOUIS MASSACRE.

We are giving space to the press reports of the sickening, heartrending, horrifying, gruesome details of the East St. Louis butchery and burning of Negro American citizens. The Christian sympathy of this country has been deply wrought up over the mistreatment of the Belgian people by the German army. Our blood has been stirred and our hearts have been broken up into a flood of tears as we have read of their suffering. All the springs of our charity have been unloosed and we have poured out millions of treasure for their relief. Belgium is thousands of miles away. It is in a state of war with Germany. M...

pen durin...

Sherm...

hell."

gre...

...tor...

and ...

and colored, to offer their ... sacrifice, if need be, upon the ... of their country. We are raising millions of money to alleviate suffering and, as far as possible, to assuage grief. To these appeals the Negro has responded with characteristic promptness and burning zeal. Yet in this country; in East St. Louis; in the great State of Illinois; the State of Lincoln and Grant; there has been enacted a scene of butchery and blood before which the atrocities of the German soldiery upon the people of Belgium must pale. Read, if you can, the revolting story without feeling the blood tingling to the very tips of your fingres. And this in free, democratic, America. What will the Kaiser say? How will the people against whom we are engaged in a war for humanity regard this

(incomplete)

ILL. COUNCIL OF DEFENSE EMBOLDENED MOB.

Guardian 7/7/17

In Report Opposed Migration of Colored from South.

Chicago, July 2, 1917.—The racial disturbances in East St. Louis a month ago were investigated by the Illinois State Council of Defense, which only last Saturday returned a report containing recommendations for the solution of such difficulties.

Cooperation between capital and labor to avoid possible friction and supervision by the various State Councils of Defense over the movement of any great number of workers from one section of the country to another were included among the recommendations.

The committee found the abnormal influx of negroes into East St. Louis produced both social and labor irritation. In the committee's opinion, the negroes were induced to come North

EAST ST. LOUIS MOB.

Stript of all frills, the East St. Louis riot was an economic manifestation. It related mainly to bread and meat.

"The world belongs to those who take," is a proposition as true as it is brutal and cynical.

Whenever bread and meat is sharply the issue, christian morals and boasted civilization are temporarily laid aside.

The worst calamities have their lessons, their timely warnings. This whole sad trouble relates to labor, to jobs, to job-hunting. Everywhere the poor colored people are simply hired men. They fled from ...lerable conditions in the south. Some of them have jumped out of the frying pan into the fire.

There can never be a real solution of such problems until the colored people adopt the advice of the Bee.

We have been preaching some sort of commercial independence, some sort of industrial autonomy. Will not the colored people of Washington take heed? Do they imagine that they are secure here simply because this is the national capital? The only security is a healthy public sentiment and a strong arm. But these will be greatly aided by a degree of economic independence on the part of the colored people. Such independence will tend to avoid certain kinds of competition and consequently friction.

Let us have more factories and other industrial enterprises of our own. Let us provide employment for more of our own laborers. As a starter, we should have in Washington one canning factory, one shirt factory, one paper-box factory, one envelope factory, one shoe factory, one pants factory, one can-

(incomplete)

...here

...eland, Ohio

...overed, and arrest...

...is charged by the Illinois authorities with inciting and leading the colored people in the disturbances known as the East St. Louis Riot, and with the death of several whites. Up until last week Illinois has attempted by extradition to get hold of Dr. Bunday in order to take him back to East St. Louis for trial.

The announcement of Governor Cox that a decision on the case has been indefinitely postponed is equivalent to stating that Dr. Bunday will not be sent back to East St. Louis. The Governor is reported to have personally assured the father of Dr. Bunday who is an A. M. E. minister, that until Illinois can produce definite evidence of his son's complicity, extradition papers will never be issued.

In the trial of Dr. Bunday, no one could be gotten to witness his leadership of the colored people in the riot. The charge against him for murder rested on the fact that two or three white persons were killed and wounded by bullets of the same calibre as a revolver owned by the Doctor. It did not seem to matter much to the Illinois prosecutors, that these persons were shot and killed three miles from the home of Dr. Bunday, at a time when all colored men and women were afraid of venturing out side their own doors.

So the case of Dr. Bunday is closed, and the Grand Jury which has indicted some 134 persons for the East St. Louis trouble will not pass on the innocence or guilt of Dr. Bunday. It would seem that the few colored people who were able to defend their homes from the fire, and their families from death, ought to be given hero medals rather than indictments for manslaughter and rioting.

for the saloon was introduced, the witness said. George Kaufer, who figured in the Juchniewicz case, was prosecuted for swearing falsely in connection with Fizel's application and was convicted yesterday in the Federal Court. Bevington added that Kaufer was defended by Jerry Sullivan.

Plea That Others Did Same.

"You don't mean the City Corporation Counselor?" exclaimed Congressman Raker. The witness said he did, and related that Sullivan had made a strong plea for Kaufer on the ground that Fizel was only doing what many others had done.

Bevington said that a special investigation was made of Fizel's place, and that it was found to have a negro immoral resortt in connection. He described revolting practices which he said were carried on there.

The bogus papers were introduced when Alexander Flannigen was attorney for Fizel, the witness asserted. He said that Fizel later retained Martin Weiss, a St. Louis lawyer, and that Weiss offered to produce evidence against Flannigen if Bevington would admit Fizel ti citizenship. shrip.

"This looks like a clear case of subornation of perjury and advising a fraud," Congressman Raker declared. "Have Flannigen and Weiss been prosecuted?"

Bevington said they had not, and added that he had experienced trouble, in other cases, in getting District Attorneys to take action. He explained that the statement did not apply to District Attorney Charles Karch of East St. Louis.

Committee Promises Aid.

Such cases have to be taken up with the Department of Justice, the witness said. "If these cases are not acted upon immediately by the department, you will please notify the committee," said Congressman Raker. "We will take it up with the department ourselves."

"Doesn't it look like the people interested in things of this kind not only see the State's Attorney and

eriff are all right, but also take a ...t on the appointment of the United States District Attorney?" Congressman Cooper inquired. Bevington replied that his district included eight States, and that District Attorneys, in some places, had shown sympathy with the law violaters.

"All the saloons in East St. Louis that were investigated by the Government were found to be gambling houses and immoral resorts as well," Bevington asserted. "We never got any help from the State officers. Chief of Police Ransom Payne himself wrote a letter of recommendation for Fizel, who ran one of the worst dives we ever encountered."

The Rev. Father Goelz described a dance held at the saloon of Louis Oldenburg, in Edgemont, for inmates of the "Valley." The guests arrived after midnight in a special car, he said. When he complained to the ...olice, the saloon was transferred

GOVERNMENT INQUIRY ON IN E. ST. LOUIS RIOTS

Chicago Defender 10/27/17

Reporter Relates Conditions in Southern Illinois City; His Life Threatened

---

BY STAFF CORRESPONDENT
(Special to the Chicago Defender)

East St. Louis, Ill., Oct. 26.—Robert E. Conway, general manager of the Armour Packing Co. plant in East St. Louis, testifying here, at the Congressional Committee's investigation into the interruption of interstate commerce by the race riots last July, said that in his opinion there would be a recurrence of the trouble in about a year.

Tells of Mass Meeting

Questioned by Chairman Ben Johnson of the committee, Conway said the riot spirit became pronounced after a mass meeting of white citizens at the East St. Louis City Hall May 28, when speeches were made by Alexander Flannigan, an attorney, and Jeremiah Kane, a brewery agent.

"Strong language was used at this meeting," said Conway, "and the next day Negro employes of the packing houses began leaving the city."

"If you people knew such an impending crisis was at hand, what did you do to protect the community?" asked Congressman Johnson.

"Well," Conway replied, "we doubled our police protection at the packing plants and there were at that time two companies of federalized militia in the city. Conditions continued turbulent until July 2, when I was told by Mayor Mollman that only 15 of the 45 policemen detailed to guard the Armour plant had reported for duty. As a result, he said, all the policemen would be needed for protection downtown. We were forced to put up with the services of volunteers from among our employes.

Predicts Trouble in Year

"Can you suggest a means by which all possibility of future riots might be eliminated?" asked Congressman Johnson.

"A recurrence of the trouble is bound to come," said Conway, "but not for at least a year, as the local authorities now seem to have the situation well in hand."

"How about the effect of the saloons?" asked Congressman Johnson.

After turning to Mayor Mollman and asking him a question, Conway replied:

"There are exactly 376 saloons in East St. Louis, with a population of about 75,000. East St. Louis depends on these saloons for support."

Several members of the committee leaned forward as though surprised at this statement and Chairman Johnson said: "I never heard that before."

The chairman then asked: "Do you think the power of the Negroes at the last election intensified the bitterness against them?"

"I do not," replied Conway.

"Do you think the barbecue given by Mayor Mollman, after the election, for his Negro supporters had anything to ...ith it?"

"...I think not. The white folks had their blow-out and I suppose they thought the Negroes were entitled to one, too."

In answer to a question, Conway said that in his opinion the riots were caused by AGITATORS among the former employes of the Aluminum Ore Co., who had been on strike since last April. He was asked to give the names of these agitators and said the only one he could remember was that of a man named Wolff, whose first name he did not know. He promised to obtain other names and give them to the Congressional Committee.

Mentions Strike Trouble

Conway said the first talk he heard of driving the Race out of town was after the United States Court had granted an injunction against the interference with the workers at the ore plant by the strikers. After that, he said, certain ringleaders among the strikers took up the practice of waylaying and beating strikebreakers employed at the plant. Some of these strikebreakers were Negroes, he said, but not all.

"Do you think the riots were the result of prejudice against the Negroes as strikebreakers or because of their Race?" Conway was asked.

"Both," he answered.

Conway also testified as to the interruption of industries because of the riots. In his own plant, he said, 40 per cent of the employes were Negroes, and most of these failed to return to work for several days after the riots of May 28 and July 2. After the trouble of July 2, he continued, Armour's cattle-killing plant had to reduce its daily output from 1000 to 500 head and for a week the output of the hog-killing plant was reduced 75 per cent. The fertilizer plant, in which all the employes were those of the Race, had to be shut down for a time.

Riots Delayed Traffic

Asked if his company had any government contracts which were interfered with by the riots, he replied that on July 2 the company had contracts to supply the navy with pork loins and the army with bacon and that the work on these contracts was interrupted. The lost time was made up, however, and deliveries were made at the specified time, he said.

Phillip W. Cole of Alton, traffic commissioner of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce testified that the interruption of tonnage into and out of East St. Louis between the latter part March when the first trouble started and July 10 when the riots were suppressed amounted to 100,000 tons a month. He said the greatest interruption was between July 2 and July 10, 35,000 tons being affected.

Men Went Home Early

This, he afterward explained, was due to the fact that most of the freight was handled by Race men and that sufficient help could not be had. Another reason was that these men were forced to go home an hour earlier for safe protection in order not to be on the street after dark.

During the examination of Hunter it was learned that an effor was made to interfere with the government orders after the riot and that he had two letters from mysterious sources threatening to blow up the plant unless union labor was hired.

Governor Failed to Act

Charles F... ...esident of the J. C. Grant Che... ..., and also of the McMahon T... Co., who had been

the table and bid for a contract and then go around to the other side of the table and accept their own bid." He continued:

"Isn't this the same construction company that received the contract from the Levee Board to build the canal, when two other bidders were lower?" Anderson replied that it was.

"And it is the same company that was allowed to bid on one-fourth of a job, and was then given the other three-fourths without any bid, isn't it?" asked Congressman Cooper. The witness replied that it was.

Corroborating earlier testimony that the Levee Board campaign last autumn was not on national political lines, although the candidates were on Democratic and Republican tickets, Anderson said that one of the strongest opponents of the Democratic (Tarlton) candidates was Maurice Joyce, who was the Democratic candidate for presidential elector.

Swamp Land Purchase Reviewed.

Emil J. Verile, an attorney, related the facts previously printed in the Post-Dispatch, and previously testified to by Anderson, of the purchase of swampy land in and around Horseshoe Lake by Tarlton, his partner Canavan, Jerry Sullivan and other associates, and the subsequent plans of the Levee Board to drain the land, at the public expense.

Verile said that the records show that Sullivan held more than 800 acres in and around the lake; Canavan and Tarlton held some; Tarlton held some individually, and a large area is held in the name of the Illinois State Trust Co., which is an adjunct of the Illinois State Bank.

Much of this land was entirely covered with water when it was bought," Verile asserted. "It was considered practically worthless."

"It didn't cost them anything to drain it, did it?" inquired Congressman Cooper. "Oh, no, the Levee Board planned to drain it," Verile replied. "Yes, with the taxpayers' money," concluded Cooper.

Brady Escapes Citation.

Justice J. C. Brady, who was cited three weeks ago by the committee for threatening Anderson, who had given testimony about the Justice courts and who was notified that he would be summoned before the bar of Congress, asked and was granted leave yesterday to make a public apology. Brady said he had been misinformed as to Anderson's testimony and had tried to find Anderson to apologize when he learned of his mistake.

...rson was asked if Brady's ... was true, and replied that ... it was. The committee

RACE RIOT INQUIRY ENDS TEMPORARILY

...I LOUIS... NOVEM...

Contin... from Page One.

that his actions be investigated.

Johnson also said that as the trials of the girl, Mrs. Yent and Crok were set for Justice Clark's court tomorrow morning he would remain in East St. Louis and attend the trial with the comittee's stenographer. He said a complete transcript of the testimony would be taken.

The committee voted a few days ago to have Justice Clark cited before Congress for contempt for alleged intimidation of witnesses before the committee.

Further Testimony on Alleged Levee Board Election Slush Fund.

Further testimony lingink the name of the Illinois State Bank of East St. Louis with that of Locke Tarlton, president of the Levee Board, was given yesterday afternoon before the Congressional Committee investigating the riots, by Paul Y. Anderson, a Post-Dispatch reporter. It had been testified, earlier in the day, by former Mayor Henry F. Bader, that Tarlton was commonly believed to have been re-elected by means of a "slush fund" raised through the bank.

Bader asserted that the bank has never paid any interest on the millions of dollars in Levee Board funds deposited there, and that it was generally understood that a portion of this interest was used to keep Tarlton in office. The bank wanted to keep Tarlton in, he said, so it could keep the deposits.

$60,000 Tax Deal Recalled.

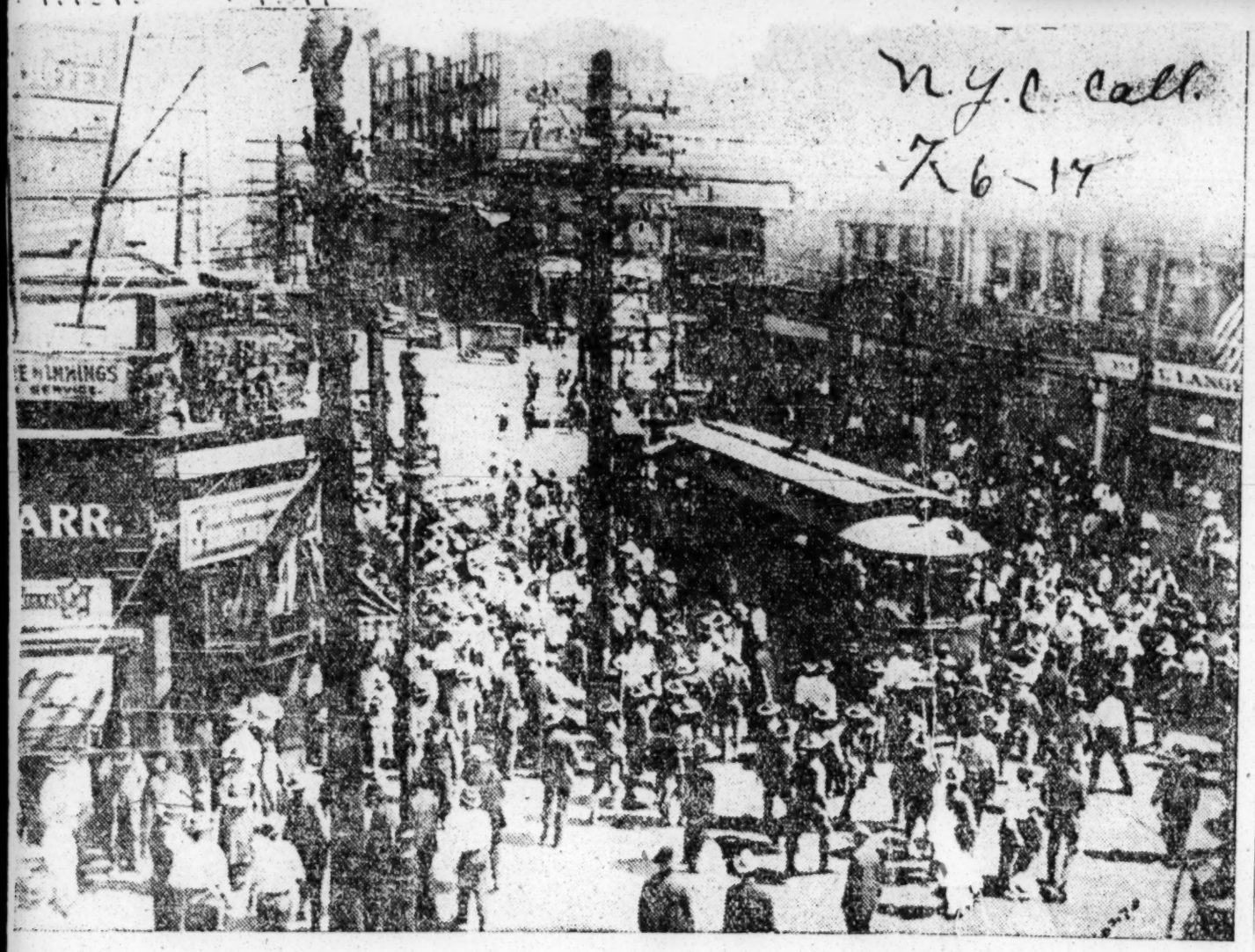
Anderson told that a suit for $60,000 was filed by the bank against the city more than a year ago, on unpaid special improvement bonds held by the bank. The bonds were those issued for the improvement of Louisiana boulevard. The owners of the property had failed to pay the assessments and the taxes were "bought" by a representative of the Comptroller, at a public "sale."

The "sale" was one of the kind previously explained by the Post-Dispatch, whereby no money was passed and the tax certificate was never converted into a deed. However, the money was subtracted from the city's revenue by the County Treasurer, when he turned over the city's tax money, and it was upon this questionable title that the city's responsibility for the property rested.

"Every effort was made to keep the filing of the suit a secret," An-

1917

N.Y.C. Call.
7-6-17



—Copyright International Film Service.

The murderous mob has caught a Negro in front of the street car and is pummelling him, while the militiamen look on, apparently listless as to the outcome. This is only one of many such incidents during the race riots in East St. Louis.

7,000 BLACKS FLEE EAST ST. LOUIS AS TROOPS STOP RIOT

Twenty-Nine of Colony Killed—Four Whites Also Dead—500 Negroes Arrested—300 Hurt in Night of Fighting.

BUSINESS MEN MAY ASK FOR FEDERAL SOLDIERS.

State Guard Accused of Siding With Mob—Property Damage $500,000, in Addition to Loss of Negroes' Homes.

(Special to The World.)

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 3.—With 1,200 men of the State Guard patrolling to-day the streets where more than a score of negroes were killed yesterday, hundreds of others beaten, and the homes of many others burned to the ground, comparative quiet was restored to-day.

There was no further resort to lawlessness by the whites who precipitated the trouble yesterday, incensed by the influx of the negro laborers from the South destined to replace many of this city's workers. But the business men of the city fear that the calm only precedes another storm, and it is likely they will send a petition to President Wilson begging him to send Federal troops to prevent further disturbances.

It was difficult, in view of the conditions, to arrive at any accurate estimate of the number killed in yesterday's turbulent scenes. But those who gave their whole attention to this aspect of the affair, believe that the list will not grow above 29—of whom four were whites—while nearly 100 more were injured seriously, and 310 negroes' homes were burned to the ground. In addition to the property loss, other buildings, valued at near $500,000, were destroyed.

Think Guard Inadequate.

The entire community of 80,000 is terrorized and fears the inability of the guardsmen to cope with the situation. This was indicated when the Chamber of Commerce demanded to-day to know from Adjutant General Dickson why the troopers had not displayed more energetic activity last night. Members of the Chamber were not slow to charge the [illegible] with inefficiency bordering on cowardice, but Adjutant General Dickson explained his force was handicapped by small numbers.

The police force of sixty also was charged with negligence in quelling the violence. Of all the stories of the riot heard to-day, not one recited an act of bravery on the part of the police or guardsmen. Anxious citizens who inquired of individual militiamen why they did not stop the looting and murder, in many instances under their very eyes, received grins in reply. Not much else was to be said, for some of the soldiers were disarmed by the rioters.

Conrad Reeb, President of the Chamber of Commerce and President of the Southern Trust Company of Illinois, said to Adjutant General Dickson at a mass-meeting of forty business men, that unless State troops showed themselves capable of handling this situation he would appeal to President Wilson.

Five hundred negroes were under arrest to-day. How many of these were concerned in the actual killing of white men has not been determined. It is believed most of them will be liberated. Three hundred others, shot or injured in the fires were being treated in the hospitals. Many others were sent to St. Louis and cared for.

Thousands of negroes streamed across all Mississippi bridges to-day into St. Louis, the fear of death on them. Watchers at the St. Louis end of the Eads Bridge are said to have estimated them at 7,000. A stream crossed the Merchants', McKinley and the free bridge in almost equal numbers. The hegeira was a pathetic procession of families. All day long men and women bearing their household goods bundled in sheets on their heads and accompanied by troops of children passed over.

Say Soldiers Aided Mob.

"The soldiers took sides with the mob," said a negro. "The militia, as far as I saw, fired two shots. Both shots killed negroes. The police also were on the side of the mob."

"These reports are untrue," said Mayor Mollman. "The East St. Louis police force of thirty-six men was inadequate to handle the riot. Neither policemen nor soldiers, I am sure, fired shots at negroes." He added:

"The riots grew out of labor agitation. The big packing companies—Armour's, Swift's, Morris & Co., and the Tri-State have large plants and each of them employs five sand people. Many of the ployees are negroes. A rumo ing abroad that they have tised through the South fo laborers, offering $3 a day.

"The influx of negroes int St. Louis has been unwarra anything I have been able to tain. If I were asked for an e I would say six thousand n have come here in the l months."

No systematic search of the was made to-day. Last night b rumors that many bodies had thrown into the river, but the w gave up no dead.

Gov. Lowden, with more troops Springfield, arrived at 9 o'clock. Governor conferred with Adjt. Dickson and Mayor Woolman and attended a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce. Thomas H. Walker, President of the Illinois Federation of Labor and a member of the Illinois Council of Defense, also arrived and conferred with labor leaders.

The Governor, it was said, was angered at the criticisms of the State Militia by members of the Chamber. The meeting to-night was executive, but it was said that the members, after a day of investigation, were less than ever inclined to modify the assertion that had the militia acted vigorously much bloodshed might have been averted.

Thirty-five small fires occurred to-night in small shacks, and were said to be incendiary. Fire engines were not returned to their stations, but were kept in the streets, ready for instant response. There were no other disorders. Bridges were closed to the public.

Detective Frank Wogley, who was shot Sunday night, died this evening.

BOTH SIDES TO BLAME.

[illegible] JOU[illegible]
JULY 4, 1917

Such wordy battles as those which brought Roosevelt and Gompers into a heated argument last evening in New York will not help to settle this race question which ca[illegible] and arson in East St. [illegible] er be responsible for other sections as t[illegible] bitter. There are two matter and what is nee[illegible] hand of authority over both colors. These southe[illegible] who have been brought [illegible] in the gaps left vacant by th[illegible] unskilled labor to the battlef[illegible] Europe, have been held in che[illegible] a stern hand by the whites o[illegible] south.

The southerners have believed ir[illegible] blows and lynchings instead of argu[illegible] ment, education and persuasion t[illegible] keep these uneducated blacks curbe[illegible] and they have kept liquor away fron[illegible] them as much as possible. The mai[illegible] reason why prohibition is gainin[illegible] so much in the south is that it keep[illegible] these negroes from obtaining liquo[illegible] When the negro comes north he get[illegible] higher wages than he ever receive[illegible] before and he gets liquor. The combir[illegible] ation of those two things produce[illegible] trouble. Then some of these blac[illegible] men find that they can get more fa[illegible] miliar with white women than the[illegible] could in the south.

On the other hand the whites in th[illegible] north who think that the negro i[illegible] taking away their jobs, are resentfu[illegible] and when they are aroused by u[illegible] scrupulous leaders they become so in[illegible] flamed that the race war follows. Th[illegible] negroes who come here from th[illegible] south must be held firmly in chec[illegible] and the whites who try to arous[illegible] them must be equally restrained. C[illegible] ficials who know their business ar[illegible] are not afraid to enforce the law, da[illegible]

Photo from Underwood & Underwood, New York.

Negro victim shot down by mob in front of 359 Collinsville avenue [illegible]. Policeman arresting lead[illegible]

N. Y. C. Call
7-16

JAYCROSS GA HERALD
JULY 14, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS RACE RIOT.

On the anniversary of the signature of a famous document asserting the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, thousands of American negroes were fleeing for safety from the Estate of Abraham Lincoln into Missouri. They left behind them nearly two score of their own race dead, nearly a hundred in hospitals, and the blackened ruins of more than three hundred of the homes of their people. East St. Louis, guarded by two thousand militiamen, was recovering from the effects of one of the worst race-riots in American history while investigations by Federal, State and municipal authorities were on foot. Altho the blame for the loss of life and property is laid by many observers at the door of lo[illegible] and State officials, the underlyi[illegible] cause of the riot, the press general agree, was the influx of negro lab into East St. Louis from the South.

This migration, as our readers a aware, says the Literary Digest, is more liked at the South than at t North. Indeed, as the New York Evening Sun remarks, the South has tried every expedient to check it, s that "as Northern communities mob the negroes for coming in, so South- ern communities mob the employment agents for inducing them to go out." Other papers observe that while the rioting at its beginning was due to economic causes, it developed racial jealousy which led to wholesale and indiscriminate attacks on negro men, women and children.

While the press of the country derlying causes of the East St. Louis riots, and discuss the economic effects of the war, and the development of race hatred in the United States, near at hand are impressed with the collapse of government in the Illinois city. Across the Mississippi river in St. Louis, The Globe Democrat denounces the failure to "impress the lawless and irresponsible participants in the mob" that "attacks on property and persons would be dangerous to themselves." This paper believes that firmness early in the afternoon of the first day's rioting "would have saved East St. Louis, State of Illinois, and American civilization itself, a record of indelible shame." But, it continues, after the coming of darkness to the aid of the mob, slaughter and burning raged unchecked. "The unleashed passions of the mob ignored questions of guilt and innocence and of age and sex. They disregard the safety of bystanders and cared not what ruin the incendiary fires might bring. The lust of murder turned the mob into savages."

East St. Louis, tho a suburb of the great Missouri city, is itself in Illinois. In that state the Chicago Tribune, which, as it reminds us, "has failed the evil of lynching and especially reproached its countrymen of the South for their failure to stamp it out, does not propose to offer any palliation of this outrage in Illinois." It continues:

"The blood of victims spatters the State. The riot will burn as an unforgetable dishonor in our memories. We do not propose to talk now about race hatred or economic rivalry or any other learned aspect of the offense. There is just one truth, one sickening, shameful truth—in an American city, in a city of Illinois, there has been a loathsome irruption of the brute, and neither civilized public sentiment nor constituted authority was capable of arresting it. . . .

"The East St. Louis riot is nothing to be covered with official whitewash. Illinois stands shamed before the world. Her authority has been proved futile. Her name will be the byword if she does not establish that authority, so it will never be defied again."

Somewhat more philosophical is the the editor of the Adrian (Michigan) Telegram. He vigorously denounces the rioters and is thoroughly ashamed of the East St. Louis episode. But he owuld suggest that we try to discover the basic cause of the trouble in order to avoid similar things in the future. He says:

"Theoretically, negroes from the South have a right to go North and work for half a white man's wages, thereby turning the white man out of his job. Theoretically, the Northern employer has a right to import negroes who will work for half wages dwell in hovels, live on a scale that no white family would endure. But while these things may be done in theory, they cannot be done in practice. The white workers of the North will not stand for it."

This writer would remind us that just now workers are sensitive over their rights and their prospects. believing that these may suffer under war conditions. So a certain moral responsibility for the East St. Louis episode is placed upon the "men and the interests who began the wholesale importation of Southern black labor." The Adrian editor even believes that good may result from the evils of the East St. Louis riot -

"Cincinnati employers will not start any wholesale importation of negroes; Pittsburg employers will not; Chicago employers will not They will all take due notice. They have been effectively warned that there are some things that can not be done in practice, even tho they may be strictly according to law.

"he moral is clear. Leave the negro in the South."

A leader of the negro race, Booker T. Washington's successor at Tuskegee, expresses his pain, chagrin, and discouragement at these riots on the eve of Independence day, at a time when the nation is calling upon negroes as well as whites to join in the war for "democracy" and the "square deal" for weak peoples. Major Morton adds in a letter to the New York World:

"There is room in America for the various racial groups to work out their salvation. Killing and maiming men because they are seeking economic salvation is not, in my opinion, a credit to our civilization or to our boasted doctrine of fair play. With all her faults, the South, at least, can not be criticised for killing men seeking employment and a better economic status."

LOS ANGELES, CAL., TIMES
JULY 16, 1917

RACE PROBLEM.

The fundamental principles of democracy and the equality of the human races were reaffirmed yesterday at an enthusiastic meeting of negroes and white residents, held at the First Methodist Church, to protest against the recent uprising against the colored race in East St. Louis. Several prominent men spoke. The gathering was arranged by Rev. E. W. Kinchen, pastor of the Scott chapel.

"The outrages in East St. Louis have brought about one of the most serious issues that this country has faced in the last fifty years," Hugh E. McBeth, a negro attorney, declared. "We have been brought face to face with the ancient problem of race prejudice and it has come in a most urgent form. We must give it the most serious consideration."

City Commissioner Hamilton was applauded when he declared from the platform that the government should guarantee fair treatment to every living person, regardless of race and condition. "There is a right way to right a wrong," he continued. "Right now when the whole world is looking to the United States to save democracy and the higher principles of justice, we should be particularly careful to set the right example."

Other speakers were Judge Forbes and Dr. Merle Smith, pastor of the First Methodist Church. "In view of what has happened in East St. Louis we should reread the Declaration of Independence, particularly that portion of it which declares that all people are created equal," Judge Forbes declared.

In asking for a liberal collection Rev. Mr. Kinchen said that he had received a communication from friends in East St. Louis which told that negroes there were destitute as a result of the outrages, and that they were in need of funds to re-establish their homes. Music was furnished by a large jubilee chorus from the First African Methodist

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

Scene of East St. Louis riots, the "Black Valley," after the whites had burned the negroes' homes. Many negroes died in the fire, and searching parties may be seen at work.

What Call Readers Think

N.Y.C. CALL
JULY 11, 1917

BOSTON AND EAST ST. LOUIS.

Editor of The Call:

Boston is much nearer New York City than East St. Louis.

Law and order seem to be quite distant from each.

The noise and turbulence of violence and criminal acts can be heard by the keen ear of Theodore Roosevelt much better from Boston than from East St. Louis.

Men in national uniform and under the protecting cover of the flag, men sworn to support and obey the law, turned anarchists and criminals and denied the fundamental right of the American people, the right to peaceable assemblage and petition for a redress of grievances.

Mr. Roosevelt, however, has nothing condemnatory to say of the criminal acts of the soldiers and sailors of Boston.

The Boston Journal is moved to say that it is the most deplorable instance in our history, and that no means should be spared until the guilty parties are disciplined by the president of the United States.

Roosevelt, the just, another Daniel come to judgment, has nothing to say of this whatever.

This man, who is yearning to get in the trenches of France and who yet remains on American soil, is very much moved in his righteous indignation at the murder of the Negroes at East St. Louis, and blames the labor unions.

Samuel Gompers was right for once when he said that Roosevelt did it without investigation, but Gompers should know the characteristics of Roosevelt.

The real truth of the situation at East St. Louis is simply this:

There is a great demand for white labor, wages have gone up. The employing classes have to pay from 25 to 35 cents per hour to get the most common labor, and this hurts their pocketbook. Ergo, they advertise for Negro labor at East St. Louis. Ergo, they, through agencies, induced and influenced the Negroes from the South to come North and come to East St. Louis Why? Because they get them cheaper.

Result, a large number flocked into East St. Louis and the common race prejudice develops.

The saloons play the usual part.

The police stand supinely by and allow criminal acts to be committed, Negroes to be murdered, women and children to be shot down in cold blood.

The Socialists denounce it. Denounce this criminal act as well in Boston as in East St. Louis.

The Socialists have a right, and are consistent in denouncing these acts, because we know the cause of these things.

The cause of these things is the same in East St. Louis, Boston and Ludlow W. Va.

It is the competitive struggle of labor for existence. It is the class struggle over and over again.

The ruling class in Boston wanted to supress free speech because it endangered their rule, and they sicked the soldiers and sailors on to commit these dastardly outrages.

The employing class, by their inducements to secure human beings for work at the lowest possible wage, are responsible for the conditions in East St. Louis.

They cry that the unions did it, and the cry is very naturally echoed by the remainder of the employing class by their recipient of the favored, favoring the employing classes—Roosevelt.

It was the natural thing for the hero of Croton dam to remain silent on the question of flagrant law violence at Boston. He knew how it was done.

There is no use to appeal to a man of Roosevelt's type and expect justice. But once in a while in his mouthings he expresses a consistent statement and one that meets our approval.

He says in the Associated Press this morning:

"Before we speak of justice to others, it behooves us to do justice within our own boundaries."

Well and good. Let us establish democracy at home before we propose to impose it upon Germany or any other foreign country. Let us do away with this hypocrisy of democracy.

Let us be consistent. Let us crush lawlessness in East St. Louis and protect the Negro.

Let us crush lawlessness in Boston and Ludlow and protect the whites.

The way to crush lawlessness in East St. Louis and Boston and Ludlow is to crush the cause of lawlessness, to-wit, the private ownership of industry—and the fact that they exploit both blacks and whites for private gain.

M. L. CLAWSON.

Gi— Up Fight for Bundy

N.Y.C. TRIBUNE
SEPTEMBER 11, 1917

Lawyers Dismiss Proceedings to Release Negro

CLEVELAND, Sept. 10.—Habeas corpus proceedings instituted in Common Pleas Court three week ago to secure release from the county jail of Dr. Leroy N. Bundy (negro), of East St. Louis, Ill., were dismissed by Bundy's attorneys late to-day.

Dr. Bundy was arrested here three weeks ago for Illinois authorities, following his indictment by an East St. Louis grand jury for first degree murder, with twenty others who were charged with inciting the East St. Louis race riot.

Bundy's attorneys fought the extradition before Governor Cox on the ground that the negro would be lynched if he were taken back.

NEGRO EXODUS FROM SOUTH LAID TO OPPRESSION

N.Y.C. Tribune

"The negro has come north to stay. The economic pull in the North plus oppression in the South, coming simultaneously, are responsible for this great exodus of negro labor into the Northern States. It is good for the colored people themselves, and good for the South, which has been overburdened with cheap labor."

This was the opinion expressed yesterday by James Weldon Johnson, acting secretary of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, who has just returned from a trip through the South, investigating the social features of the conditions which made the northward migration possible. Mr. Johnson was in East St. Louis a few days before the rioting occurred and even then, he said, trouble was brewing, much of it being precipitated by officials of the town who gave vent to anti-negro utterances.

"There is no mystery about this migration," said Mr. Johnson. "Its causes are simple and very human, and the low wage paid to ngroes in the South has less to do with it than any other reason The constant oppression and discrimination against the negroes everywhere in the South are what forced them to respond eagerly to the economic call northward."

Mr. Johnson said he felt confident that President Wilson could do much to harmonize the situation in the North as well as the South if he would only speak the word.

"We negroes who have the general interest of the race at heart," he said, "have looked for him to speak, but he has thus

7-3-17

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 7

far remained silent. He has said much against the outrages heaped upon the Belgians, the Serbians and the Armenians, but not one word has he spoken for humanity in so far as it pertains to the colored people of America. We hear much about making the world safe for democracy. I think it is about time that something was said or done to make the United States fit for democracy.

"One word from Mr. Wilson would carry tremendous weight. He has spoken words of deepest sympathy for persons who have suffered, but he has failed to say one word in our defence and has not thrown out a single ray of hope to the loyal black citizens of this country since he has been President. One stray word from him would do more to check violence against the negro than any other force in the country."

One of the striking features of the eagerness of the negro to get away from oppression and rush to the beck of Northern labor came to the attention of Mr. Johnson recently while travelling through Florida.

Families in Haste Leave Animals

"While inquiring into the conditions that drove the negro out of Florida," he continued, "I found that quite a few families had packed up their belongings and got away in such a hurry that they did not even try to sell their domestic animals on the farms, but left them roaming about uncared for and unfed.

"Constant oppression, coupled with the terror that is bred of lynchings, is more than sufficient to drive the negro out of the South. Discrimination is omnipresent, and it is only natural for any one to leave a place where he is regarded as interior and often put upon a par with beasts.

"When announcing the plans and specifications for the new union railroad station at Jacksonville it was stated that there would be separate entrances at the side for negroes 'so that the whites would not come in contact with the blacks.' The blacks are good enough to be servants in the household; good enough to prepare the white man's food and fondle and care for his babies, yet side doors were provided in the big railway terminal to avoid contact with the blacks.

"The unequal distribution of school funds is another discrimination that is decidedly unfair. In some states the negro child has only one-tenth of the educational privileges of the white child. Then, too the colored people are forever the object of police persecution. This is true of New York City, and something terrible is going to happen right in this town one of these days if police persecution is not abated."

Skilled Artisans Migrating North

Mr. Johnson said the better class of negro was moving northward, including highly skilled artisans, and that the movement was the most important in the history of the race since the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

"If the movement keeps up, and I believe it will," said Mr. Johnson, "we will have from 750,000 to 1,250,000 voters in the Northern States within two years. The negro will then ask for things and will not have to beg favors from the Congress. He will then have a lever to press his rights.

"No doubt there will be local and temporary friction in communities where the negro laborers settle, but it will not last. On the whole, the movement will do the South good. It will lighten up the tension of the feeling felt by the whites as well as the negroes. Already the Southern newspapers are speaking strongly for giving the negro fair play. The South will awaken to the fact that if it wants to keep the negro it must eliminate discrimination and oppression.

"Some years ago the Pennsylvania Railroad sent agents throughout the South in search of negro labor. The laborers had about two days to make up their minds; consequently only the shiftless, indolent class, eager for a free trip North, responded, and the railroad company eventually expressed dissatisfaction.

"It is a different class that is coming North now. It is the thinking, deliberating, industrious class that have had the way paved for them and jobs already prepared by friends and relatives, the pioneers who went on before."

Mr. Johnson said that something would undoubtedly be done by the negro leaders and the negroes themselves to prevent any serious clash between colored workmen and the great labor union organizations.

L. TRIBUNE

SUPPRESSION OF RIOTS.

The national guard is not a fit agency for dealing either with strike rioting or outbreaks like that of East St. Louis.

This is not a matter of argument. Experience has proved it over and over again. The East St. Louis situation ought to bring that truth home to us and produce a reform.

If it does not Illinois has no self-respect.

Why is it a few regulars or constabulary like the Canadian Northwest police or the two troops that keep Pennsylvania in order without bloodshed can keep the peace against the heaviest odds while over a regiment of national guard troops fails miserably?

The fault is twofold. It is in the composition and organization of the guard and in the laws under which the guard is forced to act.

The guard is a civilian organization officered by civilians. Its members enter the service largely as a form of social distinction or for its social advantages. They remain civilians and belong to the community. They do not get enough discipline to become an instrument of power and when called upon to suppress violence by their fellow civilians find themselves divided in feeling and uncertain of purpose. When single minded resolute action is required they hesitate and the moral influence which saves a resort to force is lost.

They do not represent in the public mind the stern and resistless force of public authority, and they know it. They are, therefore, not obeyed and fearful of compelling obedience. A handful of regulars under a beardless youth just out of West Point represents the will of a hundred million law abiding citizens. They are a symbol of unchallengeable authority, and when they appear there is peace. The constabulary of Canada and Pennsylvania established the same moral domination, founded on fearless, unyielding enforcement of their wills. That is why two of them can walk into a hostile Indian camp or the heart of an ugly mob and bring away a prisoner without a blow struck or a gun drawn.

Militiamen are not cowards more than all men. But they have no moral organization to sustain them.

Another essential weakness of the system is in the law. The guardsman goes into a riot before martial law is declared. For political reasons, or jealousy, or fear, or unwise caution the proper authorities will not declare martial law. Therefore the guardsman is subject to civilian law, and if he strikes he makes himself liable as a civilian.

The guard should never be called except under martial law or under laws which protect them as fully as martial law. If the civil authorities are not willing to declare martial law let them remain responsible for order. In Illinois we call out the guard and refuse it protection. We ask the guard to do dirty work for political police authorities and vote catching sheriffs who have not been willing or able to keep conditions in their jurisdiction from blowing up.

Illinois needs a constabulary. Agitators and men who do not want their power of threatening trouble or creating disturbance to be checked object to the establishment of an efficient force. THE TRIBUNE believes the public interest should prevail over selfish or prejudiced objections.

But until a constabulary is created, fully empowered to act with vigor and decision, the national guard should be given the support of appropriate laws.

The East St. Louis riot is a warning we cannot afford to neglect.

The Race Riots

N. Y. TRIBUNE
JULY 8, 1917

BEHIND the human element involved in the East St. Louis riots is an economic factor, but it is the significance for human beings themselves that touches editorial writers to wrath and hot indignation in the spectacle of slaughter which the Illinois city presented a few days ago. "The Chicago Tribune" calls it "the shame of Illinois," and in contrast to "The Washington Post," which begins its editorial with "The labor situation should be watched and guarded most carefully throughout the present war," "The Tribune" says:

"We do not propose to talk now about race hatred or economic rivalry or any other learned aspect of the offence. There is just one truth, one sickening, shameful truth—in an American city, in a city of Illinois, there has been a loathsome eruption of the brute, and neither civilized public sentiment nor constituted authority was capable of arresting it."

Another Chicago newspaper, "The Daily News," calls attention to the fact that such outrages in Belgium or Poland have deeply stirred Americans, and demands they be no less stirred when they are committed at home.

But it is the nation's own earnest contemplation of sacrifice for the sake of democracy at this time that "The Philadelphia Public Ledger" finds makes the East St. Louis riots the more outrageous:

"At a moment when the nation is engaged in a great war to sustain the principle of democracy this exhibition of lack of self-control, of utter lawlessness, of incredible barbarity, is a disgrace that is fastened upon the entire country, even though a single community is responsible for it."

In St. Louis the riots appear to have been deplored without any great show of anger thereat, if the tone of an editorial in "The St. Louis Republic" is to be trusted. "The Republic" describes the outbreak thus:

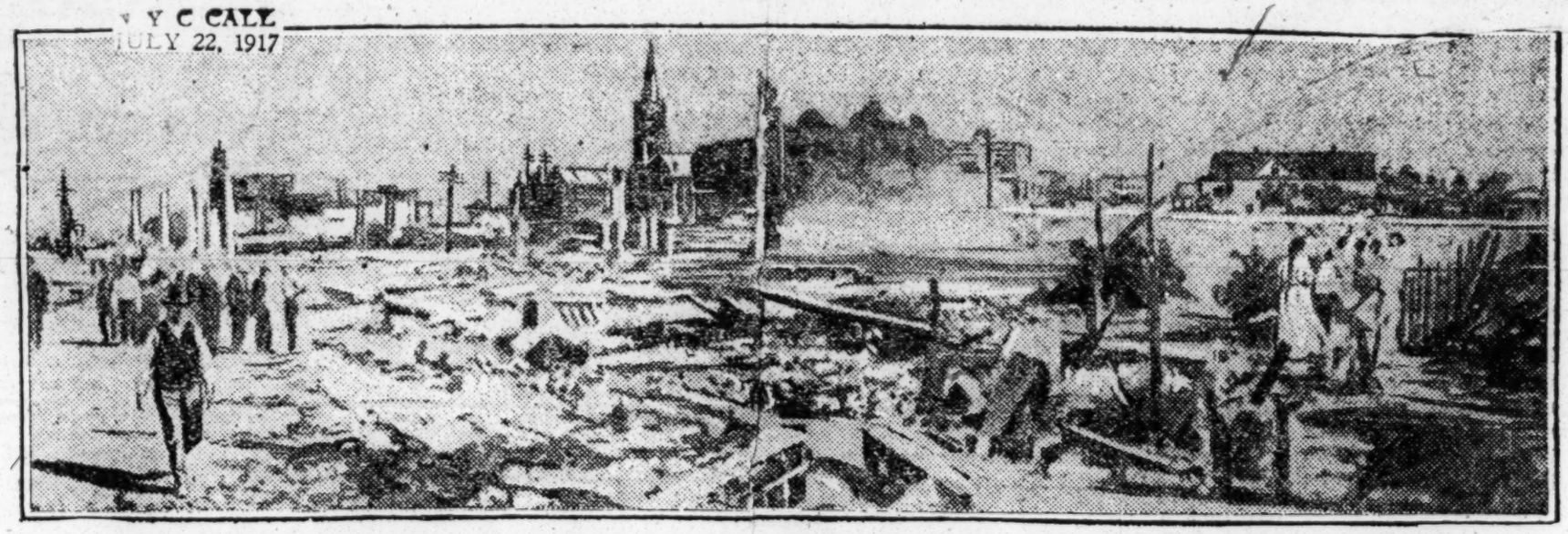
"There was something primitive and childish in the summoning of the negroes by ringing of a church bell and their gathering in close formation in the street near by, where they could easily have been wiped out by a company of militia or a machine-gun squad."

"The Republic" points out that there is plenty of employment in the vicinity of East St. Louis, and infers that the hostility which resulted so fearfully is quite racial rather than economic in its causes.

Riots—1917 East St. Louis

THE NEGRO and THE SOCIALISTS

A Discussion of the Race Problem as Revealed in East St. Louis



This is a scene at East St. Louis after the mob had wreaked its madness against the helpless Negroes in the city.

By IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT.

East St. Louis has both horrified and alarmed the Negroes themselves, the North, organized labor, the capitalists and the Socialists. The bungling attempt at a resolution in the city convention, and the remarkably unsatisfactory character of the one that was passed, show how much at sea all groups are when dealing with the dark menace from the South that is appearing on the industrial horizon.

Two hundred and fifty thousand Negroes, Dr. W. E. B. Dubois says, have come North since the war began. Since the slave material of southern Europe and the Balkans has been diverted to the trenches and is no longer available for the slave hunters of capitalistic enterprises the agents of the big industries have been going South for recruits to the labor ranks. Their promises of good pay, free transportation, the right to vote, no Jim Crow cars, theaters, schools and all the privileges enjoyed by other citizens of their rank sounded like promises of kingdom come to these oppressed and tortured by centuries of legal and illegal bondage.

And the Northern Hegira started. And then came the unspeakable atrocity, the massacre and holocaust of East St. Louis. The Armenian massacres, the Jewish pogroms, St. Bartholomew's, the Herodian slaughter of the innocents, the bloodthirsty orgies of American savages, have nothing in barbarous, brute fiendishness over this cold-blooded mass murder perpetrated in open daylight and in a spirit of fun and delight of the chase—a manhunt with all the qualities of sportsmanship—by union men, workers, while soldiers, police and detectives looked on, and even assisted. And even women belonging to this class of workers assisted viciously and murderously in the bloody deeds. The reports wished to save the morale of humanity somewhat, so far as the ideals of its womanhood are concerned, by making it appear that the women participating were "of the baser sort" (meaning the illegal consorts of men), but there is nothing to show that they were not the wives, mothers, sisters and sympathizers of the union men who committed these deeds of horror.

But Emerging From the Brute.

Our civilization, our culture, our ideas of evolution to a higher plane of human character are but dreams. The dreams were merely an interlude of imagination. We are still but emerging from the brute; the ape and the tiger are not dead.

But the problem itself, the economic problem involved, is one to strike despair to the hearts of all except the Socialist, and even he can scarcely bear to look upon the vista of suffering he sees unfolding before him.

Competition is the curse of the earth; the curse of the human beings that have evolved upon the earth, and will be till its logical culmination, which must be its ultimate destruction.

The East St. Louis massacre was the culmination of competition between workingmen for the job, for a chance to work and live. Men on strike for a decent standard of life found their places taken by imported, scab, Negro labor. The massacre was their method of winning the strike.

The effect on the different groups mentioned above is very interesting. Organized labor throughout the country, while realizing the atrocity of the affair, also realizes the provocation and the menace of the influx of the Negro to trade organization, and its protest is silenced perforce. Even Reactionary Sammy (Gompers) finds that he cannot give way to condemnation, that there is another side, and the life of his unions is at stake.

Theodore Assumes Capitalist Stand.

But the Roaring Theodore represents the historic attitude of the employing capitalists. How they are outraged at having any interference with their nice little plan of bringing the blacks to cut the wages of the whites and reduce their standard of living so that existence is a living death. Starvation is a much more genteel method of killing than massacre. All the sickening babble of "patriotism," "liberty," "human rights" (to starve), ad infinitum, will be marshaled to heap odium on those awful union men and maintain the labor standard of freedom to starve in America. And the commercial North is not to be frustrated in its game of drawing from the black masses of the South its labor reserves.

The poor, ignorant Negroes are like frightened children wandering in a gloomy forest jungle. They came for better life; they find death. They sob, they moan, they die, they flee; they understand none of it.

The South sarcastically calls to them to come back. "The cotton is in bloom (where they may toil endlessly in the burning sun for rags, cornmeal and grease), the watermelon's smiling on the vine, the mocking bird is singing on the bough. Come back where our young men may make their boast that there is not a pure Negro girl; where we may raise up white 'niggers' to do our work; where you will be burned alive is you try to do the same; where you will be treated like a mule and fed worse. Oh, yes, come back!"

But the Negroes will come back—to the North. They will come in a swelling flood, they will overwhelm the North. Man maintains competition and race war is the competition of the workers, while international war, the present armageddon, is the competition of the capitalists—blood and death everywhere.

And the South is theirs too. They will have all of that in time. It is theirs by natural adoptation. The white man has never evolved to stand the heat. He sickens and dies under it, while the black thrives.

White Race a Vanishing Factor?

Now let us see where our conditions lead us. August Forel, the world's authority on the sex question, states in his work, "The Sexual Question," that the North American mixed race will diminish and gradually become extinguished and will be replaced by Chinese or Negroes. In other words, the white race is a vanishing factor in this country. What we are pleased to call the "old Americans" are not having children. Look among your friends and count for yourselves. We have depended on the prolific Balkans for our population increase. Not only is that supply cut off for generations to come by slaughtered Europe, but those who come here get the American habit and cease to have large families. And then we have acquired birth control, which accelerates the tendency. Moreover, the Southern white workers are degenerate. Sprung originally in great part from criminals and derelicts transported from England to her penal colonies their powers of rehabilitation were poor to begin with. They were forced to compete with slave labor, and for generations their existence has been one of the most miserable poverty, with the direful consequences.

They have had no schooling and live in the grossest ignorance, the name "poor white trash," "southern crackers," being a synonym for all that is ignorant, dirty and degraded. Their systems are poisoned by their horrible food, a poverty diet, and their extreme ignorance about preparing it; while men, women and children fairly eat tobacco, and drink the vilest coffee habitually. They are anaemic, diseased, suffering from pellegra, hookworm, tuberculosis and universal affections. Their families are becoming small, high death rate among the children and high rate of barrenness.

Negroes Taking Their Places.

The Negroes are taking the place of this vanishing and worthless race. They do all the work. The whites are disappearing from the farms, the land-

lords preferring Negro tenants because they are better workers, and men, women and children can be exploited to a greater degree. Those whites that have energy enough to get out of the country are moving westward. Moreover, the Negro race has the elasticity of a young race, developing into its prime. In spite of the brutality of their treatment for hundreds of years they are light-hearted and happy. Both men and women have remarkably beautiful figures, strong, well-developed, beautifully molded, fitted for models for the New York studios. Wherever they have a working chance they show thrift. They are already in possession of large tracts of southern farmland. The writer has driven a distance of some seven or eight miles, where the whole surrounding country was owned by Negro farmers.

A comrade of Winston-Salem, N. C., a large tobacco manufacturer, said to me, "I have worked Negroes all my life: I am thoroughly familiar with them, and I want to say that they are going to become the landed aristocrats of the South." How is that for a Southern man? In Ocala, Florida, the largest and best department store in the town is owned by Negroes in the Negro quarter, and often the whites go there for goods that they cannot get at their own stores.

Respond Rapidly To Advantages.

They respond rapidly to any advantages that are given them. They absorb knowledge like a sponge. The public school was established in the South at the point of the rifle. The whites have always feared the educated Negro. The only education they get now is given grudgingly, and with the poorest equipment, and buildings which are tremendously overcrowded, and in many localities no provision is made for their education whatever. But, as evidence of the power of economic compulsion, in the cotton mill sections we see the white children in the mills, their existence sapped by an increasing ignorance, degeneracy and mortality; while the Negro children are in school, becoming educated, dressing well, as their parents do the work that is more highly paid. This is especially noticeable at Columbus, Ga. As more blacks leave for the North those that remain are more highly paid, as the whites cannot do effective work in the terrible heat.

When the blacks organize they simply drive white labor from the field. A point in instance is the bricklayers' trade. The Negroes sent a delegate to the bricklayers' convention at Charleston asking for admission to the union. They were refused. Then the delegate told them, "We'll drive you whites out. If you work for $4, we'll work for $3.50; if you work for $3.50, we'll work for $3." They made good their word, and white bricklayers are as scarce as hens' teeth in the South.

The Negro Could Overwhelm Situation.

The violence, the shooting, the lynching in the South are purely phases of race war. The whites are resisting extermination. If the Negro had any sort of a show, with his prolific families and his adaptability, he would overwhelm the situation in a few years.

And he takes to Socialism like a duck to water. Like the Jew, long ages of race persecution have driven him into race solidarity. These oppressed and exploited surround a Socialist speaker like a great black cloud. They know the meaning of what is being said, too, and, if they could vote, they would carry the South for Socialism. At Jackson, Miss., their lawyers, doctors, preachers and teachers attended my meetings. The president of their college said to them: "You have to read to understand Socialism; buy the books!" And they did—took everything I had.

The trouble in the East St. Louis massacre was that the union men were fighting the wrong crowd. They should have been fighting the capitalists instead of their fellow workers. They should organize the blacks, who are easily organized and delight in organization. This is where the American Federation of Labor has run against a snag. It has resisted the organization of lower standard and alien workers in an attempt to maintain what is termed the "American standard of labor." The capitalists, in their rush for profits are bound to bring them in. In lieu of organization, only force and barbarity are left to the union. Negroes should be taken into existing bodies where possible, and formed into separate organizations where impossible. This is peculiarly a field for the I. W. W., whose special function, which it is rapidly finding, is the organization of understandard workers and preparing them for the class solidarity which is soon to follow.

American Socialists, as yet, do not have a firm grip on the problem. They seem afraid of it, largely owing to their ignorance of the conditions. Where there is any considerable number of blacks they should have their own organizations in whatever they undertake, in the same method as foreign-speaking bodies. They work better that way. They have a different psychology, different way of doing things, and cannot develop in freedom when forced to adopt methods that are not natural to them.

The resolution adopted at the city convention to cover the ground should have read somewhat as follows:

We deplore and protest at the barbarous massacre of our colored fellow workers at East St. Louis. Recognizing that the terrible catastrophe was the result of a bitter competition between the workers for the job and the consequent means of life, we condemn the authorities for not giving the full power of their protection to the Negroes; we condemn all workingmen for resorting to such means to better their condition, and earnestly urge that they bend all their energies to complete organization of all workers of whatever race or color, that thereby a common high standard of living may be maintained; and also that they strive to spread the principle of Socialism and strengthen the Socialist party, with a view to the final ownership of the industries by the workers, with the destruction of competition, with work for all, and the product of their toil to all workers, which is the only ultimate solution of race antagonism.

RACE RIOT TOLL STILL GROWING

DEAD NEGROES FOUND IN BURNED HOMES — SOLDIERS C CISED FOR NEAR CO DICE.

N Y C CALL
JULY 4, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 3.—East St. Louis is slowly awakening tonight to the enormity of its crime in taking the lies of unknown scores of Negroes in race riots late yesterday.

The number of dead can as yet not even be estimated. Fifty-odd known dead have been counted in the morgues and in the ruins of homes. More bodies are being found continually. Eleven bodies were taken from one home just after dark tonight. Following a conference of chamber of commerce officials, that organization estimated the number of dead at from 100 to 300.

Rioting continued today, but it was only incipient. Many Negro homes were burned. Hundreds of shots were fired, and two score Negroes were wounded.

Twenty-four companies of the national guard, aggregating 2,600 men, are patrolling the streets. Gov. Lowden has personally taken charge of the situation. He arrived on a special train from Springfield.

Community Is Terrorized.

The entire community of 80,000 is terrorized by the events of the last two days. That they fear the inability of the guardsmen to cope with the situation was intimated today, when the chamber of commerce demanded to know from Adjutant General Dickson why the troopers had not displayed more activity last night.

Members of the chamber were not slow to charge the soldiers with inefficiency bordering on cowardice, but Adjutant General Dickson explained he was handicapped by the small number of troops available.

The police force, which numbers 60, also was charged with negligence. Of all the incidents of the riot related today, not one told of a single act of bravery on the part of the police or guardsmen. Anxious citizens who inquired of individual militiamen why they did not stop the looting and murder, in many instances under their very eyes, received grins in reply. Some of the soldiers were disarmed by the rioters.

Today some of the Negroes walked out of town on the railroad tracks. More crossed to the Missouri side of the river, and still others, expecting protection by the augmented force of soldiers, returned to their homes. Some whose homes were burned were cared for in a camp established by the chamber of commerce.

Promises Drastic Measures.

Governor Lowden declared he would resort to most drastic measures if a repetition of Monday's horror is threatened.

Ninety-seven men were given preliminary hearings in police court on charges of rioting. The maximum punishment is 20 years imprisonment. Four were accused of arson. Six Negroes and three whites were fined $200 for carrying concealed weapons.

No one will ever know the exact toll the riot has taken. All day long black bodies were lifted from catch basins and sewers. Babies were taken out of the ruins of the little shanties. Many other bodies lie at the bottom of the Mississippi.

Tonight the skies are ablaze with the reflected glow of scores of burning Negro tenements. The streets are crowded, but, save for an intermittent outbreak, the situation is under control.

U. S. Army Begins Race Riot Inquiry At East St. Louis

City Spends Dreary Fourth, Troops Preventing All Meetings of Citizens

Death Toll Reaches 37

More than Half of Negro Population Has Escaped or Been Deported

N Y C TRIBUNE
JULY 5 1917

East St. Louis, Ill., July 4.—A Federal investigation of race riots here, in which thirty-three negroes and four whites were killed and approximately 310 negro homes were burned Monday, was begun to-day by Colonel George H. Hunter, chief quartermaster of the Central division of the United States Army. Colonel Hunter is under instructions to make a full report of the trouble to Major General Thomas H. Barry at Chicago, commandant of the Central Department.

The city was absolutely quiet to-day. The Fire Department, which was kept busy Monday night and yesterday fighting fires in the negro districts, did not receive an alarm. Residents of the city spent a dreary Fourth of July, for the most part remaining in their homes. More than 2,000 Illinois National Guardsmen patrolled the streets in every section, under strict orders to shoot if necessary. The city's Fourth of July celebration was called off and all saloons and theatres remained closed. Militiamen prevented citizens from congregating in any section of the city. Strong detachments of soldiers guarded the stock yards and large manufacturing plants.

The only excitement of the day was the finding of three negro bodies in Cahokia Creek, bringing the death list to thirty-seven. Civil authorities began the work of collecting and preparing evidence to be presented to the grand jury when it convenes July 9. Only two of the ninety-seven men arrested Monday night on charges of inciting to riot are being held.

The authorities say that the ringleaders of the mobs are known and that action will be taken against them.

Estimates were made by the authorities to-day that more than half of the city's negro population has departed. Many negroes escaped over the bridges into St. Louis, Mo., Monday night, and thousands were escorted out of the city by the military authorities yesterday. It is estimated that before the rioting more than 20,000 negroes lived in East St. Louis. Negroes remaining in town to-day went about their business as usual and were unmolested.

Council Condemns East St. Louis Riots

CHICAGO DAILY [illegible]
JULY 7, 1917

At yesterday's meeting of the city council Alderman Louis B. Anderson a negro, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that we depore the actions of the mob, which resulted in the loss of many lives of innocent men, women, and children; the destruction of millions of dollars of property, and bringing disgrace upon the fair name of the state, and be it further

Resolved, that we call upon all citizens of whatever race or creed, to unflinchingly respect the law, and accord to all men, those rights guaranteed under the Constitution, the laws of the land.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

Illinois Guardsmen keeping whites out of the burned district after the damage had been done. A dozen of these "soldiers" let the mob take away their rifles.

East St. Louis Troops Enter Government Service; Will Remain in "Riot City" Indefinitely; $100,000 in Damage Suits

The Defender 8/4/17

By J. M. Batchman,
Staff Correspondent, Chicago Defender

St. Louis, Mo., Aug. 3.—By the time this squib is off the press it is doubtful if there will be a single Illinois national guardsman in East St. Louis; they will all be under the direction of the war department at Washington, and consequently those Colored people who are on the east side will have the protection of the national government. Transferring these men from the national guard to the United States army began last week under the direction of Captain E. E. Stull, assisted by Captains A. E. Miller, George W. Armbrust and A. T. Reynolds, all white; the work was expected to last several days, as there were eight companies to be examined besides some 700 new recruits.

The business men of East St. Louis, after much work, succeeded in holding the soldiers in the city for an indefinite period, and the fact that they are now a part of the United States army places the burden of maintaining peace on the national government, as Secretary of War Baker has consented to their remaining in East St. Louis for this purpose. Many war munitions have been interfered with during the unsettled conditions brought about by the riot; some persons of influence even hint at German conspirators using organized labor as a tool to make trouble in the country; it is true there are so many evidences of unrest it would not be surprising if Germany did succeed to an extent in capitalizing American racial prejudice to the disadvantage of the government. However, the plants are running now at practically their full capacity and are advertising every day for additional Colored help.

Frank Keating is the new chief of police appointed by the new East St. Louis board and is making a NEWSPAPER appearance of starting in to clean up things. The situation looks anything but favorable and the authorities are hoodwinking no one. That investigation is a whitewash of the rankest kind, from the state authorities all the way through; its very lack of publicity and the unwillingness of the officials making it, to allow the public to judge of the character of what was done, is enough to condemn the whole thing as an outrage on a helpless electorate; and the fact that Mayor Mollman is still in authority in East St. Louis is enough to shake the confidence of every lover of decent government. However, the Colored men should stay in the town and fight the thing through.

Suits for Damages Instituted

Claims totaling about $100,000 have been filed against the city of East St. Louis for damage to property, principally that of Race people. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has secured the services of Attorney Homer G. Phillips of this city to take care of these cases, and it is presumed the majority of the claims have been filed by him. Under the Illinois law, the city of East St. Louis and St. Clair county are liable. The city is virtually bankrupt, and the committee of one hundred, which has pretended to stand for a reversal of conditions in the morally rotten "burg," have not as yet indicated that any assistance can be expected of them in securing a settlement of these claims of the property owners.

Mrs. Amity Cox, 703 East Broadway, has a claim for $1,007.03. Included are a plush coat at $28, five pairs of shoes at $25, three men's hats at $15, and lingerie, $20. Mrs. Alice Robinson sues for $2,000 worth of furniture and another woman estimates hers at $900. John Ellman, white, pawnshop keeper, has a bill for $411.50 for firearms stolen from his store by rioters. Under the law the property owners can secure 75 per cent of the cost of the property. More suits than those reported are certain to result, as the last day for filing them is one Aug. 2.

RACE RIOTS LAID TO LAX POLICE RULE

East St. Louis, with a Population of 75,000, Has a Force of Only 63 Men.

N Y C TIMES
JULY 8, 1917

GOVERNMENT IS BANKRUPT

Politics, Professional Bondsmen, and Leniency with Criminals Also Contributing Causes.

Special to The New York Times.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., July 7.—Probably the most absorbing municipal enigma in the United States today is the City of East St. Louis, and no doubt all over the country the question is being asked:

Through what lamentable train of events did it happen that in the State of Abraham Lincoln, in this Northern city, where for many years whites and negroes had dwelt amicably side by side, there developed within only a few months such a cold and implacable ferocity of race hatred that a mob could rise up with the deliberate purpose of massacreing the negro population and wiping out with fire the sections in which it dwelt, and did put scores to death, with every circumstance of appalling cruelty, and without distinction of age or sex, innocence or guilt?

The answer to this tragic puzzle was sought yesterday by witnesses with leading business men, city officials, and others who are in a position to be well informed.

Under the present conditions of unrest, they did not desire to be quoted, but the story they told follows:

It should be prefaced with the statements that East St. Louis now has a population of probably 75,000; that it has grown with leaps and bounds in the last two decades, its population having been only 29,655 in 1900; that it is a flourishing industrial centre, boasting of great packing and manufacturing plants, some the largest of their kind in the country, and that, owing to the nature of the work in many of these industries, it is one of the biggest markets in the United States for common, unskilled labor.

On the other hand, the city Government of East St. Louis is bankrupt. As the events of Monday night showed, its police force was not only demoralized, but feeble in numbers. It can muster only sixty-three men.

In the packing plants, stockyards and ore factories there is an abundance of hard, dirty and unpleasant work which no white American would consent to do. These jobs were abandoned by the skilled white workmen to negroes and foreigners. Many of the latter, natives of Austria and the Balkan countries, were summoned to the colors, which meant additional negroes were employed in their places.

The tremendous boom given to business in the city by war orders for the Allies created still greater demands for negro labor. It is estimated that in the last two years the negro population has increased one-fourth. At the end of May, when the first outbreak of rioting occurred, there were probably 15,000 negroes in East St. Louis, of whom today perhaps no more than 5,000 or 6,000 remain.

Received $4 to $6 a Day.

The negroes found themselves receiving such unprecedented wages as $4, $5 and $6 a day, and it was not strange many of them wrote glo[illegible]tters to friends and relatives i[illegible]h, inviting them to come ar[illegible]

[illegible]men,
[illegible] de-

[illegible]at "it
out of
[illegible]wn to the
[illegible]ses along
[illegible]inted out that
to whom the
e, was an ex-
un out of St.
[illegible]e line to his sa-
[illegible]ariving business in
[illegible]ion" to "bad"
[illegible] power in politics

[illegible] to Bitterness.

[illegible] situation, embittered by the [illegible] negro hold-up men, entered a new [illegible]tor with the declaration of a strike during the last week of May at the plant of the Aluminium Ore Company, said to be the largest factory of the sort in America. It was working night and day on contracts for the United States Government.

Its skilled white workmen were earning $7 a day. According to officials of the company, the strike was called because they refused to pay a bribe of $20,000 to a walking delegate, who was one of the leaders of the men.

The company already employed many negroes at such common labor as shoveling ore. It now placed some negroes at the work which the white men had quit. This gave an opportunity to raise the cry that negroes were being imported as strikebreakers. It is true the strike gradually petered out, the men repudiating their leaders and mostly returning to work.

But the damage was done, and to the constantly mounting passion of race prejudice was added that of union workmen jealous of their privileges.

The explosives were now gathered, and all that was needed was a match. It was produced on the night of May 28. A delegation of about 600 union men marched to the City Hall to appeal to the authorities to prevent the importa-

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 1

tion of any more negroes. Among them were many of the Aluminum Ore Company strikers. They took possession of an auditorium, and some of the leaders made speeches advising that in case the authorities took no action, they should resort to mob law.

Mayor Mollman promised he would do everything in his power to persuade employers against recruiting negro labor, and the meeting dispersed. They had not been gone thirty minutes when a mob appeared at the police station and demanded a negro who had just been arrested be delivered to them. He was arrested on the charge of trying to rob two white girls at Tenth Street and Missouri Avenue. At about the same time two youths had been robbed at Thirteenth Street and Gaty Avenue by a negro, and one of them, who resisted, was shot in the hip.

Induces Mob to Disperse.

Mayor Mollman, who had to support him only three policemen at the station, addressed the mob himself, and succeeded in persuading the members to depart. But they departed for the negro section along Broadway, and there was the beginning of four days' rioting in which a dozen white men and two score negroes were injured, and considerable property belonging to negroes was destroyed, including saloons and shops. The disturbance finally was put down by troops.

But the flame was not extinguished; it was only smoldering. It now appears negro leaders took a hand and organized one or more bands for their own defense in case further attacks should be made. The information was extracted from one reluctant negro witness before the Coroner that three "mobilization points" had been agreed upon, and that the ringing of the bell of a negro church was to be the tocsin for assembling in arms.

At midnight, Sunday, the bell began to peal, and in a few minutes a white resident nearby telephoned to the police that a company of armed negroes was on the march. Over the telephone the tolling of the bell could be heard.

Detective Sergeant Samuel Coppedge, Detective Frank Wodley and others leaped into an automobile. As they wheeled into Bond Street, off Broadway, they came face to face with a column of about 150 negroes, marching along the sidewalk in twos, each with a gun on his shoulder.

Coppedge was shot dead as he urged the negroes to disperse, and Wodley received wounds from which he died. Two other officers in the machine were wounded. The driver of the car sped it away through the rain of bullets. What became of the negro column after the murders is not as yet known; and upon what expedition they were setting out is one of the remaining mysteries of the case.

The generally accepted belief among the whites is that they were marching to attack the white residence district in revenge for the riot of May 28, but another theory is that they were bound for the Free Bridge to punish the white men employes at a plant near the bridge, who had beaten a negro earlier in the evening.

Says Joy Riders Shot Into Church.

Another version of this happening was produced last night by an East St. Louis clergyman, who has been quietly making an investigation. He was told by negroes, it is said, that they were worshipping in the church in question Sunday night, and that white joy riders, passing in a car, proceeded to shoot up the church.

The terrified worshippers dropped to the floor and put out the lights, and then some one rang the alarm bell. The band of armed negroes gathered and were out looking for the automobile from which the shots were fired. By ill chance, the story continued, Coppedge and the other officers arrived in a car wearing civilian clothes, and the negroes, believing it was the other machine returning, opened fire.

It also was said by negroes that joy riders during the evening fired into their homes, and that this was another provocation for the assembling of the armed band.

When the news of the assassination of Coppedge and Wodley spread over the city, East St. Louis saw red. There was almost equal rage over the discovery that there was a band of armed negroes in existence as a menace to white supremacy in the town. These were the immediate causes of the sanguinary debauch of Monday night, now known to all the world, but they merely detonated the dynamite that had been accumulating for about three months.

A prominent East St. Louis real estate man, who would not permit his name to be used, gave the following summary of the causes leading up to the riot:

"We have had a reasonable proportion of negroes with us for a long time, and it must be said that in a political way they have not improved themselves in the eyes of the people. Many of them have been for sale on Election Day, putting up their votes to the highest bidder. This did not help them any in the estimation of the people as to their value as an asset to the city, and it was largely responsible for the low tone of politics here.

"The labor question was another factor. War and other orders caused increased capacity in many plants and a demand for additional workers. The employers made a systematic attempt to recruit men; it seemed to be in doubt whether they gave any more effort to getting negroes than whites. The [illegible] of negroes as strikebreakers in one packing plant and an ore factory was not calculated to lessen the tension.

"Many of us felt we were getting more than a reasonable proportion of negroes in comparison with our white population. And, as I have been told by dependable negroes, nearly every one armed himself as soon as he arrived. Those from the South were intoxicated with the 'new freedom' they found in East St. Louis, and flaunted themselves in a manner that would have been intolerable even in a white man. This impudence was much in evidence before the May riots, but after that it seemed as if some of the edge had been taken off their insolence.

Declares Militia Were Lax.

"I wish to point out that in these riots all the antipathy toward the negro was not confined to East St. Louis. Among the first militia to arrive from Central and Northern Illinois were not a few who declared feelingly their understanding they were not here to protect negroes against whites, but to guard whites against negroes. Many were what you would call nothing else but raw country yaps; they knew nothing of their duties, and being boys themselves, fraternized with the other boys who made up so large a proportion of Monday night's mob.

"Also, on the streets that night, though taking no part in the rioting, were more than one of the substantial men of the city, who, in the belief the armed negroes who killed Coppedge and Wodley had started forth to 'clean up the town,' remarked that, after all, as the negroes started it, they would have to be shown who was master in the city."

Troops Patrol East St. Louis; Death Toll 29

Citizens Charge Guard with Cowardice and Fear

Further Race Riots

Grand Jury to Deal With Mob Leaders

Influx of Black Labor to Break Strikes Called Cause of Trouble

N Y C TRIBUNE
JULY 4, 1917

East St. Louis, Ill., July 3.—Thirteen companies of National Guardsmen tonight patrolled the streets of East St. Louis in an effort to prevent the recurrence of the race riots here. The death list is now 29 persons, 75 or more are injured, and 310 negro homes, covering 16½ acres of ground, have been destroyed by fire.

This community of 80,000 persons is terrorized by the events of the last two days. That the citizens fear the inability of the Guardsmen to cope with the situation was intimated to-day, when the Chamber of Commerce demanded that Adjutant General Dickson inform it why the troopers had not displayed more energy last night. Members of the chamber were not slow to charge the soldiers with inefficiency bordering on cowardice, but Adjutant General Dickson explained that his force was handicapped by the small number of troops available at that time.

The police force, which numbers sixty, also was charged with negligence in attempting to quell the violence. Of all the incidents of the riot related to-day not one was of a single act of bravery on the part of the police or Guardsmen. Anxious citizens who inquired of individual militiamen why they did not stop the looting and murder which were going on, in many instances under their very eyes, received grins for their reply. Some of the soldiers were disarmed by the rioters.

Negroes Leave City

To-day some of the negroes walked out of town on the railroad tracks, more crossed to the Missouri side, where all was quiet, and still others, assured of protection by the augmented force of soldiers, returned to their homes. Some, whose homes were burned, were cared for in a camp hastily arranged by the Chamber of Commerce.

A newspaper reporter, who was in the thick of the trouble last night, related a particularly brutal story. A white man, observing a cowering negro, approached and said:

"Come with me into this alley; you will be safe there; there's a soldier there." The negro followed. In the alley the white man calmly shot his victim through the head and sauntered back into the street, presently joining a mob intent on a rope-and-lamppost lynching.

No systematic search of the ruins was made to-day, but fear that scores of dead might lie beneath gradually disappeared. Last night brought rumors that many bodies had been thrown in the river, but the waters gave up no dead to-day, and by night it was doubted whether the number of deaths would much exceed the list in the mortuaries.

One negro, badly injured, was discovered in a sewer manhole, where he was thrown after being badly beaten.

Labor Troubles Described

Michael Whalen, president of the Central Trades and Labor Council here and likewise city clerk, gave one explanation of conditions which he thought led to the rioting.

"Last summer," said Mr. Whalen, "4,500 white men went on strike in the packing plants of Armour & Co., Morris & Co. and Swift & Co. Eight hundred negroes from the South came into the plants as strikebreakers. When the strike ended the negroes remained at work and an equivalent number of white men failed to get their jobs back. Since then there has been a stream of negroes arriving. At least 2,500 negroes have come from the South in the last year. Many of them failed to obtain work, or to hold jobs once obtained. Burglaries, highway robberies and petty crimes began. The people became exasperated and determined to dripe them out of town." Mr. Whalen said that the chief objection to the negroes was that they would not unionize and would not strike.

Managers of plants mentioned by Mr. Whalen asserted that not a white man had been deprived of work because of the negroes. Even with the negroes it was difficult to get enough labor, they said. They explained that rosy letters written back home by the first arrivals accounted for the continued influx from the South. The negro laborers were particularly pleased to get the same wages and hours as the white men.

News that Governor Lowden was coming, as well as ten additional companies of Guardsmen, tended to restore confidence to-night, despite a few new incendiary fires.

One hundred of 193 persons arrested last night were released this evening. Some others were fined for carrying concealed weapons.

Instead of the ninety-three cases in which inciting to riot was charged, all but three were dismissed for lack of evidence. Three others, accused by witnesses of dragging a negro through the streets with a rope around his neck, were held to the grand jury.

The grand jury meets July 9. The leaders of the mobs are said to be known, and the grand jury, it is declared, will deal with them.

Governor Lowden and the troops from Springfield arrived at 9 o'clock. The Governor conferred with Adjutant General Dickson and Mayor Mollman. Later he attended a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce.

Governor Lowden was said to be angered at criticism of the militia by members of the Chamber of Commerce.

[illegible] POST
JULY 7, 1917

Some of the wisest comment upon the riots in East St. Louis appears in the Southern press. Admitting that what it calls "the Illinois incident" tempts it to remind certain Northern newspapers of harsh utterances they have made about the South, the Atlanta *Journal* feels that the occurrence is too serious and deplorable for sectional recrimination. It seizes the occasion to add light rather than heat. The outstanding fact, as it sees the matter, is that "the thickly populated industrial districts of the North are highly unfavorable if not highly dangerous for negroes bred and born to the ways of the South." The South has its shortcomings in its treatment of the black man, but at least it offers him no illusions, "no tinselled promises like those which cunning labor agents from faraway cities dangle before him." It offers him a steady livelihood, a climate whose winters he can endure, opportunity to own a home, a shop, a farm, and "the helpfulness of a people who know him." While this paints the picture in the best possible hues, there is enough basis for it to check anything like a hasty retort. The South has opposed the migration of negroes by resort to legal restraints, and East St. Louis is taking revenge upon them by violence. Both actions are wrong. Like any other man in this country, the negro should be free to live and work where he chooses. If, in the end, he should conclude that he belongs in "the spacious, agricultural South" and not in the "crowded industrial section," well and good, but it must be his decision and not one made for him and enforced upon him in the interests of the Southern employer and the Northern white laborer.

NEGRO BAPTISTS PROTEST.

Call on Congress for Protection Against Race Riots.

PHILADELPHIA, July 16.—Colored Baptist ministers, in a regular session of their conference, composed of representatives from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, held here today, drafted a memorial to Congress protesting against the riots in East St. Louis and asking that the Federal Government enact laws to protect others of their race from suffering a like fate.

"While realizing," the memorial states, "that the Federal Government cannot interfere with a State's conduct of its own affairs, yet when a State can not or will not enforce its laws against murderers and incendiaries, national legislation is then a crying necessity for the peace and w[illegible] of the nation."

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

Guardsmen escorting a negro to safety during the riots. Hundreds of refugees were lodged in public buildings after the first outburst had passed.

Lure of Higher Wages Not the Direct Cause, They Say, but a Nameless Dread Has Affected the People

N Y C TRIBUNE
JULY 8, 1917

By RUSSELL DYER OWEN.

WHY is the negro suddenly migrating by the hundred thousand from the South to the North, his numbers north of the Mason and Dixon line being swelled by every train that arrives, until the stability of Southern industries is threatened and a race problem promises to be added to the labor difficulties of this section of the country?

Is the cause lynching or German agitation or the desire to make more money in munition plants, or merely the long unhappiness of years of oppression, which, added to quickly generated fear, has stampeded the quiet, hard working negro of the South, along with the less desirable of his race, to seek a place in the North where he can "sleep o' nights."

The direct cause has puzzled the most intelligent men of the negro race who have travelled through the South making careful inquiries to learn the reason for this trek of their people. Lynchings are no more numerous than they ever were, no word has come to the negroes of this city that German propagandists were at work in the South to add racial troubles to the country's difficulties, and the wages here are not high enough to compensate for the lower living in the South.

The shadow of a nameless fear has been hanging over the Southern negro for months. He who should have nothing to fear looks over his shoulder when he talks, shudders in his house in the middle of the night for no reason at all, sees things in the dark—his mind yielding to the wide sweeping spread of racial terror. He is frankly and undeniably afraid of the land he lives in, of death—the great abhorrent thought to the naturally cheerful negro mind—that may come to him at any moment because some one may decide that he is "fresh." He has always been confronted by this, one might answer, and lynchings have gradually been decreasing. That is true, and in just that fact lies the peculiar psychology of this particular northern movement, something that has never been seen before in like proportions since emancipation made it possible—a rolling tide of migration, leaderless and irresistible.

That it is not a deliberate movement, one decided on after long consideration, may be seen in the way in which so many negro families have left their household goods, their mules, their pigs and their little farms, sewed their money in their pockets and departed in an hour after they had been touched by this queer terror. It follows always after lynchings, but it has also occurred in out of the way rural communities where there have been no lynchings and where rumors of racial troubles have not penetrated. New York negro clergymen were amazed when the movement first began to find that some of those who joined their churches had left their Southern homes where there had been no trouble and when asked why they came could give no answer save that they were afraid. It almost makes one believe in the negro contention that they can see ghosts.

Labor Market Depleted.

Whatever the cause, there is no denying the fact that 350,000 negroes have come North in the last twelve months, leaving the South confronted with a largely depleted labor market and a resulting economic loss that has been computed at $200,000,000, and which probably will be much higher. Southern Chambers of Commerce have tried their best to stem the tide; railroad companies have refused to sell tickets to negroes; the police have arrested them and destroyed tickets they have bought, and every possible effort has been made, but in vain. The negro still leaves the South, after having stood against the terrors of lynching and race prejudice for fifty years, after accumulating property worth billions, after becoming a factor in Southern business, and he is leaving all that he has gained upon a sudden impulse of nameless panic.

That he would rather live in the South is evident after talking even for a short time with any negro who knows much of the affairs of his people. There had even been a large amount of migration from the North to the South up to last year. It is the land he likes best, and those of them who work and save their money, those who have been successful in overcoming what Booker T. Washington called the curse of the race, "lack of education and an empty pocketbook," always look to the time when they can have a home of their own in the Southland.

"They are tired," said Fred R. Moore, editor of the *New York Age*, the most influential negro paper in the country. "They are tired of being persecuted, of being made to ride in this kind of a car and that kind of a car; of being herded as a class without regard to their individual attainments; of not being able to go to the libraries, to sit in the parks; of constantly fearing that in some way they will do something which will infuriate the lower class of whites and result in being lynched. They are just tired of it all. Those in authority could stop this migration in twenty-four hours if they would give the negro a fair deal, and if they did 80 per cent. of those who have come North would go back."

But even Moore admits the significance of this wave of panic which has swept over the Southern negro, and is just as frankly puzzled to account for it. So is the Rev. A. Clayton Powell, one of the most influential negro clergymen in New York, who recently travelled through the South in an effort to find the cause for the sudden migration. While the lack of work in the South with the great demand for labor here is a contributing cause for the movement, Dr. Powell believes that it is merely the occasion, not the real cause. The much higher rate of living here more than makes up for the higher wages, and he believes that the Southern negroes, as a whole, save more than their Northern brothers.

Lays It to Race Psychology.

He is more inclined to attribute the movement to the race psychology of his people, their fear of death and their susceptibility to be touched by terror that comes, as it were, out of the air and is quickly communicated from one to the other until whole communities are in agonies of fear. The negro is as brave as any other race when it comes to an open stand up fight, but the fear of the intangible goes back to his voodoo worshiping ancestors and is so deeply implanted in him that many more years of development will be required to remove it

"One thing which I think can be seized on as a very definite reason for the growing uneasiness of my people in the South," he said, "is the growing boldness of the Southern mobs. In the old days lynchings used to be conducted by masked men at night, but now they are done in the daytime, without pretense of concealment, and the authorities apparently make no attempt to stop them or punish the murderers.

"There is the case of Ell Person, who was lynched in Memphis. That lynching was openly planned for two weeks and some of the stores even declared a holiday. Excursions were run and the whole thing was conducted in such a cold blooded way that it struck terror to the hearts of all negroes.

"Do you wonder that hundreds of them, hard working, law abiding people, left their homes and came North? There was the lynching of a chauffeur in Waco, Tex., who had the misfortune to run over a little white girl, accidentally of course. He wouldn't have been lynched here, but there he was burned to death. When the farmers looked for their hands the next morning they found they had fled in the night.

"This migration differs from all others in that it has no visible leader. The colored people have become disgusted with the leadership of 'cornstalk' preachers, weak kneed professors and spineless politicians. Their progress has been impeded by too much of this kind of leadership. The masses have done more to solve the negro problem in fifty weeks without a leader than they did in fifty years with a certain type of leaders, and if these leaders will give their attention to the raising of cabbage, corn and cotton for a few years the masses will soon finish the job of solving the most serious phases of the negro question. The leaders have been thinking white for half a century, but the masses are now thinking black and their thoughts are leading them toward the north star.

"It is not without significance that for the first time since emancipation the colored people have refused to consult the bishops, presiding elders and pastors about their movements. They do not even say 'good-by' to these gentlemen of the cloth when they leave the South. A colored preacher went out the other day in a Georgia town to make his monthly pastoral calls. To his surprise and confusion he found that thirty families of his parish had vacated their homes, many of them leaving their furniture and cooking utensils behind. Some did not even

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 7

take time to close their doors. No one knows when they left or where they went.

"Many of the sensible negro preachers are coming North in search of their followers. The Rev. A. L. James arrived in New York last week from Ocala, Fla., because his parish in that town had been practically depleted by the exodus. In two days he found twelve of his parishioners in Harlem and he expects to organize them into a church this week.

"White and colored men are telling us that this migration is an economic movement. To say that the negro is coming North in this wholesale fashion for higher wages is grossly to misinterpret the spirit of the exodus. Better paying positions may be the occasion but not the cause, of his coming. The cause lies a thousand leagues deeper. The colored people are leaving the South because life to them has been made miserable and unbearable. they are tired of being kept out of the public parks and libraries, of being deprived of equal educational opportunities for their children, for which they are taxed; they are tired of reading signs, 'Negroes and dogs not admitted,' 'This side for negroes,' 'This car for negroes'; the men are tired of disfranchisement, the women are tired of the insults heaped upon them every day by white hoodlums, and the whole race is sick of seeing unmasked mobs in broad daylight mutilate and burn unconvicted colored men, throwing the amputated pieces of their bodies around the streets to intimidate and humiliate respectable members of the race.

"The negroes therefore are coming East and West because they have recently learned through some medium that they will have equal opportunities in these sections with other citizens in the public schools, libraries, parks, the common carriers, at the polls on election day and above all in the courts of justice when accused of crime.

"Primarily these migratory thousands are not seeking money but manhood rights. All the people coming here are not poor. Many of them are leaving chickens, hogs, cows, mules, horses, automobiles, homes and little farms behind them. Constitutional and inherent rights to them are more than meat and the protection of life and liberty more than drink. If the negroes who have recently left the South were offered $5 a day and free transportation back to their old homes in a whole year 10 per cent. of them would not have returned. If, however, they were assured that these deplorable conditions and horrible injustices would be removed, especially the hellish institution of lynching, 80 per cent. of them would return almost as quickly as the exodus started.

"The lawless white element of the South will say in reply to this proposition, 'Let the negro church stop its black fiends from molesting white women and lynching will cease.' The colored church in the North says in answer to this reply, first, that according to the white Southern press less than one-fifth of the colored men lynched are accused of violently interfering with white women, and that developments after the lynchings have often proved that many of these were innocent of the crimes for which they were shot, hanged and burned. Second, the negro church of the North, together with many fair minded white people, finds it hard to believe that these confessions are genuine which the mobs claim to wring from their victims before vivisecting and dissecting them.

Fewer Crimes of Kind in North.

"For instance, the Memphis mob says Ell Person confessed. In that alleged confession he implicated two other colored men. Within twenty-four hours after his body was reduced to smoke and ashes the white cemetery keeper swore that these two colored men were not even in the neighborhood when the crime was committed. If Person were frightened into lying about others is it not reasonable to suppose that he lied about himself?

"Colored and white people are asking, 'Why don't negroes commit this crime in the North?' In New York colored men work in the best families. As chauffeurs they take the young ladies of these families for long drives through the country. They run elevators in the finest apartment houses; they attend the same schools, read in the same libraries, ride on the same cars, often eat at the same restaurants, pass and repass each other at all hours of the night in Harlem, where there are more negroes than in any other spot on earth of its size, and yet, during my nine years stay in this city, not a single colored man has been charged with the attempt to rape a white woman. These Harlem colored people are from every part of the South, and some of them represent the worst element of the race. Why do negroes commit this crime in the South, where they know they will be lynched, and why don't they commit it in New York, where they know that a fair trial will be given them before a judge and jury?

"While the migration is not a serious economic movement with the colored man, it is a very serious one with the white South. It will never be stopped, however, by threats, arrests, intimidations and the passing of unjust laws. No injustice has ever been remedied by another injustice. The industrial work of the South must be done. If the colored man continues to leave the foreigner will take his place, and be it remembered that the foreigners will never work for the wages paid nor submit to the treatment accorded the colored people for the last fifty years. They will answer the Southern man's brutality with bombs, dynamite and firebrands. The whole discussion resolves itself to this: Will the South give the colored people the same opportunities they enjoy in the North, or will the South allow these loyal, peaceful, industrious friends of two and a half centuries to leave?

"When colored men speak in favor of the North of the relations of the races in the South the Southern press charges them with two things—first, of trying to make a fuss between the colored and white people, and, secondly, of seeking social equality with the white folks. In reply to the first charge we would say that nobody is more anxious to see peace between the races in the South than the colored people of the North. We have been trying for years, and we are still trying to-day to help settle a fuss that the majority of the white people in the Southland have made with their colored neighbors.

"There is no desire on the part of the colored people to leave their white neighbors in the North, and we know that the same thing that keeps the colored people in this section will keep them in the Southern section. Does fair treatment produce social equality between the races? We can only answer by saying it has no such effect in the North. There are more colored people in New York city than in any other city in America, and the social equality bugbear does not cause the white people of New York to lose a minute's sleep in twelve months. The colored people do not ask or in the slightest degree desire social equality or any special privilege. They only ask for evenhanded justice and equal opportunities, and there will be no permanent peace until these are granted."

The Northern negroes are dubious about the effect the great influx of negro labor will have on conditions in the North. So far there has been no race trouble of any moment in this section, but even before the East St. Louis riots they were fearful of what might happen, and that flareup did not serve to reassure them.

Fear Chaos in Labor Market.

The riots in East St. Louis were caused by the importation of negro strike breakers to work in an aluminum factory. Their coming was looked upon as a deliberate attempt to invade the white man's province, and a city where blacks and whites had gotten along amicably was suddenly turned into a slaughter house.

The negroes drawn to East St. Louis went there because of the high rate of wages, just as many of them have come North to get the $5 a day paid in the munitions factories. High wages mean just high wages to them, the question of the higher cost of living does not enter their minds, but although the lure of money has been a tremendous one in the work of depopulating the black South, the intelligent negroes stoutly maintain that it is a minor cause.

Southerners who know the negro well say that their claim of being afraid—more afraid than they ever were before—is not true, that as a matter of fact the negro is just beginning to awaken to the knowledge that he has industrial power and that if he wishes he can use it. But that hardly agrees with the way in which the negroes have been abandoning their homes without even stopping to sell their pigs.

The first large body of negro laborers to be brought from the South came here about a year ago and went to work for the Pennsylvania Railroad. There were 8,000 of them and they did so well that the New York, New Haven and Hartford also brought a lot of them North. The thing began to look so serious that Southern railroads will not honor tickets for negroes sent down by Northern corporations, but despite this, the opportunities for negroes to come North continue to be provided and still they come. A few days ago 350 came in on round trip tickets provided by a woman negro agent in the South. Needless to say the return ticket was not used.

Just what this portends for the North cannot be predicted, but negroes here do not look on the future with any too much confidence. They recall that Booker T. Washington urged the negroes to stay in the South, believed that there was the right place for them, and made every effort to stop migration to the North.

LOWDEN VISITS MOB SCENE AND STARTS INQUIRY

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
...LY 4, 1917

Illinois Governor, However, Is Against Martial Law, but Says Order Will Be Restored at Any Cost.

Gov. Frank O. Lowden of Illinois arrived in East St. Louis last night from Springfield to make a personal investigation of the riot. He was accompanied by John Walker of the Illinois Council for Defense.

Before his departure from Springfield the governor ordered Troop D of Springfield and nine companies of infantry to proceed at once to East St. Louis. Two of these companies are in federal service. With the fourteen companies now on the scene, this will provide twenty-five companies to cope with the rioters.

The governor, before leaving Springfield, declared he would not declare martial law in East St. Louis at this time.

No Martial Law Now.

"It has been suggested I proclaim martial law in this territory," said the governor. "In my judgment, at the present time, this would weaken, instead of strengthen, our position. We have employed our troops as rapidly as we could concentrate them in East St. Louis as effectually as though martial law had been declared. We have, in addition to those troops, the police and other civil authorities co-operating with us heartily.

"To declare martial law would eliminate the police force and all other civil authorities, and would not add a single soldier to our forces. The first duty, therefore, seems clearly to me to be to employ all our forces, civil and military, in restoring order. When that is done it will be time to consider further measures to avoid a repetition of the lamentable situation.

Will Maintain Order.

"The state at this time has nothing to do with the merits of this controversy. It proposes order shall be maintained at whatever cost, as against whites and negroes alike. Order will be maintained if it requires all the troops at our disposal to accomplish this.

"Yesterday morning we were advised rioting had broken out in East St. Louis. We at once began to order troops to East St. Louis, and Col. H. O. Tripp of the Adjutant General's Department was dispatched to take charge of the situation. Before the troops could arrive in sufficient number the rioting became serious. By about midnight, however, last night we had fourteen companies on the ground.

"Before we could get control of the situation, twenty-three persons, black and white, according to our present information, had been killed. Gen. Dickson arrived there about midnight on a special train and took command of the situation in person.

Situation Well in Hand.

"I have just had him on the long-distance telephone, and he informs me he thinks they have the situation well in hand.

"The civil authorities there now are cooperating fully with him. He, in conference with the mayor and chief of police, is districting the city, and proposes to control every portion of it, and will not permit persons to loiter or gather in groups upon the streets.

"I instructed Gen. Dickson yesterday to use as drastic measures as in his judgment were necessary to restore law and order. There will be no partiality as between races."

East St. Louis Coroner Orders Three Arrests After Riot Inquiry

Sergeant, Patrolman and Chauffeur Charged with Being Implicated.

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
JULY 18, 1917

The arrest of Sergt. Con Meehan, Patrolman James O'Brien and Chauffeur Albert H. Wilson of the East St. Louis police was ordered on mittimuses issued yesterday evening by Coroner C. C. Renner. They are charged with being implicated in the shooting on the levee Tuesday morning, July 3, when two negroes were killed.

The story as told by soldier witnesses is that Sergt. Meehan directed a squad of soldiers to fire on a group of negroes.

The statement of Sergt. Meehan is that he was sent to the levee by the chief of of police to investigate a report that a negro saloon was open. He says that he followed another automobile in which there was a detachment of soldiers.

While closing the saloon, which he found open, he heard shooting, and went around the corner and found that the soldiers had killed two negroes and wounded a third, five shots having been fired.

This statement is concurred in by Patrolman O'Brien and Chauffeur Wilson.

The military inquiry into the conduct of soldiers during the East St. Louis riots was continued yesterday in Judge W. M. Vandeventer's Courtroom. A large number of witnesses, including all the newspaper reporters on duty in the city at the time, and State's Attorney Schaumleffel, were questioned. A stenographic report of the testimony is being taken and the proceedings will be submitted to Gov. Lowden. Until this is done, nothing regarding the testimony or details of the inquiry will be made public.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

25 NEGROES, 3 WHITE MEN KILLED IN RIOTS IN EAST ST. LOUIS

Militia in Control After Mobs' All Night Man-Hunt—21 Companies on Hand Tonight.

NEW OUTBREAKS TODAY ARE PUT DOWN SPEEDILY

Blacks Shot Last Night in Burning Homes or as They Fled From Them; Others Killed in Street—Grand Jury to Start an Investigation.

The St. Clair County Grand Jury will investigate the indiscriminate slaughter of negro men by lawless crowds in the streets of East St. Louis yesterday afternoon an dlast evening, it was announced this afternoon by State's Attorney Schaumleffel. The grand jury meets next Monday, but he said it probably would not take up this inquiry until the second week of its session, as the cases of men in jail are usually considered first.

Thirteen companies of the Illinois National Guard patrolled the downtown section today, and it was announced that another company, from Champaign, was on the way. A dispatch from Springfield said that Gov. Lowden had ordered Cavalry Troop D of Springfield and six companies of the Second Illinois Infantry, from Chicago, to proceed to East St. Louis.

At 11:30 a. m., white rioters set fire to deserted negro homes on Bond avenue and Trendley avenue, near Fourth st. Four houses were destroyed and 3 others partly burned. All were still furnished, though the owners had abandoned them. A riot call was sent in from Fifteenth and Broadway at about the same time as the fire alarms, and policemen who went there arrested 7 men, whites and negroes, but this disturbance was considered less serious than previous ones.

28 Bodies Accounted for.

The bodies of 21 negroes, beaten, shot, clubbed and stoned to death, one of them a 2-year-old girl, were in two undertaking establishments, while three other negroes' bodies, partly burned, were still in the streets. Three white men were killed during the evening, James Moore of 423 South Fourth street, Charles Boyle of 442 North Fifth street and Joseph Coleman of 1613 John street. It seemed that additional bodies of negroes might be found in the burned homes in two districts where incendiary fires were set to drive the negroes out.

The bodies of 22 negroes, beaten, groes out. One negro died in St. Mary's Hospital this afternoon.

Last evening's atrociiies were the culmination of race disturbances in East St. Louis which date from complaints, made in May, of an influx of negro laborers from the South, taking jobs in industrial plants. There was rioting May 28 and 29, but fatalities were prevented by the calling of militiamen.

Talk against the negroes continued, and Sunday night, after several minor racial encounters, a group of armed negroes fired on an automobile load of policemen, killing Detective Sergt. Coppedge and wounding two policemen. In another place, on the same night, a policeman and two other white men were shot by negroes.

Started by Detective's Murder.

The Coppedge murder was the occasion of yesterday afternoon's savage outbreak, which became more acute toward sundown, and which was checked, shortly before dark, when militiamen arrested a large group of white men who were about to lynch a negro on Broadway. This arrest was the first adequate attempt of the State troops to deal with the situation. Before this they were passive spectators of several atrocious killings. The police, who seemingly sympathized with the street crowds, were a negligible factor first and last.

Of the companies on hand today six were on duty last evening—about 400 men in all. The companies which arrived later were fuller, numerically, than those arriving first.

At the city hall conference of military officials with the Mayor and leading business men, it was decided to lay out the town in districts for the systematic placing of guardsmen. East St. Louis is not under martial law, it was stated, but persons on the streets will be kept moving.

"I intend by all that is holy to stop this rioting," Adjutant-General Dickson said. "I don't think martial law is needed, though. There has been real martial law in Ilinois only once in the last 100 years.

The Adjutant-General said that the six companies on duty last night were insufficient in numbers for the task of patrolling the wide territory covered by the disturbances. He was asked why the guardsmen did not use force to put down the lawlessness, to the point of shooting or bayoneting some of the daylight slayers of negroes. He replied that if this had been done, there would have been wholesale bloodshed, and that the most determined group of rioters had been placed under arrest. He hoped this would help the military force now on hand to prevent further killings.

Col. Clayton, who was in command of the militia until the arrival of Col. Tripp yesterday, said today, in answer to a Post-Dispatch reporter's question, that the orders of the militiamen yesterday were to arrest all persons seen rioting, disperse all mobs and to use any means necessary for the protection of life and property.

Many Held by the Police.

Besides patrolling the streets, the militiamen guarded the police station where a large body of white men, arrested for alleged participation in the street carnage, were held, and where a mass of negro men was also held. Several soldiers watched the city hall, where negro women and children refugees were huddled in a pitiable congregation.

Sixty-one negroes, injured by the rioters, were in hospitals and others were believed to be concealed in their homes. The 15 injured and wounded white persons were in hospitals.

Negroes by the score were seen to day walking out of town. One group was attacked by white men in a switch yard. Militiamen, firing their rifles in the air, dispersed the whites. No attempt was made to keep negroes from leaving he city.

Three cases of smallpox developed last night among the hundred or more injured negroes quartered on the third floor of the city hall, according to Red Cross workers who are in attendance. The three were sent to the Isolation Hospital on the outskirts of the city. The quarantining of the building is being considered.

Saloons Remain Closed.

Saloons remained closed today, by the Mayor's order. Cars of the East St. Louis & Suburban Railway resumed normal service through East St. Louis. They were stopped at 7 p. m. yesterday by order of Mayor Mollman.

Six negroes were killed within an hour last evening, on Fourth street, near Broadway, one of them being lynched. Four were killed as they ran from their burning homes at Third street and Brady avenue, by a group of pursuers, in which four girls, none of them more than 20 years old, and all carrying revolvers, were conspicuous.

In no case did it appear that any of the negroes was known to have had any part in the killing of Detective Coppedge. Men were killed simply because they were black, and the only limit on the slaughter was the ability of the crowd to find negroes, and the intermittent protection of the militia, which amounted to little, for a time, at the most serious centers of disturbance.

Police Station Is Filled.

The streets were quiet this morning, but the city hall and the adjoining police station were the scenes of confusion and distress.

The police station was so full of white men, arrested by militiamen, and of negroes, some under arrest and others in safekeeping, that it overflowed into the open spaces, where soldiers guarded groups of men. The white prisoners seemed to be little concerned about their arrest, which they took as an incident of the previous night's excitement. Food was brought early to most of them, and they had breakfast while the militiamen were still hungry, and before any provision had been made for feeding the refugee negro women and children who filled the offices and corridors of the city hall.

These refugees were brought from the stockyards district by the truckload, in the big motor conveyances of the packing plants. They seemed afraid to remain outdoors, although militiamen were near, and they huddled within the building, some lamenting the deaths of husbands and sons, some exhausted by fatigue and terror.

Bits of Clothing as Souvenirs.

Pieces of the hats, coats and shirts of the negroes left dead in the streets were displayed by many persons in East St. Louis today, and some of the "souvenirs" were shown on St. Louis streets.

On Fourth street near Broadway, after dark, three men saw a negro, apparently dead, lying in the gutter. One flashed a pocket electric lamp in his face, and saw that he seemed to be breathing.

"Look at that—— ——" he exclaimed. "Not dead yet." And he and one of his companions each fired a bullet into the dying man's head, put their revolvers back in their pockets and went on.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Policemen this morning did their utmost to prevent the taking of photographs of the fire ruins or of the negroes' bodies, still lying in the streets.

"It's the chief's orders," they said. "East St. Louis doesn't want that kind of advertising."

This belated expression of wisdom was repeated by others, indicating that it was a part of the official order Photographs were taken in some places however, in the absence of policemen

---

Two St. Louis Negroes Beaten by White Men.

Jefferson Ross of 2007 Chestnut street, a negro, was beaten severely by several white men who pursued him in an automobile to this side of the free bridge. He was sent to the city hospital.

Henry McCurry, a negro, living at 2818 Clark avenue, was treated for cuts and bruises at the central dispensary. He told the police that he had been beaten and kicked by a crowd of white men near the Swift plant in East St. Louis.

At Eighth street and Broadway in East St. Louis, about 7:30 o'clock last night, the mob of white men surrounded a barber shop on the southwest corner. Two white men went into the barbershop searching for negroes. Two negroes hiding in the shop, fired on the two members of the mob, who ran out and fell on the sidewalk in front on the shop. Both had been wounded.

The mob set fire to the barber shop, and guarded it with their guns while it burned. There was no rear entrance, and the negroes were penned up in the burning building. After the building had been burning about 15 minutes, the negroes, fired through the windows into the mob, killing an unidentified white man and wounding Charles Carson, a 14-year-old boy.

A few minutes later the negroes dashed through the flames and ran into the street. There was a fusillade of shots fired by the mob, both negroes being killed.

Burning of Negroes' Homes.

About 8 p. m. part of the mob began burning houses at Fourth and Division streets, and as soon as the negro homes in this vicinity were destroyed another group of houses at Seventh street and Broadway was set on fire. All the houses occupied by negroes between Missouri and St. Louis avenue, were burned a few minutes later.

Charles Beach, an ambulance driver, was shot in the head by a mob of negroes at Tenth street and Missouri avenue about 11 p. m. Beach had been on the ambulance all the evening, aiding in removing wounded to the hospitals.

Thomas Canavan, president of the Board of Local Improvements, told a Post-Dispatch reporter today of his experiences with a negro mob in the vicinity of Fourteenth street and Bond avenue. As he was driving west on Bond avenue, with his son and two grand children in his automobile, he met Dr. A. B. McQuillan, and his wife, of 3138 Virginia avenue, driving east.

Dr. McQuillan told Canavan that his machine had been fired upon by negroes at Thirteenth street and Bond avenue, and that it was dangerous to go into that zone. Canavan turned his machine, and he and Dr. McQuillan drove to Fifteenth street, where they were confronted by a crowd of armed negroes.

In an effort to escape Dr. McQuillan started to drive across a vacant lot. Suddenly armed negroes, hiding in the weeds, arose and began firing on his machine. He was hit on the head with a bullet and stunned. The negroes charged the machine. One negro placed the muzzle of his gun against Dr. McQuillan's breast, while the mob yelled "Finish him."

Mrs. McQuillan pushed the muzzle of the gun away from her husband's breast and pleaded with the mob not to kill him. Some of the negroes employed by the Aluminum Ore Co. recognized Dr. McQuillan as the company's physician and interceded for him. Their pleas were heeded by the mob, and Dr. McQuillan was allowed to escape.

Canavan said that he saw the negroes shoot two men at Fifteenth street and Bond avenue, one being unidentified and the other being George Herr. Canavan said that the unidentified man appeared to be dead, but he stopped his machine and picked up Herr and took him to the dispensary. As he was escaping he said that many shots were fired by the negroes at his automobile.

He said that the negro mob was made up of 300 or 400 men, all armed, who fired at every white man they saw.

The militia arrived on the scene a few minutes later and arrested nearly all of the negro rioters. As soon as the negroes had been taken away, a mob of white men formed and burned all the negro houses on Bond avenue between Tenth and Twelfth streets, 43 houses being destroyed.

In the fire zone at Sixth and Broadway, two negroes are reported to have been burned to death. At Fifth and Railroad, another death by fire was reported.

One of the mid afternoon killings was at 4 o'clock, at Broadway and Main street. A negro was shot down one of those firing on him being a boy in short trousers. The driver of the first ambulance that came was not permitted to remove this body, and it lay for an hour beside the street car tracks, seen by the passengers in every passing car.

At 9:30 this morning a negro, still living, but in a critical condition, was found in a sewer manhole at Sixth street and Broadway. He was beaten by the mob with paving bricks 13 hours before and thrown in.

The 2-year-old negro child who was killed was the daughter of William Forest of 1118 Division avenue. A bullet fired into the house entered the body near the heart.

City Attorney Fekete is credited with having saved the life of a young negro who was running from a crowd which had fired a number of shots at him while the negro was plainly visible in the glare of burning buildings. Fekete placed the negro in his own automobile, and after arguing for several minutes with the group of men succeeded getting away with the rescued man.

The coarse and brutal attacks on negro women and girls, made by white women of a class which the police are usually supposed to keep under surveilance, were a revolting feature of the demonstration. No negro woman is known to have been killed, but the utmost viciousness was shown by their assailants, who beat negresses in the face while they were held helpless, and who tore their clothing off. Men cheered the women on, and helped with kicks and thrusts at their victims.

From dusk Eads Bridge was thronged with St. Louisans crossing to see the fire and to witness the rioting. Some of these visitors stopped those coming from the East Side, with questions about the safety of going farther. They were told they would have to take their chances. Many went no farther than the limit for returning without paying a second nickel, but hundreds of others pressed on toward the glow of the Broadway blaze.

N Y C SUN
JULY 4, 1917

The East St. Louis Riots.

Race antagonism, of course, was at the bottom of the bloody riots in East St. Louis in which it is feared that as many as 100 negroes may have lost their lives. But there was an economic basis to it also. Not in East St. Louis alone but in many industrial cities of the North not far from the line of the Potomac and Ohio rivers, or that shadowy Mason and Dixon's line which once defined the divergent civilizations of the North and the South, working people are disquieted by the northward march of the Southern negro seeking employment.

The almost complete cessation of immigration due to the war has caused a famine in unskilled labor in the industrial centres of the North. Wages are high and growing higher. No substitutes are readily found for the hosts of southern Italians, Poles, Slovaks and kindred races upon whom our railways and other large constructive enterprises have relied for their heavy work. Naturally the employment agencies discovered the Southern negro, and proceeded to raid the territory he inhabits. Strong, willing, good natured, he seemed the ideal "man with the hoe," or with the pick and shovel. Gayly irresponsible and eager for new sights, he was readily lured from the country which best understands him and where as a rule he prospers best. The promise of a daily wage twice as great as the South will pay for like service and almost as much as he gets in a week in the cotton field was too alluring. The exodus of the negro from the South alarmed that section, even as his invasion has affrighted certain classes in the North. It is said that the South has already lost more than 500,000 of its workers. Employment agents from Northern towns would run an excursion train into a Southern village and take it out loaded with all the available field labor of the neighborhood. Alarmed by the raids the South tried every available expedient to stop them—not always stopping short of violence. As Northern communities mobbed the negroes for coming in, so Southern communities mobbed the employment agents for inducing them to go out.

Neither section has the correct remedy for the trouble. What has been done in East St. Louis puts the blackest stain of outlawry and crime upon that community. No investor, no settler but will think twice before intrusting either his property or his person to a community which is still in the stage of frontier barbarism. The great State of Illinois will no doubt enforce the law in this turbulent community and inflict due punishment upon the ringleaders of the murderous mob. But it will be many years before either Illinois or its riotous city can expunge from the national mind the harmful impression made by this outbreak.

But the negro is undoubtedly better off in the South, and the South is better off in proportion as it can keep its colored population at home. It must pay better wages to begin with, else economic forces will infallibly lure the negro away. To-day the South understands the peril confronting it in the unrest of its working people. But it is an unrest for which the dominant element of the Southern people is wholly responsible.

The war, of course, is the cause of the scarcity of unskilled labor today. The workers on whom we long relied are in the trenches or fighting in the Dolomites and the Carpathians. But if peace should set them free a large proportion would be debarred from seeking employment in our land by the law for the restriction of immigration, drawn by an Alabama Congressman, and carried to enactment over the President's veto by Southern votes.

A condition, not a theory, confronts the South. With immigration curbed wages for labor in the North will always be such as to attract the negro and thus leave desolate the Southern fields. To meet this situation the people of the South must either pay wages they now think ruinous, strike off the curb they have applied to the free incoming of the sturdy workers of southern Europe on whom we have relied for most of our heavy, unskilled labor.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE
JULY 10, 1917

STATE OF MIND ALL TOO PREVALENT.

Chicago, July 9.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—Such deeds of incredible horror and cruelty as marked the riot in East St. Louis naturally arouse feelings of the same intemperate wrath and love for reprisal, but they avail nothing, and add fuel to the flame. Impassioned appeals to Negroes to arm themselves, purchase guns, and barricade their homes will not be acted upon, even by those who applaud such utterances, still less by the mass of intelligent, law abiding colored people in our midst.

The Negro has not made his way thus far by deeds of violence or hostile behavior of any kind toward white people. His patient endurance of heavy wrongs has contributed more than anything else to his steady race advance. The Negro is learning to estimate his race leaders, white and black, for himself, on their merits, to choose his own methods of race adjustment. He is as often hindered and dishonored in his professed advocates as helped and honored.

THE TRIBUNE says rightly that the blame is collective, not individual, not wholly racial, economical, or political. The fault lies in our general system. What is the "system"? It is nothing less than that body of compact feeling and belief which stolidly, quietly, or forcefully opposes every advance in human progress not initiated by itself; which arrogates to itself all the gains and benefits of world enterprise and fitness, which lives to exploit the weak, to plunder and rob in ways more or less obvious or concealed.

The situation in East St. Louis harshly typifies a state of mind which is all too prevalent among us. The event is one which out-Prussians Prussian Germany and gives bitter emphasis to Mr. McCutcheon's cartoon of July 4, showing the American soldier marching away to bear a share in the universal war in behalf of a civilization still far from achievement.

CELIA PARKER WOOLLEY,
3032 Wabash avenue.

REPORT ON THE HOUSTON RIOT.

The Citizens' Board of Houston, Tex., appointed to inquire into the riot of negro soldiers at that place August 23, does not spare the Superintendent of Police, who is praised as a man, but condemned for inefficiency as an official.

This is a reminder of the East St. Louis riots, which the local police could have prevented if they had been alive to their duty and not in open sympathy with the rioters.

The description of conditions prevailing among the negro soldiers at Camp Logan before the riot, as set forth in this citizens' report, is not flattering to the officers in command of that camp, and should give the War Department ground for investigation.

Riots—1917

Whites Battle With Negroes

ST LOUIS MO TIMES
JULY 2, 1917

Three negroes and one white man are dead as the result of race riots at East St. Louis, which at 2 o'clock today appeared to be beyond police and militia control.

At Collinsville avenue and State street three negroes were killed in 15 minutes. They were shot to death between 1:15 and 1:30 o'clock. Scores of other negroes were beaten with bricks and clubs.

Sixteen militiamen were disarmed by the crowd amidst hoots and jeers at the same corner.

Crowds of screaming women and men are racing up and down certain streets in the business section of the city.

Every saloon in East St. Louis was closed at 2 o'clock under orders from Mayor Mollman. It was announced that the troops would be instructed to assist the police in enforcing the closing order.

General orders were also issued by Mayor Mollman and the East Side Police Board for the police to stop and search for arms every negro found on the streets.

With militia patrolling the streets and at least 6000 men, women and children sweeping through the business section of the city demanding that the authorities force every negro to leave town, the riots grew grave at noon.

One of the negroes was shot by a member of a crowd of 1000 persons who had congregated at Missouri and Collinsville avenues, in the heart of the business district. The other—Walter Williams, 34 years old—was shot three times at Eighteenth street and Piggott avenue.

The mobs blocked street cars and in many instances attempted to drag frightened negroes from the cars. Riot call after riot call swept into Police Headquarters and patrol wagons dashed about the city from one section to the other in what appeared to be a futile effort to stop the growing disregard of the mobs for law and order. In many instances the patrol wagons were met with bricks and other missiles and policemen openly jeered.

Mob Takes Prisoners

The negro shot at Missouri and Collinsville avenues was wounded twice in the leg, but succeede din escaping by dashing into a nearby building. The police arrested two men who were suspected of doing the shooting. The mob rushed the police, however, and dragged the men away from them. In the melee several policemen were roughly handled.

The arrival of the troops, instead of awing the crowds, seemed to only stimulate their animosity toward the negroes.

"Kill the negroes," they shouted, "or get them out of town! We won't have them here any more."

Mobs of 200 and 300 persons are gathering in several sections of the city, openly threatening the police and soldiers if they attempt to protect the negroes.

With the arrival of five companies of militiamen today, the city was in virtual martial law.

The first of the militiamen to arrive was Company H of Shelbyville, which detrained at 8:45 o'clock. Two other com- of Shelbyville, which detrained at 8:45 o'clock. Two other companies, I of Vandalia, and E of Carbondale, followed these closely while Company G of Effingham and a company from Benton were expected hourly.

Lieut. Col. E. P. Clayton of the Third Illinois Regiment was placed in command of the troops, all of which are units of the Third, except the Benton company. Col. O. T. Tripp of Gov. Lowden's personal staff also arrived in East St. Louis. It was said that he has instructions to make a personal report to the Governor.

East St. Louis

While quiet prevailed for a time throughout the city following the arrival of the troops, additional trouble started early. In addition to the newly arrived troops there are 200 men of the Fourth Illinois already in East St. Louis held in readiness.

The dead white man is

Coppedge, Samuel, detective sergeant, 48 years old, 3201 State street.

The wounded:

Hobbs, Oscar, patrolman, 46 years old, 1805 St. Clair avenue.

Masserang, Gus, a former patrolman.

Long, Jay, citizen, 922 Piggott street.

Walker, Harry L., patrolman, 645 North Twenty-sixth street.

Wodley, Frank, detective, 29 years old, 1624 Gaty avenue.

Answer Bell Call.

The mob organized at 12:45 o'clock this morning in response to the ringing of a church bell in the black belt.

At the first sounds of the bell, as if in response to a prearranged signal, the negroes, all heavily armed, poured from their homes and assembled at Sixteenth street and Boismenue avenue.

James Reddy, a grocer in the vicinity, telephoned to police headquarters of the sudden rising of the negroes.

A police automobile with four officers in it was ordered to the scene. As they drove up to the corner the negroes stood sullenly silent, holding their guns in readiness.

"What's doing, boys?" asked Detective Sergeant Coppedge, as he prepared to alight from the machine.

"None of your d—d business," returned a giant negro, who appeared to be a leader of the mob. "And you had better drive on."

POLICEMEN FALL.

"We are officers," returned Coppedge, "and we will protect you as well as the white people."

"We don't need anybody to protect us," replied the negro. "Better drive away."

Coppedge turned to Driver William Hutter, who was acting as chauffeur of the car, and ordered him to drive on. Although famous for his bravery, Coppedge knew it would be useless for his small force to attempt to disperse the negroes.

No sooner had he told the chauffeur to "go ahead" than a concerted volley rang out, raking the car and its occupants. Coppedge dropped back into the machine, his body literally riddled with bullets.

Patrolmen Wodley and Hobbs sank back in their seats, both of them having received a number of wounds. The driver was uninjured. He threw in the power of the car and it sprang ahead, scattering the mob, the members of which did not appear awed by the havoc their shots had created.

At the Deaconess Hospital Coppedge was found to have been instantly killed, while physicians said that Hobbs and Wodley were also seriously injured.

SOLDIERS SUMMONED.

As soon as word of the rioting was received at Police Headquarters Chief of Police Con Hickey ordered every policeman in the city to surround the black belt. At the same time he hurried into communication with Maj. Cavanagh, who is in charge of 200 soldiers of the Illinois Militia, now encamped in East St. Louis. The troops were also ordered to surround the black belt, and the infantrymen went through the negroes' houses searching for arms. Scores of weapons of all kinds were seized, it was declared by the East St. Louis police.

It was also made known by city officials today that the trouble started last Saturday night when William Dublin, 47 years old, 459 North Sixth street, became involved in a cutting affray with an unidentified negro. Dublin, who is in St. Mary's Hospital in a serious condition, was severely slashed and stabbed by the negro. Following the stabbing the negro escaped. A mob of 50 white men formed in the vicinity and invaded the black belt searching for the negro. It is said that the mob roughly treated a number of negroes. The negroes were said to have been expecting a repetition of the invasion early today when mobilized.

East St. Louis race riots broke out May 28 last, as the result of two white men being held up by negroes. Riots between the whites and blacks resulted in the injuring of more than 20 negroes and a dozen white men.

Preceding the May riots a mass meeting of indignant citizens was held at the East St. Louis City Hall, in which threats of exterminating the negroes were openly made. The saloons were ordered closed at that time and other drastic steps taken to restore and preserve order. The trouble at that time was said to have been caused by the importation of negro laborers from the south.

PHILA. PA. RECORD
JULY 13, 1917

The Inconsistent Colonel.

Colonel Roosevelt's furious denunciation (at the expense of his manners) of the East St. Louis riots has recalled to some of his critics the fact that this is rather a novel role for him. His passion for justice to the negro was not exactly conspicuous in 1912, when, in organizing the Progressive party he took good care to see that in the Southern States it should be strictly a white man's organization. Negroes were informed that they need not apply for membership, as they were not wanted.

The Brooklyn Eagle, which is not unfriendly to the Colonel, revives at some length the story of his savage treatment of the Twenty-fifth Regiment (colored) in connection with the Brownsville (Tex.) troubles in 1906, when Mr. Roosevelt was President. He then dismissed a whole battalion of negro soldiers on charges which were never proved, and which most persons believed to be untrue. All the men had good records, but that did not prevent Mr. Roosevelt from insisting that they be dishonorably discharged and deprived of their rights as soldiers. It is the view of The Eagle that the Colonel's "vastly indignant and vastly enthusiastic defense of the right of colored men to go where they please in the United States becomes humorous to such Americans as have not forgotten the Brownsville incident." Probably this humorous feature does not appeal strongly to the discharged veterans of the Twenty-fifth Regiment.

One of the best things Mr. Roosevelt ever did was his reorganization, when President, of the army, in connection with Elihu Root as Secretary of War, and the creation of the General Staff. Thanks to that very efficient body the share of the United States in the great European war is now being handled with a high degree of intelligence and skill. But the Colonel does not now like the General Staff, because it disapproved of his plan for taking a division of volunteers to France, and he refers to it sneeringly as "doubtless well-meaning military men, of the red-tape and pipeclay school, who are hidebound in the pedantry of that kind of wooden militarism which is only one degree worse than its extreme opposite," etc.

Inconsistent? Well, what of it? Nobody expects the Colonel to be consistent where his own personal and political fortunes are concerned. Congress corrected the injustice he did to the colored soldiers, and the country has indorsed the position taken by the General Staff in its refusal to allow him to go to France. He will continue to have a "bully good time" until the end.

NEGRO AGITATOR TRIES TO START RACE RIOTS HERE

ST LOUIS MO TIMES
AUGUST 4 1917

After attempting to incite several hundred negroes last night with defamatory remarks about white residents, Porter Philipps, a negro, 44 years old living in the rear of 1041 North Sarah street, was arrested by the police and is held pending the issuance of a warrant charging him with an attempt to start a riot.

When the police found Philipps he was pacing the yard which surrounds his home armed with a shotgun, guarding an effigy hanging to a tree which was supposed to represent the black race.

ANTI-NEGRO RIOTS DUE TO LABOR CAUSES

N Y C TIMES
JULY 8. 1917

East St. Louis Congressman Traces Ill-feeling Among Laborers Since Packing House Strike.

KILLING of negroes and burning their houses in the recent riots of East St. Louis, Ill., was not due to racial hatred, but was entirely the result of labor conditions, according to Representative William A. Rodenberg of the Twenty-second Illinois Congressional District, including East St. Louis. Mr. Rodenberg's own home is in the city, which has a populaton of 85,000.

"The trouble is entirely economic," he said in the course of an interview at Washington. "It has been threatening a long time, and five weeks ago there was a forerunner of the present violence in the shape of a riot in which six blacks and three whites were killed. To understand the situation it is necessary to know the character of the town as an industrial centre. There are twenty-six railroads running through it and one hundred coal mines within fifty miles. All this rail transportation, together with the cheap water haulage on the river and the easy distance of fuel sources, has converted East St. Louis into a town that is entirely given over to manufacturing.

"The chief industrial concerns are the packing houses of the Swift, Morris, and Armour companies, and the parent plant of the American Aluminum Company. It was in these concerns that the labor troubles began. The packing houses employ all told about 5,000 men. There are 3,000 in the aluminium plant, where practically all the aluminium used in the country is extracted from the raw clay material brought from Arkansas and Missouri.

"Several months ago there were strikes for shorter hours and higher wages at the packing houses and in the aluminium works. All these demands of the labor men were granted. Then the packing houses and the American Aluminum Company declared for open shops, and there was another strike based on the demand that the employers recognize the unions. This was not granted, so the workmen stayed out. Thereupon the companies concerned filled their plants with black labor. The white strikers declare that the companies sent agents all through the South to induce the blacks to come to the town. The employers deny this, and say that East St. Louis already had a plentiful supply of black labor when the whites went on strike and that the negroes were put to work because they were the only labor available to keep the plants going. As to the truth in the matter I do not know.

"But it is a fact that there has been a big influx of negroes into the town for the last five or six years. It began when the railroads, the Southern, the Louisville & Nashville, the Iron Mountain, and Mobile & Ohio, and various other lines started to replace white employes with black men in the section gangs and at freight handling points. Naturally thousands of these negroes with their families drifted into East St. Louis to live, and no doubt they sent word to their friends in the South that they had found a place where they could make more money than they had ever dreamed of before. The inevitable thing happened. Negroes came to the town in swarms from all parts of the South, some of them from farms, but many more of a less desirable type from the cities of the South.

"It was easy enough to foresee long ago, long before the white men went on strike, that eventually there would be a labor clash because of the coming of this new black element, but we had not looked for rioting with such horrible results in killing and arson as we have had this week.

"Of course, the negroes were not members of the labor unions. I don't know that they could have got in if they had tried; but it is a notorious fact that black laborers are not capable of being successfully unionized. They don't understand why they should pay dues. Be that as it may, there were enough negroes in town to fill all the jobs of the 8,000 men who went on strike against the open shop, and they were put to work. They received the same wages which their white predecessors had got, the minimum daily pay for the humblest sort of work in the aluminium plant being $2.75. This was a fortune to the negro who had been working for 75 cents a day in the South. No doubt more messages went out from these people to those they had left behind, telling of the wealth to be picked up in East St. Louis. At any rate, the influx has continued until now there must be more than 20,000 blacks in the town. Four years ago there were not more than 7,000.

"The thing that first called my attention to the size of this immigration movement was the result of the registration in East St. Louis for the selective draft of the War Department. There were 6,000 white men registered and 2,500 negroes, almost a third of the whole registration being black. I imagine that the population of the town is very much in the same proportion. There are at least 20,000 foreign-born whites of practically all nationalities of Southern and Eastern Europe. For the rest, the population is made up of Americans, Irish, and a few Germans. So there are the elements and the labor conditions which brought about the present situation.

"The trouble is not between the negroes and the foreign whites exclusively. I have no doubt that the American and Irish elements have been largely represented in the rioting, for it is purely a labor matter, and every white workman in the city is interested, either as a man who has lost his job to a negro or as a man who fears to lose it if the blacks are not driven out of what has hitherto been a strong union town.

"There has been no animosity shown toward the negroes as such. They have not intruded themselves into white neighborhoods to live, but have segregated themselves in colonies, as the Italians and Poles do, and have occupied the new tenement houses that were rushed up by the builders to take care of this sudden addition to the population.

"The violence really began with the killing of a popular Police Sergeant named Coppage, who had gone out with three patrolmen to quell any possible trouble. He was killed by negroes. That was the last straw. It brought to a head all the resentment of the whites against the negroes who had taken their places in the factories.

"Two stories that have been circulated in connection with the riots and the coming of the negroes into Illinois are absolute rot. One of these is that the violence was instigated by German agents, and the other is that the negroes were imported into the State just before the last election for political purposes. There is no foundation for either report, so far as East St. Louis is concerned, or [illegible] erence to Chicago, where 50,0[illegible] es have gone from the South in [illegible] t year or so."

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 23, 1917

East St. Louis Riots.

Editor The St. Louis Star: I have been reading for the last ten days editorials, letters and news items about the infamous riot that has happened so near our very doors. While there is a good deal of truth in all of them, they fail, every one of them, in fact that they do not get beneath the surface. Of course, any one can blame it on ill feeling, booze or psychological reasons, but just let one dig down to the fundamental causes and he will not only astonish himself but all those that will listen to him. He, the one that can tell you with all the truth and earnestness is "he" the one that has been all through it. Here's what he will tell you:

"It was a fight, a manly fight from nature's standpoint, but not one from humanity's. It was a fight for bread, and the right to work for bread, the right to protect my children, my wife, my home, yea even our stomachs.

"We were getting to the point where we were desperate, and when humanity reaches that point it knows no laws or regulations of government, mental or moral codes. The rights were taken away from us to earn our daily bread and given to people who, while not realizing what they were doing, worked for a great deal less, thereby taking bread out of our very mouths.

"What did the officials do or what did they care? So consequently we took the law in our own hands, and what can our very humanitarian brothers say? We had to have bread, and we, as the call of the wild says, fought for bread."

Coming down to the blame and where to place it, it was not the black man's fault. He is a tool of industry, the same as the white man. It was not the white man's fault. He was drove to it. Any psychologist will tell you that. Well, then, whose fault was it? Personally I blame it on those that imported the black man. Next in line is the politician who gave them protection and encouragement, next the people themselves for not banding together in a peaceful way and demanding the city government take some action. Now, coming down to a final analysis, the fault lies in the vast amount of indifference shown by everyone because of the individual struggle necessary for the livelihood of their own households.

FRANK MEYER.

N Y C SUN
JULY 14, 1917

One Killed in Race Riot.

St. Louis, July 13.—One man was reported killed and between forty and fifty injured in race rioting that broke out between American and foreign mining men near Flat River, Mo., to-night. Flat River is in St. Francois county about fifty miles southwest of St. Louis

Negro Refugees, Armed, Start New Illinois Riot

Soldiers Sent to Quell Disturbance In Town Where Blacks Who Fled East St. Louis Are Gathered—Fear Oil Tanks Will Be Fired.

N Y C TELEGRAM
JULY 8, 1917

[SPECIAL TO THE EVENING TELEGRAM.]

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Sunday.—A new race war started in Hartford, Ill. sixteen miles north of East St. Louis early to-day, and 300 soldiers from Alton and East St. Louis were rushed to the town in automobiles in response to appeals from citizens for protection.

The soldiers are now in complete possession of the little town, which is virtually under military rule. Patrols have been established and military camps are being put up.

The negroes who started the trouble are believed to be refugees from the East St. Louis riots. More than 100 of them marched through the streets of the village, menacing the whites with open threats. All were armed. The residents armed themselves in turn and barricaded their homes against a possible invasion.

Hartford is only one mile south of Wood River, a Standard Oil town, in which are many great storage tanks, which it is feared the negroes may fire if not disbanded.

Arrangements for the reorganization of the East St. Louis police force, demanded by business men as a result of the rioting, took definite form to-day. Banks of the city will advance the funds necessary for doubling the force. The banks will make a long term loan.

Conrad Reeb, president of the Southern Illinois National Bank and president of the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, is chairman of the citizens' committee of nine that has undertaken the work of reforming the city government. The demand for a federal investigation of the riot and the causes that led up to it has become pronounced.

Police Commissioner Schmidt suggested that the large employers of labor build towns outside the city limits for their negro employes. If the negroes were provided such homes, he said, they no longer would be a factor in East St. Louis politics and would have sanitary living quarters as well.

6 PRIVATES CHARGED WITH RACE RIOT COMPLICITY

N Y C CALL
AUG 25 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Aug. 24.—The war department has notified Attorney General Brundage to begin proceedings against six members of the 3d Illinois artillery, charged with complicity i nthe race riots July 1 and 2.

The soldiers will be brought to this county for trial.

Demand Negroes Arm Repudiated by Chicago Body

Delegation Presents Lowden With Memorial Condemning Violence, and Asking Rights.

CHICAGO HERALD
JULY 8, 1917

Efforts to make the observance of "France Day" next Saturday state and nation wide were made yesterday by sending a request to President Wilson and Governor Lowden for messages to be read at the celebrations in Chicago. The requests were made by telegraph by the France Day committee.

Celebrations will be held in the afternoon at the foot of the Washington statue in Washington Park, at the Lincoln statue in Lincoln Park, and in Garfield Park. Business men and residents have been asked to fly the tricolor of France.

A drive for recruits also will be conducted on the day by Captain Franklin R. Kenney of the army, using the slogan, "France Day Is Your Chance Day. Enlist! Join Pershing, the American Lafayette."

The telegram sent to President Wilson yesterday read:

"France Day will be celebrated in Chicago July 14. Indorsed by the City Council and city war board and financially suported by war committee of Union League Club. Will you please send message to be read at the celebrations to be held in Chicago on that day? By your message the observance may become national in scope."

The message to Governor Lowden urged him to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the state to join in the celebration and asked him to address the gathering at Washington Park.

COL. HOMES FIRED IN EAST ST. LOUIS

8/9/17
The American

East St. Louis, Aug. 6.—Two colored homes were destroyed and several damaged in a series of incendiary fires in the colored district last night and early to-day. Oil-soaked rags were found in several of the houses. Ten unoccupied houses were fired

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis.

Negro Section Fired Anew in East St. Louis; Militia Gets Mob Under Control

N.Y.C. HERALD JULY 4, 1917

Rioters at First Smash Furniture Taken from Blazing Homes, but Order "Shoot to Kill Whites and Blacks Alike" Finally Overawes Throng.

WOMAN IS WOUNDED IN ATTACK ON TROOPS

[SPECIAL DESPATCH TO THE HERALD.]

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Tuesday.—New trouble started just after noon to-day in the race war when mobs started four times in the south end negro district and burned ten negro homes. Militiamen were called to the scene and aided in an attempt to save furniture from the burning structures, but their efforts did not accomplish much, as the mobs stood about outside and smashed furniture as rapidly as it was brought into the open.

That did not last long, however, for the militiamen had been provided with bullets and given orders to "shoot to kill" blacks and whites alike. They succeeded in dispersing the rioters without the necessity of using firearms. According to the police no negroes were known to be in the burned homes.

Scattered rioting was reported from half a dozen outlying districts soon after noon, but the despatch of ambulances and militia to the scene soon restored quiet.

A mob which descended on the home of George Jeffier, a negro, beat him into insensibility when he was trying to protect his wife and children. According to his story afterward, he woke to find his wife shot through the head, his children gone and his home aflame.

A woman also was the victim when fifty negroes, men, women and children, who were fleeing to Belleville were set upon by a mob. The negroes fired on the militiamen who came to their rescue, and the latter shot over the group. Then, when a pitched battle ensued, they fired on the negroes, one woman being shot through the lungs.

Declares Situation in Hand.

Adjutant General Dickinson declared this evening that the situation was well in hand, the troops originally sent having been reinforced by six companies of infantry from Chicago and a troop of cavalry from Springfield.

East side morgues are congested with dead negroes, and the total of twenty-six dead so far recovered is believed to be but a small part of the total that will be reported when it becomes possible to search the ruins of the burned district. Many now in the morgue died in the flames. Four white men have been identified among the dead.

Private advices from Washington indicate that government officials believe German agents to have been behind the rioting, and it is possible that General Barry at Chicago may make an investigation or take charge of the situation for federal authority.

Governor Lowden arrived to-night to take personal charge of the situation and instigate the necessary investigations.

At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce at noon members blamed the Illinois militia for the deaths and property damage resulting from last night's rioting. Adjutant General Dickinson, who attended the meeting, was told that the entire trouble resulted from a lack of discipline and disorderly conduct by the militiamen.

Police Are Criticised.

The police force, which numbers sixty, also was charged with negligence. Of all the incidents of the riot related to-day, not one told of a single act of bravery on the part of the police or militiamen. Anxious citizens, who inquired of individual militiamen why they did not stop the plundering and murders, in many instances under their very eyes, received grins for their replies. Some of the soldiers were disarmed by the rioters.

To-day some of the negroes walked out of town on the railroad tracks, more crossed to the Missouri side, still others, assured of protection by the augmented force of soldiers, returned to their homes. Some, whose homes were burned were cared for in a camp hastily arranged by the Chamber of Commerce.

A newspaper reporter, who was in the thick of the trouble last night, related that a white man, observing a cowering negro, approached and said:—

"Come with me into this alley, you'll be safe there." The negro followed in the alley. The white man calmly shot his victim through the head and sauntered back into the street, presently joining a mob intent on a rope and lamp-post lynching.

Last night brought rumors that many bodies had been thrown in the river, but the waters gave up no dead to-day. One negro badly injured was discovered in a sewer manhole, where he was thrown after being badly beaten.

He Blames Strikebreakers.

Michael Whalen, president of the Central Trades and Labor Council here and likewise City Clerk, gave one explanation of conditions which he thought led to the rioting.

"Last summer," said Whalen, "4,500 white men went on strike in the packing plants of Armour & Co., Morris & Co., and Swift & Co. Eight hundred negroes from the South came into the plants as strikebreakers. When the strike ended the negroes remained at work and an equivalent number of white men failed to get their jobs back. Since then there has been a stream of negroes arriving. At least twenty-five hundred negroes have come from the South in the last year. Many of them failed to obtain work or to hold jobs once obtained. Burglaries, highway robberies and petty crimes began. The people became exasperated and determined to drive them out of town."

The Grand Jury meets July 9. The leaders of the mob are said to be known and the Grand Jury will deal with them.

Of the ninety-three cases in which those arrested last night were charged with inciting to riot, all but three were dismissed for lack of evidence. Three others accused by witnesses of dragging a negro through the streets with a rope around his neck were held to the Grand Jury.

Governor Lowden was said to be angered at criticism of the militia by members of the Chamber of Commerce. They were less than ever inclined to modify their assertion that had the militia acted vigorously last night much bloodshed might have been averted.

LAYS RACE RIOTS TO "OPEN SHOP" POLICY

N.Y.C. Herald 7-4-17

HERALD BUREAU, No. 1,502 H STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C., Tuesday.

Race riots in East St. Louis have been caused to a large extent by refusal of concerns employing labor to recognize unions, according to a statement made to-day by Representative Rodenberg, republican, who represents the East St. Louis district in the House. Mr. Rodenberg is much concerned because of the killing yesterday of many persons in his district.

"The trouble is confined to East St. Louis," said Mr. Rodenberg, "which is a great centre for all sorts of manufacturing. About twenty-five railroads centre there, and in the last year or so a great many negroes have been employed by the railroad companies for work about the stations and as section hands.

"There is no doubt the difficulty is economic. Strikes have occurred in a number of the big plants, especially in the plant of the aluminum company. Negroes from the South have filled the places of the strikers and the latter are bitter. About three thousand men are employed in the aluminum plant and some five thousand in packing plants. The aluminum company has government contracts and pays high wages. Attracted by this pay, negro laborers have flocked in to fill the places of the white strikers.

"The companies have refused to recognize the union and have insisted upon the open shop."

Negroes May Go to Chicago, Leader Says

N.Y.C. TRIBUNE JULY 5, 1917

Chicago, July 4.—Victor A. Olander, secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor and a member of the State Council of Defence, has issued a warning to Chicago and other Northern cities "where the same conditions which brought about such frightful results in East St. Louis exist." He calls attention to protests by organized labor against what he terms the unnecessary importation of negro labor at East St. Louis and says:

"I don't care to say much about the situation here in Chicago, but there should be an investigation. Certain classes of employers are seeking cheaper labor—negroes and women—on the pretext that additional labor is needed on account of war conditions. As a result thousands of white men are being thrown out of employment."

STATE, NATION DISGRACED BY EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS

Rev. R. A. White Says Real Soul of American People Is Outraged

By REV. R. A. WHITE

East St. Louis staged a pre-Fourth of July celebration which was sinister, devilish and significant. Those highly patriotic members of a murdering mob want the world to know that East St. Louis and Illinois are on the map. They have succeeded. Kishinev will know it, the Prussian will hear of it. It was a shot heard round the world.

REV. R. A. WHITE

They do nothing by halves in East St. Louis. Firecrackers and sonofaguns are too tame for these patriots. The crack of rifles, the shriek of dying men, the terror of mothers with babes in arms, the torch, flames and the stench of burning flesh are the things the rioting murderers of East St. Louis love. A brave Fourth of July celebration, gentlemen cutthroats! The nation salutes you.

You have honored the adopted state of Lincoln. The great emancipator, from serene places which you will not gain, will look upon your work in bewilderment. "This in Illinois, the state of my pride and love," he will say. East St. Louis does more, it writes a new declaration of independence: "All men have certain inalienable rights, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—except men with black faces." A brave amendment to the document our forefathers died for.

Well, the thing is done. Illinois and the nation are disgraced. East St. Louis has demonstrated that democracy may cradle mobocracy.

Real American Outraged

Yet we ought not to get panicky about this. East St. Louis is not the nation. The real soul of the American people has no part in such a horror, is outraged by it. Remember, if a few hundred people threw off the restraints of law, order and civilization and turned themselves into ravening wolves eager for blood, over 100,000,000 Americans believe in law and order and were behaving themselves while these shrieking hyenas of East St. Louis howled for their black-faced prey. Remember that if twoscore negroes were killed in that pandemonium of bestiality over 10,000,000 black men and women within our national borders live in peace and security.

We are not to enlarge a local piece of brutality into a national crime. The world will make it national, because, unfortunately, the world does not know East St. Louis and its local form of government. In the estimation of the world we shall as a nation suffer for the sins of a small locality. That hurts our pride.

We have boasted our love of law and order. On the whole, it has been no idle boast. We have practiced as well as boasted. This East St. Louis business humiliates us. This Illinois Kishinev disgraces us. The East St. Louis murderous riot was shameful, inexcusable, dastardly, cowardly. The stain of it will not wash out easily. We may cry, "Out, damned spot," but it will not out.

Should Not Be Forgotten

The real question is what are we going to do about it. Forget it? When the big headlines cease and Capt. Streeter proclaims martial law in the "deestrict," will we forget the East St. Louis riot? It is not impossible. We are a people of short memories. Our moral indignation is genuine, but limited.

But this thing ought not to be forgotten. Mobocracy is a social disease that ought not to be neglected. It might become chronic. Already other massacres are phophesied. The mob spirit is contagious. We may face an epidemic of mobs. "Increase of appetite doth grow by what it feeds upon," with apologies to Shakespeare for dragging him into the riot.

First, there should be no lame excuses for this murderous East St. Louis mob or the spirit which inflamed it. There were reasons for such a pack of wolves breaking into crime, of course. Everything has a reason. But no sophistry can find excusing reasons for this crime. Racial, economic, even political reasons were in evidence. No one of them, or all of them together, excuse such an outrage against law and order, humane sentiments and common decency. They may explain the riot, but they do not justify it.

Will Have Its Apologists

The East St. Louis riot will find its apologists. There are minds that would apologize for hell and the devil. They are mentally and morally built that way. Special interests will find special reasons for justifying the riot. The air will be full of apologies. Thinking, serous-minded citizens of Illinois will accept no apology. They know that no sufficient apology can be made for a crime. Let us face the music and accept the grim, awful fact in all its nakedness.

Second, some one should be punished. No milk and water business. The heavy hand of the law should be laid heavily upon every man and woman implicated in this ghoulish crime. Illinois owes it to her good name not to condone or excuse. Her business is to punish and punish hard. A crime has been committed, the good name of the state dragged in the mire of a senseless mob. The world is aghast with astonishment that such a thing could happen in Illinois, the state of Lincoln and Grant. We shall stand finally condemned only if we fail to act, to act promptly and certainly.

Teach the lawless citizenship of this state that murdering with a mob does not cease to be murder. We have courts and

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

judges. Let them act and do their duty. That these mob murderers can not be identified is nonsense. All was open and above board. Men boasted that they shot straight and got their "nigger." Let justice shoot straight. We can not afford to have it said that justice draws the color line. Law and order should run no "jim crow" cars. The people of Illinois can not justly be condemned for a local unexpected outburst of mob madness, at least only indirectly, but we disgrace the state of Lincoln if the mob goes unpunished.

Finally, there should be no appeals for reprisals either by black or white. The colored orators who counseled armed resistance at a meeting in Chicago merely provoke the trouble they seek to avoid. That the negro is outraged I can understand. That he fears is not strange. But we have but one legitimate source of confidence and safety in this nation; that is law and the established order. An appeal to arms or reprisals is un-American and dangerous. Law and the established order fails us sometimes. But nothing will be gained by flying from law and order which fails us sometimes to anarchy and the mob which always fail.

The threat that 12,000,000 negroes might revolt against white domination is only the vaporings of a disordered brain.

The black man must have justce. It is his right. A black skin does not rob him of the protection of the law; at least it must not in the future.

But this important business must be worked out in the spirit of justice, and order, not by the narchy of the mob, black or white.

Race Riots in St. Louis

Within the last few days there have been several petty riots in St. Louis and East St. Louis between negroes and white men. The contagion of race feeling spread from the streets to the workhouse, where on June 8 a battle was fought with stones and sticks between white and colored convicts until the fire department turned a hose on the combatants. It is a little difficult to account for this sudden outburst of race antagonism, but its origin appears to be mainly economic. Many negroes from the southern states have come north during the last few months to take advantage of the unusual opportunities afforded by war stimulated industries in the manufacturing centers. Southern newspapers are complaining of a labor shortage in the rural districts and many of them are conducting a "stay in the South" propaganda to check the labor migration. On the other hand, the working men of St. Louis and other cities where the negro population has been increasing viewed the entrance of the negro into the labor market with alarm and dislike, and in such an atmosphere race feuds readily flourished.

Negroes Returning to East St. Louis

East St. Louis, Ill., Aug. 19.—It is estimated that 60 per cent of the negroes that left here during the recent race riots returned today because of the conviction yesterday of S. L. Schulz, who confessed he led mobs in the riots and was sentenced to 15 years.

NEGROES CRAWLED OUT AT DAWN TO VIEW THE RUINS

ST LOUIS MO TIMES
JULY 3, 1917

HID IN BASEMENTS

At dawn this morning, hundreds of negroes who had sought shelter under sidewalks, in basements of storerooms, empty box cars and hundreds of other unlikely places, came forth from their hiding places, slinking furtively along side streets and alleys to Police Headquarters, the City Hall or towards the Free Bridge.

Lieut. Col. E. P. Clayton, in active command of the troops patrolling the streets, issued hundreds of permits to negro families wishing to escape to St. Louis this morning.

Several thousand automobiles, most of them containing a number of women, paraded through the devastated districts of East St. Louis from 7 o'clock this morning, viewing the wreckage wrought by the mob yesterday. The automobiles were from the Tri-Cities, Belleville, St. Louis and East St. Louis.

The number of prisoners in Police Headquarters was so large that about 25 of them were quartered in the area ways outside the basement windows of the station. Militiamen stood guard around them with drawn bayonets. Others were confined in the basement of the City Hall.

The spirit of the mob was broken when 75 guardsmen from the encampment at Springfield charged into the crowd and captured nearly 300 of the white rioters at 7:30 o'clock last night near the corner of Broadway and Collinsville avenue. The men were marched to Police Headquarters amid the jeers and hoots of their companions.

"FIGHTING BOB" JACKSON COMES TO THE RESCUE

Members of the Race in East St. Louis Given Protection

East St. Louis, Ill., June 8.—Members of the Race were forced to appeal to Representative Robert R. Jackson, state representative from the First District, owing to the treatment they were being subjected to by soldiers on guard. "Fighting Bob" got busy and as a result the following order was issued by the commanding officer at East St. Louis:

Commanding officer directs that all whites appearing to be loafers be searched for arms. If found carrying weapons they are to be placed under arrest and sent to the station.

Negroes attending to their business not to be molested in any way, nor embarrassed by being searched; only those who appear to be loafers, like the white loafers, are to be searched. No discrimination whatever to be made because of color as regards searching.

E. P. CLAYTON,
Lieut. Col. Fourth Illinois Infantry, Commanding.

MORE LIGHT ON A DARK SUBJECT

The East St. Louis race riot has been the occasion for somevery frank and significant expressions in the Southern press upon race relations in the South. It i svery satisfying to observe, that in some parts of the South at least, white people re beginning to see the Negro's problems from the Negro's viewpoint. Adjustment along right lines can only come when men are able to see both sides of the question.

In a recent issue we quoted the Dallas (Texas) Morning News to the effect that "The Negroes of the South are not seeking social equality. They do, however, crave a large opportunity for education, economic and social progress then they enjoy, and it is the denial of this which makes so many of them yield to the lure of the North." Another Texas paper, the "Houston Post," takes practically the same stand, setting forth very clearly the conditions from which Southern Negroes wish to escape in cities and rural communities. It says:

> In the towns and cities the Negroes are dissatisfied with their living conditions. They are not disturbed about politics or social equality, but the insanitary surroundings amid which circumstances compel them to exist are unsatisfactory, and the white people owe it to their own welfare to improve those conditions.
>
> Even worse conditions obtain on many of the plantations, an dadde dto all the drawbacks common to the towns and cities is the other fact that the rural schools for Negro children, where they exist at all, are a joke.
>
> Another cause of Negro discontent lies in the widely prevalent and largely justified belief among the Negroes that there is one law for the white man and another for the Negro. The instances in the court records of the State which prove this to be true are too numerous to be recited here.

There is only one assertion in the "Post's" statement which seems to need correction, and that is that the Negroes are "not disturbed about politics." It is true that Southern Negroes have accepted philosophically the new reconstruction along political lines in the South, but at the same time they are grievously disappointed with and have been grievously wronged by the white man's government. Negroes in the South may not be disturbed about politics but they are very much hindered and oppressed by politics as manipulated by the governing class. The insanitary surroundings in the towns, worse conditions on the farms, poor rural schools and unequal administration of the laws referred to by the "Post" are the outgrowth of the political system in which the Negroes have no voice.

The assertion that Negroes are dissatisfied with their living conditions also needs emphasizing. Take any Southern town or city as an example. Most everything that is undesirable and that will not be tolerated elsewhere is crowded into the Negro section. When every other section of Norfolk protested against the location in its midst of the municipal hospital for the detention of contagious diseases, it was located in the heart of the Negro residential section and nobody was consulted about it. It has beenestimated by a careful survey that the city levies taxes in excess of $35,000 annually upon the property holdings of Negroes in Monroe Ward, still it is a matter of record that during the years that this property has been taxed by the city not a single street has been paved, graded, curbed, cleaned or otherwise improved. The living conditions surrounding Negroes in the South afford an ample subject for the study and reflection of those seeking reasons for discontent and scarcity of the present labor supply.

CHICAGO [illegible] EVE [illegible]
JULY 12, 1917

The Berlin-East St. Louis Race Riots.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., July 9.—To the editor of THE POST. Sir: The suspicion (or certainty) seems to have arisen that the race riots in East St. Louis originated in Berlin, that they were, in fact, part of a plot contrived by the Prussian autocracy to bring about a race war in the United States, in order to compel America to keep its army at home.

It is an undouobted fact that for many months the Prussian government has had its secret agents in the southern states, carrying on a propaganda among the negroes; and the race riots are probably a part of the fruits of the activities of these secret agents.

A rigid inquiry will, of course, be made by the government into the causes of the East St. Louis riots; and I may suggest a few subjects for investigation.

1. Did German agents instigate the negroes, in the first instance, to make demonstrations, and did they supply them with arms?

2. Did German agents, by inflammatory speeches, instigate the white mobs to acts of violence against the negroes?

3. (And this is most important.) May it not be possible that agents of the kaiser's government themselves committed the greater part of the outrages against the lives, persons and property of the negroes?

There must be a number of white men in custody for murder and arson. Let these men be rigidly examined. Let their previous history be inquired into. If they be not German spies, they may be German sympathizers and in the pay of German spies. Your obedient servant,

BERTRAND SHADWELL.

BUFFALO N.Y. COMMERCIAL
JULY 3, 1917

Complaints of citizens of East St. Louis that the soldiers were backward in quelling the negro riots give further evidence of a growing habit of blaming it all on the soldier.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

ILLINOIS MUST ANSWER FOR RACE RIOTS, ASSERTS DUNNE

Selfish Employers and Politicians Brought About Atrocities in East St. Louis. Declares Former Governor

[illegible]
[illegible] 6, 1917

BY EDWARD F. DUNNE.
Former Governor of Illinois.

FOR many years [illegible]e citizens and newspapers of Illinois have been quite free in [illegible]fenunciation of barbarities and outrages committed in the southern states against black men and women.

These citizens and newspapers have worked themselves into a state of violent indignation over the inhumanity and lack of civilization in the benighted Southland. They have assumed an exaltation and superiority over the southern people, which, in view of the happenings in Springfield, the state capital, about six years ago, and in view of what has been happening in East St. Louis within the last few days, turns out to be both hypocritical and unfounded.

EDWARD F. DUNNE.

The State of Illinois is the second richest state in the Union and has a militia of approximately ten thousand men, fully equipped. Yet with such resources and a civilization and organized government in city and state over a century old it has permitted race riots to break out and wreak enormous destruction of life and property in the shadow of the state capital and state arsenal at Springfield and, during the last few days, with twelve companies of the Illinois National Guard in the streets of East St. Louis, has permitted men to be killed by scores and wounded by the hundreds, and hundreds of thousand dollars' worth of property to be destroyed.

Illinois, the state which produced an Abraham Lincoln in bygone days, must hang its head in shame over what has happened during these last few days. It has permitted selfish and wealthy employers of labor, during and after strikes, to organize a propaganda for the importation of cheap labor from the southern states into its greatest and most populous cities, and then by lax enforcement of its laws, has allowed these unfortunate black men to be slaughtered in its streets and their houses burned over their heads.

EMPLOYERS AND POLITICIANS BLAMED.

Under the surface of things, it will be found that not only has the reckless, selfish employer of labor been one of the responsible causes of this disgraceful outbreak, but that the scheming politician is also a contributing factor.

Relying on the assumption that a man with a black skin will always vote the Republican ticket, there has recently become evident, a concerted effort by politicians who would profit thereby, to get the black man of the South into northern states where the vote is close, and into large manufacturing cities in which the Democrats are strong and where labor is in demand, particularly Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, East St. Louis and other important cities on the Ohio and Mississippi.

As the result of the influx of the blacks into white residential neighborhoods and the competition developed between white and black labor, racial animosities have been developed which have plainly manifested themselves in Chicago, as well as elsewhere.

RACE HATRED IS LIKE DYNAMITE.

This kind of politics is as dangerous as dynamite. It benefits neither the white man nor the black man. The development of race hatred is the meanest and most dangerous kind of politics and is apt to recoil upon its authors. Race hatred, when fanned into flame, leaps over all party lines and but too often breaks out into anarchy and chaos.

Systematic importation of cheap labor, white or black, into the state by selfish employers, produces widespread industrial discontent. It should be discouraged, both by legislation and administration.

None the less, every man, woman and child once rightfully in the state, has the right to expect that his life and property are secure from mob violence, and a state which permits them to be massacred in the streets of its populous cities and in the presence of its armed militia, suffers indelible disgrace among the states of the Union and all civilized governments.

"LET US PUT OUR HOUSE IN ORDER."

Let us, in the State of Illinois, put our own house in order, and promptly.

A rigid investigation into the causes of the East St. Louis riots and massacre and the conduct of both the city authorities and of the National Guard, while in East St. Louis, should be promptly made, and the blame placed where it belongs. Two such humiliations of the state in recent years must not go unpunished.

Until then, let us in Illinois be very chary of criticism of other states or nations for atrocities committed in war or peace

THE EAST ST. LOUIS LADIES.

[illegible] WAYNE IND. SENTINEL
JULY 4, 1917

In whatever glory was won by the white mobs of East St. Louis the women share about equally with the men. In their display of spirit and exhibition of frenzy, in their ruthlessness and savagery, the ladies gave ample proof that their fellow mobbists, the men, had "nothing on them." Their shortcomings in performance of the high tasks in hand were of the arm and not the heart and in that respect they showed themselves obliged to yield little to the superiority of the males.

Here is a small detail of the general picture as drawn by a writer for the Associated Press that shows the women of East St. Louis in all the pristine charm of native savagery:

> Another of the innumerable brutal incidents of the night was the attack on a young negress. White men and women were among the assailants.
>
> "Let the women have her," was the cry among the men and white women, began tearing the garments from their victime. The negress' cry of 'Please, please, I ain't done nothing," was stopped by a blow in the mouth with a club which a woman swung like a baseball bat. Another white woman seized the victim's hands and the blow was repeated. Fingers tore at her hair and her waist was stripped from her.
>
> "Now, let's see how fast she can run," suggested a bystander, as the negress broke loose. The women were loathe to leave her alone, but after following her with their blows for a short distance they stopped and she ran crying down the street.
>
> The women next tried to get an aged negress who was guarded by three militiamen. One of the women wrestled with the soldier for his rifle and others succeeded in getting in a few blows.

The narrative of events in East St. Louis during the twenty-four hours that the mobs held sway are rich in incidents of which the foregoing is a proximate average. All over the mob-ridden city the white women did their bit with courage and energy. To the splendor of that effulgent chapter of American lawlessness the women contributed all that could have been expected. It was a charming instance of poetic discrimination, reflecting no credit less upon the gallantry of the male mobbists than upon the intrepidity of the female mobbists, that women victims of the uprising were left, where practicable, to be dealt with by women. And the white ladies of East St. Louis rose gloriously to the occasion. Upon the heroic scenes of that triumphal hour they shed a lustre of imperishable renown and when History comes to emblazen the heroes of that imperial day she will wield no reluctant pen to emblazen also the heroines. There was glory enough for all.

The lady bobcats of East St. Louis proved their mettle in many a glorious melee. Perhaps it is a pity that the saloons had been closed, else they might have gone farther and disclosed unconceived talent for savage cruelty.

Brutal Ignorance of Northern Mobs Attacking Colored Workers.

The Ruffians Might Better Deal With Rich White Men Using Their Money to Bring the Colored People North.

WASHINGTON D C TIMES (Copyright, 1917.)
JULY 26, 1917

The United States should waste little breath or ink denouncing atrocities in Armenia or Belgium, while harmless workers are murdered here at home SIMPLY FOR TRYING TO EARN A LIVING.

It is desirable to speak temperately of the vicious cowardice that has resulted in the murder of colored workers in the North. A difficult situation exists, the difficulty being inherent in the brutality and selfishness of human nature.

Unwise discussion might make matters worse for the victims that have suffered so dreadfully already.

This, however, ought to be said:

The white ruffians that have murdered the unoffending colored men and women guilty only of accepting work offered to them should have the intelligence to deal with those that are responsible, mainly the rich men eager for additional and cheaper labor that have brought the colored men in great numbers from the South to the North.

It is not that the colored men have deliberately gone North to East St. Louis or elsewhere seeking to take the places of white workers. They have gone on the invitation of white men, the places being offered to them and they being BEGGED to go, because of labor's scarcity.

The brutality that attacked them in cowardly and overwhelming numbers should direct its hatred elsewhere, not toward those that work peaceably and faithfully.

The Chicago Tribune, one of the great newspapers of the country and published in the State disgraced by the East St. Louis riots, describes the situation briefly, vigorously, and justly as follows:

> "The blood of victims spatters the State. The riot will burn as an unforgetable dishonor in our memories. We do not propose to talk now about race hatred or economic rivalry or any other learned aspect of the offense. There is just one truth, one sickening, shameful truth—in an American city, in a city of Illinois, there has been a loathsome irruption of the brute, and neither civilized public sentiment nor constituted authority was capable of arresting it. * * *
>
> "The East St. Louis riot is nothing to be covered with official whitewash. Illinois stands shamed before the world. Her authority has been proved futile. Her name will be a byword if she does not establish that authority, so it will never be defiled again"

EAST ST. LOUIS has disgraced herself, her state, and her nation. Within her limits, democracy has signally failed. Municipal maladministration and corruption, with an utter failure to deal with the housing problem of the negro population, have produced finally a massacre and an anarchy that must fill all Americans with indignation and chagrin. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day becomes intelligible in the light of this, its modern reproduction.

The East St. Louis Race Riots

Perhaps the best remedy to apply to a condition such as this would be the denial of the right of self-government to a community that has so disgraced itself. A military control for a year or more, under the direction of the governor of the state, might do for such a community in America what it accomplished in Cuba and in the Canal Zone. At any rate the cancellation of the municipal charter of a city that has proven so helpless to maintain law and order should be insistently demanded by the outraged citizens of the state of Illinois.

We do not forget that the law-abiding citizens of East St. Louis have the most intense sense of humiliation at what has occurred. But since these have been powerless to secure for their city an honest and competent administration, and have permitted or been forced to witness the degradation of their city government and now the triumph of anarchy, they may well join now in asking the state to undertake a local control such as can give them a government strong enough and honest enough to preserve the peace and to protect human life and property.

MILWAUKEE LIVING CHURCH
JULY 14. 1917

THE East St. Louis outrage ought also to impress upon all American cities the obligation to deal constructively and firmly with the problem of the housing of the negro. That there will be racial segregation, in fact if not in law, is perfectly inevitable wherever the negro population is large enough to be an appreciable factor in a city. But that means that sufficient room must be given to the negro population to live in decently and to expand. Even a quick expansion of that population by immigration from the South must be provided for. Force negroes into impossible living conditions, give them no opportunity to live decently, provide no place in which new families of negroes can make homes, and you have inevitably created a condition of negro criminality which will become a menace to the whole community and which is bound to end in chaos and bloodshed.

The Problem of Negro Housing

Those few cities that are tr[illegible] to deal with the question of a racial segregated district [illegible]aw are greatly to be commended. Such laws must provide ample quarters for negro population and for its expa[illegible]n a[illegible] must protect that population from the aggression [illegible]ites. So can the races live together in peace and [illegible]tual good will; an[illegible] live together, in American commu[illegible] they must.

So the negro housing pro[illegible] may well be t[illegible]en up immediately by all American cit[illegible]fore the horrib[illegible]e example of how not to do it, which [illegible]t. Louis has shown to the world, be copied elsewhere. American citizens, white and black, are no different in East St. Louis from what they are in every other city in the country.

The first step in such a reform is to give local home rule to our cities; the next is to proceed vigorously upon the constructive solution of the problem.

BRISTOL VA COURIER
JULY 15. 1917

The Tribune And the Negro.

The Chicago Tribune has always been a bitter critic of the South, especially with respect to the negro question, but at last it has been forced to eat some humble pie. Beginning many years ago to heap vitriolic denunciation upon the South and Southern people because of the lynching of negroes who had committed fiendish crimes, the Chicago paper has lived to see almost half a hundred negroes brutally slaughtered in its own State for no other crime than having a black skin and seeking an opportunity to work.

A negro who criminally assaults a white woman or commits murder forfeits his right to live. The only right of which a Southern mob deprives a negro is the right of trial by jury after he has committed a capital crime. But the Southern people are as much opposed to mob law as the Northern people profess to be, and would welcome a solution of the problem. White officers of the law in the South do not surrender an accused negro to a mob without attempting to escape with their prisoner, or without offering resistance when they find escape impossible. White officers of the law in the South have died defending negro criminals in their custody. Possibly Southern mobs have not been punished because their victims deserved to die, though that reason should not suffice to acquit any crowd of men who thus take the law into their own hands.

But the forty negroes who were lynched in East St. Louis had committed no crime. They had not forfeited their right to live. The white mob that lynched them can not even offer in justification of their savagery the poor excuse that their victims [illegible] negroes had gone to the Illinois city, at the solicitation of Northern labor agents, to work for a living for themselves and their families, because they had been told that hours of labor were shorter, wages higher, and living conditions better than in the South. And for that they were killed.

And the Chicago Tribune? It deplores the massacre, of course. It may even favor punishment for the mob, if the members can be apprehended. But it confesses to a realization that the negro problem is no longer a sectional problem. And instead of demanding that Illinois and the whole North be made safe for the negro, it weakly admits that probably it would be better if Southern negroes remained in the South. Thus the Tribune sacrifices its greatest opportunity to prove its sincerity and consistency regarding the negro question.

WOMEN OF EAST ST LOUIS SINCE THE MASSACHE.

The Liberator, 7/24/1[illegible]

(St. Louis Republic, July 8, 1917.)

BY HAZEL V. CARTER. .....

The debutante laundress is the newest thing in East St. Louis—since Miranda went away.

You see them in every back yard on a Monday morning. You see them in all stages of the week's wash—bending over the tub, wringing and hanging on the clothes line. You see them hanging over the back fence discussing which is the best laundry soap for ginghams and how much starch to use in linens—since Miranda went away.

"Miranda was a dream," they sigh as they gaze with horror at soapy soap trickling over their slender knuckles. "If she would come back I'd pay her double."

You see strange sights on the line. Silk waists that have been boiled a deadly yellow and dainty lingerie so blue they match the summer sky. You see clothes starched stiff enough to take shape and walk away, and you see collars and cuffs limp and lifeless—since Miranda went away.

Yesterday a strange phenomenon walked through a fashionable residence district in East St. Louis. She was fat and of dark complexion. She had her sleeves rolled up and fat black arms showed to her elbows.

Procession Follows Mirandy.

A procession followed her down the streett. Prety girls who had been forced to ask their best beau to leave early Sunday night so that they might wash early Monday morning, followed her. Imploring and entreating they came. "I'll give you three meals a day," one begged.

"I'll pay you any price," urged another.

"You shall have all week and a room in my house—hot and cold water in the laundry and a shower bath if you like," pleaded a third.

"I'se workin' in St. Louis," said Miranda, "and I ain't comin' back no moh."

And society proper, the elite, the "400" and the debutante laundress set returned sadly to their homes—to wring and rub, to wash and wail, since Miranda went away.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

Chicago Daily Tribune

7-4-17

A large part of the once crowded Negro quarter is now only a region of smoking ruins

...l Friends of the Negro.

...nderlying facts leading to the re... ...ace trouble in East St. Louis, Ill., ...never be known. Out of such cha... conditions as prevailed it is too often ...ssible to sweep aside the confusing ...idents and get at the real truth of the ...atter.

However, of one thing the negro himself ought by this time to be thoroughly convinced—that the one place for him on this continent is in the south.

Whether whites or blacks are responsible for the East St. Louis crime, we leave the investigators to determine, but it is evident that many innocent negroes are now suffering because of a condition for which they as individuals are not responsible.

Realizing this, three Mississippians have very generously offered to provide transportation for 500 to 1,000 of these unfortunates and bring them back to the land of cotton, where there is work for them to do, where their peculiarities are understood and allowance made therefor, and where every industrious, law-abiding negro may enjoy protection of the law in the pursuit of happiness.

The exodus of negroes to the north not only handicapped the plantation owners when farm hands were badly needed, but boded ill for the negro himself. Attention was called to this fact when the blacks were being lured away, but warnings were unheeded by both the negroes and the designing white men who were holding out to them false hopes of wealth and social equality.

The lesson has been a sad one for the dupes of these so-called "labor agents," but if the black man will profit by this experience the lesson will not have been in vain.

And now in this dark hour, when he is homeless and friendless, thrown on the charity of strangers, it is the white man of the south who extends to him the real helping hand, overlooks his error—as he has done thousands of times before—and says to him:

"Come on back."

A BLOT ON ILLINOIS

JUFFALO N Y COMMERCIAL

JULY 3, 1917

The most disgraceful outbreak which has occurred in the country in years was the riot of yesterday in East St. Louis, Illinois. The causes are not altogether plain, but the bald facts are a crying shame. It appears that smoldering industrial trouble between blacks and whites was fanned to flame by the actions of a party of joyriders early Monday morning in emptying their revolvers into a negro house. Agitators thereupon roused the blacks to arm themselves and they foolishly fired on an automobile full of police officers in plain clothes. With that the whites broke loose from all restraint, and mobs, armed with every variety of implement, or with only bare hands, went on the rampage, burning, shooting and wreaking vengeance indiscriminately.

The police and military authorities have now restored order. But someone is to blame surely for bad judgment in allowing the trouble to get the start it did. Most of the bloodshed and destruction might have been prevented by quick, decisive action. Perhaps Illinois has learned a lesson. We hope so. We hope also that the awful example furnished by East St. Louis will be sufficient warning to state and municipal authorities throughout the land to be on guard and stamp out any trouble in its beginning.

The guilty ones must be apprehended and punished. Anything less cannot be tolerated.

LOS ANGELES, CAL., TIMES

JULY 16, 1917

BEST FOR THEM.

Speaking of the East St. Louis race riots, a Southerner recently said: "The southern negroes have come to the conclusion that the white people of the South not only know their idiosyncrasies and ways, but that we know what is best for them and are aiding them more than they could be helped in a new country and under strange conditions." It looks as if the negroes in the South have decided to remain there to pick cotton, hoe corn and do whatever other honest work they may be engaged in. As a free American citizen the negro has a perfect right to north, east or west, and no gang of outlaws has a right to hinder him. However, just now it is not a question of the rights of the negro, but rather a question of what is the wisest and best course for him to pursue.

...APPEAL

JULY 7, 1917

The Dream and the Reality

The Montgomery Advertiser 7/29/17

$100,000 LOAN IS OFFERED EAST SIDE TO DOUBLE POLICE

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 7, 1917

Chamber of Commerce Shake-Up Also Calls for New Department Chief.

A committee of nine men of the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce has been offered $100,000 from the banks of East St Louis to re-finance the police department, increase the number of patrolmen from sixty-nine to 130 and employ a new Chief.

C. E. Pope, a member of the committee, said today that plans for the reorganization of the police seemed necessary to prevent further race rioting, and curb a wave of crime were ready to be put into effect. Opposition by Mayor Mollman has developed, Pope says, and if the committee cannot carry the plans through, the pepole will be asked immediately to vote on accepting the commission form of government.

Pope said "petty politics" was beginning to creep into the reorganization plans, through opposition of one member of the committee, but it was believed this could be overcome. The propcsed new Police Commissioners, approved by the committee, are three of the following four: Martin V. Joyce, an attorney; Nat McLean, a real estate dealer; Frank Keating, a contractor and Theodore Soellinger, proprietor of a bakery. Mayor Mollman is said to object particularly to Joyce.

Pope said Police Commissioners Schein and Watkins appeared before the committee and said they would not be willing to resign for sixty days because this action would be harmful to them personally. Pope said he did not consider this a time for thinking of self, and the men were so told. The city is in a bad financial condition, according to Pope, and the money to finance the department must be borrowed.

In addition to the doubled police force, a committee of 100 citizens, armed with riot guns and subject to call at any time, will be under Sheriff Mellon's direction, and will act as a Sheriff's posse to maintain order after the militia is withdrawn.

Members of the Chamber of Commerce said an efficient Chief of Police will be found, even if it were necessary to go outside the city for one.

A delegation of St. Louis negroes, members of the St. Louos branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, conferred this morning in East St. Louis with the Citizens' Committee of the Chamber of Commerce. After the conference the St. Louisans announced they were satisfied everything would be done to safeguard East St. Louis negroes, and would advise all refugees in St. Louis to return to their homes and work Monday. The committee members were C. A. iPtman, Dr. W. H. Peck, Dr. T. A. Curtis and E. A. Malone.

States' Attorney Schaumleffel announced that all of the testimony before the Coroner's inquest will be put before the St. Clair County Grand Jury next week.

Coroner Renner yesterday held an inquiry into the race rioting. No jury was called, and the inquiry was preliminary to resumption of hearings before a jury Monday.

Witnesses were: Dr. L. B. Bluitt, N. W. Parden, former Assistant State's Attorney and James Vardiman, a detective, all negroes.

Chief of Detectives Stocker said today the witnesses told of a mob of 3,000 armed negroes having gathered Sunday night. One section of this mob fired into the machine in which were Detectives Coppedge and Wodley. Coppedge was killed instantly and Wodley died Tuesday. One thousand of the negroes were in the weeds in a field on Bond avenue, and others were scattered from Tenth to Fifteenth streets on that thoroughfare, it was said.

Testimony was that Dr. L. N. Bundy, the fugitive negro dentist sought by police, harangued a mob at Fifteenth street and Bond avenue and told the negroes to disperse.

Police Commissioner Schein said today he did not consider that the Chamber of Commerce had acted fairly toward the Police Board. He said he had done police work personally, although he found it repulsive. He said he was reared on a farm, was unused to vice and mixing with the rabble, but had done the police work because conditions were so bad. He said a month ago he warned the two chiefs their resignations would be demanded if vice conditions were not improved.

Brig. Gen. Henry R. Hill of Quincy, commander of the Second Illinois Brigade, National Guards, today assumed command of the militia on the East Side. General Dickson returned to Springfield. The troops would be withdrawn July 25, it was said.

N Y C COMMERCIAL
JULY 6, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS RIOT A BLOT

Once more, this time in East St. Loui the folly of depending on State troops t handle serious riots has been proved a frightful cost of life. These young an poorly drilled soldiers neither obeyed order nor displayed firmness. Some of them permitted civilians to take the arms out of their hands. It makes no difference whatever, whether the negroes or whites started this riot or which side is the more to blame. Nothing can excuse the local authorities for their remissness and something remains for the State authorities to explain.

Illinois is another of the States that should have a state constabulary force. It contains several centers where lawlessness is more or less prevalent part of the time, and East St. Louis is one of the widest open and most turbulent places in the country. The local chamber of commerce has demanded an explanation from the adjutant-general of the State and some of its members allege that the soldiers were inefficient and acted cowardly. The adjutant-general explains that his force was handicapped by small numbers, which seems to be a confession that the State authorities did not appreciate the dangerous character of the outbreak. If the local police force had been reinforced promptly by two or three hundred mounted constables, such as they have in Pennsylvania, or such as we now have in New York state, this riot could have been suppressed with little trouble and vast damage to property could have been prevented.

Time and agian inadequate police protection has been the cause of loss of life. In this case at least 29 negroes and four white men have been killed and severa hundred have been seriously hurt. Since th remedy has been found and tested els where, there is no excuse for not appl ing it.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

Chicago Daily Tribune 7—4—17

A Family of Refugees, Too Dazed to Attempt Further Flight, Snapped by the Photographer Near Their Home.

CHATTANOOGA TENN NEWS
JULY 6, 1917

OPINIONS ON RIOTS.

Here are two views on the anti-negro riots in East St. Louis, Ill. The first is from the New York Evening Post, an extravagantly pro-negro newspaper, but which now admits that its own section is as faulty as the south and that the question of securing decent treatment for the colored man is national. The Evening Post says:

"The worst feature of the outbreak was its extent. 'Thousands of persons were in the mobs,' says one dispatch. We may discount the estimate of 50,000 men and women in the streets, more than two-thirds being armed, but the stories of small boys carrying and using revolvers, and especially of girls joining in the assaults upon peaceable negro women, are more plausible. This affair would be enough to put an end to any holier-than-thou attitude on the part of the north toward the south, if there had not been so many manifestations before it to prove that the mob spirit is not confined to any one section of the country. This latest exhibition was due to economic rather than to racial jealousy. The negroes must not take away the white men's jobs, if they had to be killed to make them understand. But it speedily became racial when the mob attacked negroes indiscriminately, especially negro women, without knowing whether they were recent arrivals or natives of the city. It would be a most idle and pernicious thing for either north or south to point the finger at the other. Both should instinctively and fearlessly condemn lawlessness wherever it occurs. The only difference in the condemnation should be increasing sharpness as the disgrace comes nearer home."

The other comment is from the Memphis Commercial Appeal, printed in a city about half of whose population is colored, and which gives the generally held southern white opinion on the subject:

"Southern people see no justification for the general race war that has been on in East St. Louis.

"And this brings us to the statement that racial prejudices are more violent in the north than in the south.

"The southern man recognizes the right of the negro to life, liberty and property. In the matter of property the southern white man recognizes the right of the negro to labor in whatsoever calling he wishes. The southern man may not patronize the negro in certain callings, but he does not object to the negro exercising that calling among his own people. All that any man can expect is a right to earn his bread in the sweat of his face.

"In the north when the negro begins to be a competitor in labor, he is fought through the instrument of racial hatred, and when this hatred is aroused it is blind as to individuals.

"There has been an exodus of negroes to the north for two years. Many were attracted by temporary high wages. Others went north because they fancied there were certain privileges they would enjoy in the north that they did not enjoy in the south. But when they got north they found out that the enjoyment of these privileges gave no substantial comfort. The negro is permitted to enter the white man's saloon in the north and drink his liquor, but as soon as his last nickel is gone he is ousted. He is permitted to ride in the same street car seat with the white men in the north, and in the same coach, but the white man in the north who rides in the same seat with him will not give him a job.

"The southern white man will insist upon a separate coach, but if he happens to know the negro and the negro needs the wherewithal to make his journey, he will buy his ticket. Or at the end of the journey if the negro is penniless and happens to know a white man, that white man will furnish him with the money to get a meal and will assist in getting him a job.

"The negro belongs in the south, and for his own good he ought to stay here. The southerner will not stand for him being shot to pieces just because he happens to be black."

Chicago Daily Tribune
6-7-4-17

The Ruins at Eleventh and Causland Avenues, Among the Worst in the City, Attracted Crowds of Spectators.

PHIL. CITIZENS CLUB ACTS ON ILL. MASSACRE

Chr. Guardian 7/14/17

VETERAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION THANK ROOSEVELT AND URGE MAYOR AND GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS TO FERRET OUT THE GUILTY.

(Special.)

Phila. Penn., July 11, 1917.—Last night the Citizens' Republican Club, the old line organization of this city, sent out 3 messages on the East St. Louis race massacre, signed by Annis Scott, the popular president and by Fielding A. Ford, secretary. One conveyed thanks to Pres. Roosevelt for his denunciation of Pres. Gompers and Union Labor on the massacre, one to the Mayor of East St. Louis to ferret out the civilian lynchers and one to Gov. Lowden of Illinois to punish any guilty soldiers.

The Race Riots.

The labor situation should be watched and guarded most carefully throughout the present war. Admittedly there is a shortage of labor in places, but the gaps cannot successfully be filled by such methods as were adopted in the importation of negro labor from the South. It was clearly in consequence of such methods that the deplorable race struggle occurred in East St. Louis, Ill.

WASHINGTON D. C. CHRONICLE
JULY 4, 1917

The toll of death and hurtful flaming of savage instincts are not the only consequences of the riots. The regrettable happening will be used to good advantage by the German press in describing the conditions prevailing in America. Instead of an isolated uprising, the occurrence at East St. Louis will be pictured by the enemies of the United States as a typical evidence of the unrest of labor in this country.

It was a mistake in the first place to import labor from the South. The men who have been trained to the work that must be done in the South should not have been disturbed. Wholesale migration of this kind is bound to disturb the labor market.

Labor everywhere has been under a strain as a result of the war. Part of it is physical, but the larger part is psychological. When it was announced from Washington that the manufacture of beer would be stopped for reasons due to the war there was an immediate protest from some of the labor sections, some of the men actually going on strike.

It was made plain by the President and by members of the cabinet that any change in existing standards or customs of labor during the war would be undesirable. This certainly applies to any business or governmental policy which would cause irritation and discontent among the laboring elements.

Regarding the culpability of the individuals who stirred up the conflict and strife, the incendiaries and murderers who participated in the orgy, there is no necessity for comment. Prompt and adequate punishment of the offenders should follow their outburst as a matter of course. The important thing, however, is to see to it that any economic policies which might tend to provoke such riots are abandoned.

N Y C POST.
AUGUST 24, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS PROSECUTIONS.

War Department Orders Proceedings Against Six Guardsmen.

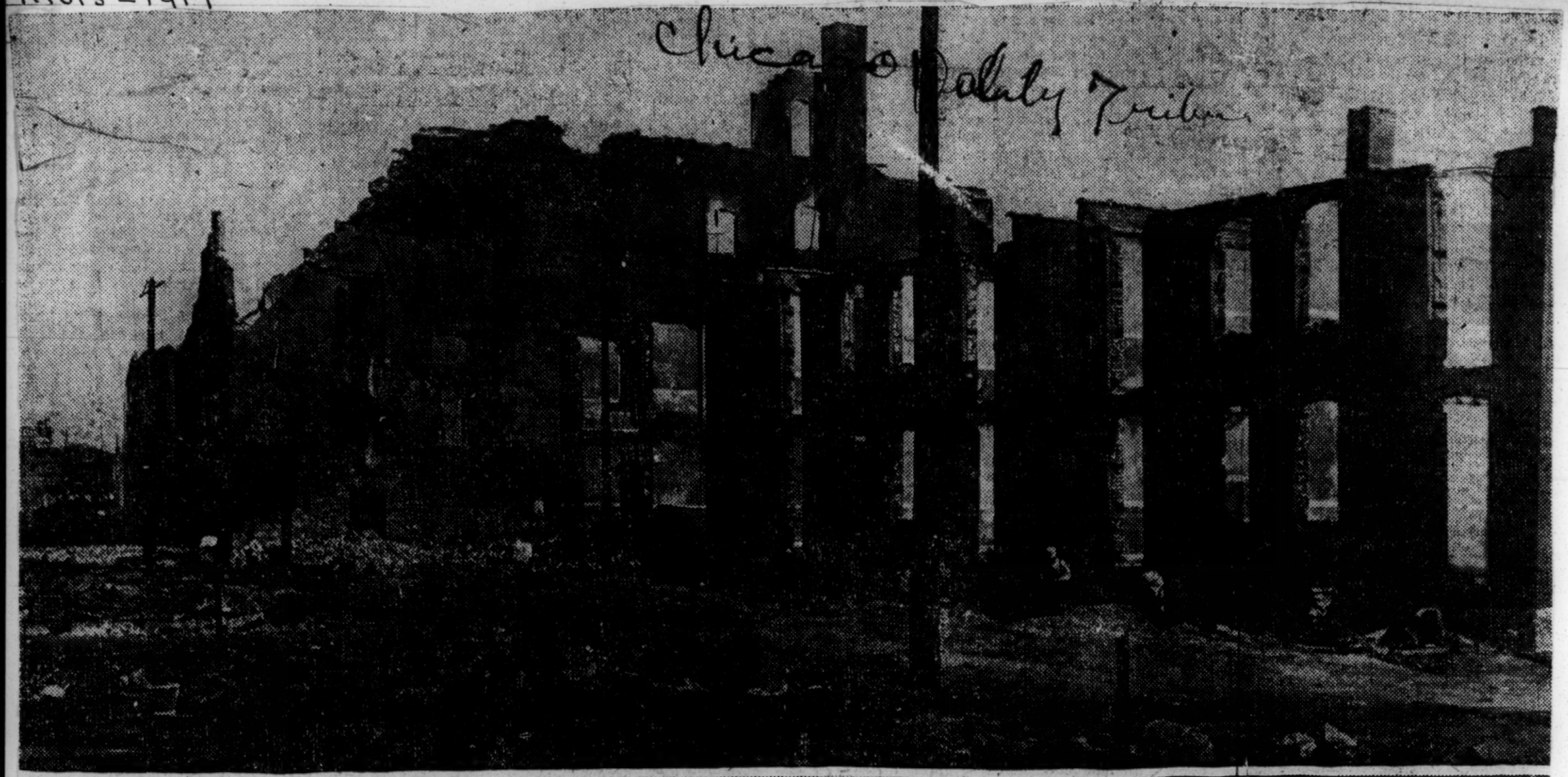
EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., August 24 (by A. P.).—The War Department has notified Attorney-General Brundage to begin proceedings against six members of the Third Illinois Artillery, charged with complicity in the race riots July 1 and 2.

The soldiers will be brought to this county for trial.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis.



Chicago Daily Tribune

The Ruins of the Burned Broadway Theater and Adjoining Buildings, in Which the Bodies of Five Negroes Were Found.

CHICAGO DAILY EVE NEWS
JULY 3, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS.

When the North goes in for race rioting it does it on a scale unheard of in the South. Georgia's lynching record for a year was beaten by Illinois in an afternoon and evening.

WASHINGTON D C PATHFINDER
JULY 4, 1917

Anti-Negro Riots in Illinois.

While this nation is posing before the world as the protector of the poor and oppressed of all lands, it allows the negroes of its own domain to be terrorized, mutilated, murdered and burned whenever some mob of "best citizens", dominated by prejudice and inflamed by drink, goes on the rampage. And the powers-that-be will not turn a hand to stay this iniquity.

And so it happened that on the eve of the 4th of July when our orators get up and grow maudlin about the equality of all men, there occurred at East St. Louis, Ill., an outbreak against the negro population which resulted in the killing of about 40, the wounding of many others and the destruction by fire of property estimated at a million or more.

As usual at such times, the police took no measures to prevent the outbreak, which everybody knew was coming. Even the troops who were called out would grin when asked to protect a negro, and do nothing. The newspaper correspondents on the scene declare that "in all of the incidents of the riots not one told of a single act of bravery on the part of police or guardsmen."

A white man, seeing a poor cowering negro fleeing from the mob, led him into an alley on the pretext that a soldier was there to protect him. Then he calmly shot the negro and killed him. Of course a few people are demanding that justice shall be meted out to the rioters, but as the Pathfinder has so often pointed out, these things never come to anything. The officials dare not enforce the law against lynchers and rioters, and public opinion does not demand that they should.

Speaker Champ Clark of Mo., speaking at a 4th of July celebration, made no reference to the riots, but grew eloquent over the Jeffersonian principle that "all men are created equal" and that the constitution was formed to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty" to our people etc. Secretary of War Baker, who has soldiers by the hundred thousand now for service in distant lands, also made a speech, but he likewise failed to say anything about the anarchy at home though he too was most convincing in his argument that "we must fight for democracy here as well as abroad."

Col. Roosevelt was more to the point. He at least does not indulge in "weasel words", and he correctly diagnosed the case. The government, he said, must put a stop to such indulgences in violence and barbarism, but it must do more than that and inquire into and remedy the faults which are the provoking causes of such outbreaks.

The riots were attributable to a combination of causes. Some say they were provoked by labor agitators who are subsidized by German money, in order to hamper the government. Many war materials are being produced in that district, and several thousand negroes had been induced to come up from the South to engage in this and other work.

Labor unionism was also involved. There had been a strike; a lot of white men had struck out of a job and had then tried to prevent negroes who were willing to work from taking their places. There was further method in the madness, for the purpose is to make it so hot for negroes who leave the South that others of their race will be deterred from migrating. It seems that both North and South are now contending for the negro because of his economic value as a wealth-producer—but neither section is willing to give

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

him justice. The guarantees of the constitution and the laws are only "scraps of paper" so far as he is concerned.

THE NEGRO IN THE CITY

SACRAMENTO CAL STAR
JULY 10, 1917

The race riot in East St. Louis has made every American citizen realize the fact that we have in the negro one of the most serious social problems by which this country is confronted.

There are 10,000,000 negroes in the United States and they are rapidly increasing. They increased something like 1,000,000 during the past ten years. The wildest guesses imaginable have been made as to the future of the negro race. Some people think that they will ultimately die out. As a matter of fact, during the past 60 years, they have increased nearly threefold.

The increase of the negro is but little below that of older civilized nations; England's increase being but 12 per cent for the last decade. The increase in the negro population was something over 11 per cent during the past ten years.

It is unfortunate that systematic efforts are being made to bring the negro from the south to the large industrial centers in the north. The negro is probably much better fitted for work on the farm than he is for work in the city.

The last census reports of the United States government brought out the fact that negro farms in the south have increased 20 per cent, while negro population increased only 10 per cent throughout the entire country.

The real friends of the negro will try to persuade him to move onto the farm, for here he will have more independence than he will ever secure in the industrial cities or even in the smaller towns.

There are exceptional negroes who will make good almost anywhere, but it is to be remembered that we are dealing with the one-tenth of the population of the United States which for many generations to come, will in many respects be inferior to the white race.

Those who are constantly preaching equality of every sort for the negro race, are not the real friends of the negro. While the negro should have equality of opportunity, it by no means follows that he is born with the same endowment or capabilities as the white man.

Families of Negroes Hurried from Their Homes with Their Belongings in the Path of Fire Set by Rioters.

PROBLEM BEHIND THE NATION'S DISGRACE

BOSTON MASS HERALD
JULY 5, 1917

The press of the country is rendering a unanimous verdict on the riot at East St. Louis. To condemn it with too much severity seems impossible. For sheer brutality and samelessness it has had few, if any, parallels in our long record of such misdeeds.

That these riots should occur in the North, in a Republican state, and that the state of Abraham Lincoln, and at a time when we are sending troops across the seas to make the world safe for democracy, all add to the pathos of the affair. What are we going to do about it?

Many people customarily dismiss such a tragedy with the phrase "the labor union," as if their responsibility, not being members of such an organization, thereby ended. But it does not. The labor union, and the laws under which it operates, are only an expression of our common life.

For the Negro the situation is peculiarly discouraging. Maltreated in the South, deprived there of all civil and political rights, practically excluded from popular education and from any share in the administration of the courts, he naturally seeks, in the North, more hospitable conditions. And these are what he finds.

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 4, 1917

Negroes Appeal to President and Gov. Lowden.

While the rioting was at its height a number of leading St. Louis negroes, including Julius M. Weil of 6 South Twenty-ninth street, a dealer in chemicals, and Ira Dorsey, a Deputy Circuit Clerk, members of the National Association for the Advancement of Negroes, met and prepared an appeal to President Wilson and Gov. Lowden.

A telegram was sent to the President signed by Weil, asking him to take steps to put a stop to the killing of the negroes and the burning of their homes, and the Governor was asked to send additional troops

Riots - 1917

East St. Louis

Deep Water.

By Tuthill.

LABOR DENIES RIOT BLAME.

N. Y. TIMES
JULY 6, 1917

Morrison Answers Negro League's Charges as to East St. Louis.

WASHINGTON, July 5.—Charges that labor unions were responsible for the East St. Louis race riots drew an emphatic denial today from Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who in the absence of President Gompers issued a formal statement on the subject.

Mr. Morrison made public a telegram received from Victor Olander, Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois Federation of Labor, which has been forwarded as the American Federation's reply to a message from the Boston branch of the Equal Rights League. Extracts from the telegram follow:

"Press dispatches allege that the Negro Equal Rights League of Boston has telegraphed to you charging trade unionists with responsibility for the East St. Louis riots. Any such charge is viciously untrue. It was the East St. Louis Central Labor Council, having negroes in membership, that requested the investigation by the State Council of Defense following the disorders in May. That investigation showed that Southern negroes had been misled by false advertisements and unscrupulous employment agents to come to East St. Louis in such numbers that they could not secure either work or decent living quarters. The effect was to make acute the exploitation of labor, both negro and white, seriously to disarrange social as well as economic conditions, and to arouse bitterness on all sides.

"It is shocking to me that such organizations as the alleged Negro Equal Rights League have little or nothing to say about the fraud practices against negroes by unscrupulous employing interests."

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 5.—The interruption to the industrial life of this city and to the commercial life of St. Louis, Mo., as a result of the exodus of negro labor that followed the race riots Monday, occupied the attention of business men in the two cities today. The Chamber of Commerce of East St. Louis adopted a resolution urging the negro workmen who fled to return and promised them protection.

Traffic Commissioner Coyle of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce took up with railway and terminal officials the interruption to the freight movement that has resulted from the exodus of negroes employed in the freight and switching yards.

The local Chamber of Commerce has instructed a committee to demand the reorganization of the Police and Fire Departments and to call on Attorney General Brundage to assist in arresting and convicting the ringleaders of Monday's rioting.

CHICAGO ILL NEWS
JULY 6, 1917

Law and Mob Law.

East St. Louis is still languidly counting corpses. It has yet to search the charred ruins of many destroyed homes and to make further investigation of the blood stained waters of Cahokia creek, but already it can show the mutilated bodies of a large number of mob victims. Presently it may even begin to count the cost.

The criminal code of Illinois contains a number of pithy paragraphs on the subject of riot and what ought to be done about it. Surely it is not too much for the Illinois public to insist that the state authorities shall give these paragraphs a careful reading. The same paragraphs ought to have interest also for the residents of East St. Louis. Murder and arson, it appears, are not exactly a joke according to the criminal code. They carry heavy penalties, even when committed by members of a mob. Further, the city in which lives and property are destroyed by mob action has got to pay the bill. Two-thirds of the value of those hundreds of negro homes which were burned so lightheartedly will become a charge upon the taxpayers of East St. Louis. There arises also the question of paying for all the lives taken by the brutal rioters.

East St. Louis has been a sink of evil government for years. It has been notorious for the corruption of its election methods. Colonization of negro voters and shameless bribery at the polls have marked its political activities. Now it reaps the whirlwind.

There can be, however, one blacker disgrace than that due to the mob murders and the general paralysis which permitted the devilish work to go on hour after hour. Still greater shame and more pestilent evil would come from failure by the state authorities to bring about the arrest and the adequate punishment of the leaders in the East St. Louis orgy of killing, maiming and burning.

1 SHOT AND 2 BEATEN BY EAST ST. LOUIS MOB

Constitution 1/28/18

Another Racial Outbreak in Illinois City Quickly Stopped by Militia.

East St. Louis, Ill., May 30.—One negro was shot and wounded slightly and two were beaten tonight by a mob of fifty men, who officials say gathered in the outskirts of the city after the saloons closed at 6 o'clock. The mob was dispersed by militiamen and local police.

A heavy rain and the presence of 250 soldiers of the Illinois national guard who patrolled the city, kept down the spirit of the persons inclined to riot. The outbreak early in the evening was quelled quickly and was said to have been an isolated occurrence. Fewer persons were on the streets than on Monday and Tuesday nights. All of the men injured thus far are believed to be recovering.

HARTFORD CONN COURANT
JULY 8, 1917

CHARGE IT TO ALL OF US.

The frightful riot which desolated and disgraced East St. Louis during the first days of last week cannot be charged off, as they think in Congress, to the saloons, or to the Industrial Workers of the World, or to the labor unions. Whiskey or trade jealousy may have smoothed the road to this community orgy of destruction and cruelty, but the road was there long before this outbreak of fiendish passion and hatred.

All the reports show that women took an active hand in the worst and most heartless atrocities, and women of the training and habits of those concerned do not get their working inspiration from the saloons or labor organizations. They have what Kipling calls the "convictions" in themselves; and when they found that they were able in those dreadful hours to do what they would to negro women and girls, they went about it with that single-mindedness of convinced ignorance and that sincere ferocity which make the female of the species more deadly than the male. They were out to torture as well as to kill, and no doubt felt that in this way they were straightening up that balance of Justice which had too long been left askew by a careless world.

These beliefs, feelings and desires were no products of the hour. These white women of East St. Louis did not have to go to the saloons of that town for their courage or to the labor organizations of white men for their instructions. They knew what they wished to do from the moment when the blacks and the whites began shooting at each other. They were already fully equipped for any opportunity that came along, and in their narrow way they were sure that an opportunity had arrived. They did not wait for this opportunity to knock twice. They were up and dressed and out in the street as soon as its first faint tap was heard.

We are not able to analyze the horrible mixture of purpose which

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

animated these women and drove them on. It had got into them in many ways and from many sources. It had passed far beyond the region of doubt, and was settled certainty. To do ill to the negroes seemed to them the way to rectify many things in this hard world. This was their conviction, felt in cold blood, and carried out in hot blood and in the withering flames that were licking up negro habitations on every side.

The responsibility for all this? Oh, well, we are all of us in a sense responsible for it. The negro has his pledged public rights—pledged to him by the Constitution of the United States, which is the most authoritative and sacred law that this country has—but nobody pays any particular attention to the common fact that he is forced by lesser statutes and terrorized by unchecked physical violence into almost habitual renunciation of these rights. There is no room for him anywhere except in some hole which nobody else wants. He has to take what is left or get nothing. Down in the Washington departments they segregate him from his white fellow-citizens, as something foul and unclean—men and women who did their best for this country as youngsters in Lincoln's day. The white women of East St. Louis got some of their instruction from Washington, and bettered it. They set out to segregate the negro off the face of the earth. Why not? Their logic was good, and their hearts cruel enough to carry it out.

N Y C SUN
JULY 10, 1917

A Lesson From East St. Louis.

The facts in the East St. Louis riots of July 2 are becoming clearer. They carry with them a terrible indictment of the local, county and State authorities; they offer a lesson to every community in America.

The city administration, apparently following precedents established by its predecessors, tolerated lawlessness for months, and permitted the police force to exist in a state of inefficiency and incompetence.

The county authorities allowed illegal conditions to exist, either through laziness or because of a perverted conception of the principle of home rule.

The State was serenely oblivious to the situation that was being created in an important industrial city within its bounds.

When the inevitable eruption of disorder occurred, the city police, enervated by a long course of lax discipline and weakened by the system under which they had been trained, were unfit to handle it. The county government apparently collapsed utterly. And when the State was compelled to intervene, it sent only 100 troops, and these it despatched without ammunition for their rifles!

Arriving at the scene of the riots the soldiers spent hours in utter helplessness. They were too few to club the mob into submission, not armed to shoot the ringleaders; and when powder and ball were served to them, the disorder had subsided, the rioters being satiated or having run out of victims.

It is idle to say that bad negroes or bad whites, trades unionists or non-unionists, were responsible for these disturbances. The business of government, city, county and State, is to maintain order. If it fails to do that it fails in its principal function. For months the city of East St. Louis, the county of St. Clair and the State of Illinois by their conduct prepared the way for the outbreak, and rendered themselves impotent in its presence.

TELEGRAM TO WILSON

SPRINGFIELD MASS REPUB
JULY 5, 1917

As Well as to Gov Lowden an Samuel Gompers Sent by Bosto Organization of Negroes

Telegrams to President Wilson, Go Lowden of Illinois and Samuel Gom pers, president of the American fed eration of labor, were dispatched Tues day night by officers of three Negro associations having headquarters in Boston, appealing to them to use their influence to prevent a recurrence of the race riots in East St Louis, Ill. The New England league for Afro-American suffrage asked Gov Lowden to use his influence to "maintain justice for colored native American citizens." The message said press reports of the riots "indicate, in our judgment, great danger of an uprising of 12,000,000 colored citizens who will not much longer submit to injustice and outrage by white Americans and the indifference of the national government."

The Boston branch of the national equal rights league declared in its telegram to Samuel Compers that the "bloodiest, most murderous massacre of colored Americans in the country's history, at East St Louis, Ill., was committed by labor unionists," and called on him to declare his position.

The national colored liberty conference addressed its plea to President Wilson, imploring him to use all the powers of his office "to bring the guilty parties to justice and to prevent a recurrence" of the riots, and beseaching him to express himself "in no uncertain terms in condemnation."

THE TRAGEDY OF EAST ST. LOUIS.

GREENVILLE TEX HERALD
JULY 4 1917

The greatest race riot in America's history—the most terrible blot upon the fair name of Illinois—transpired in East St. Louis on Monday and Monday night, following the assassination of a detective sergeant by a party of negro rioters. Although this was the immediate cause of the disgraceful hours that followed, the spark was kindled in the latter part of May when riots of minor import occurred. The number of negroes who were killed may run to 250, according to the State's Attorney, and the number of negroes who were kicked and cuffed and beaten will run into many hundreds more. Doubtless it will never be known just how many negroes were killed. They were thrown into the river or into hedges or other places of hiding when the mobs got through with them.

The mob set fire to negro homes which spread to white business and residence districts, entailing a property loss from fire alon of something like three million dollars..

But even this disgrace was not enough. It remained for women in East St. Louis to pelt and beat negro women whom they found on the streets. Reports say that, as if by common consent, the male mobs left the negresses to the white women.

If such an outrage had occurred in Southern city—which is hardly within the range of human probabilities—the papers of the North and East would have hounded the South with reminders of the outrage for years to come. A certain paper in Chicago has for years pounded the South for its alleged backwardness and its claimed ill treatment of the negroes. We await with considerable interest editorial comment of this paper on the East St. Louis episode.

The South never recorded,even in the dreadful days of reconstruction, such an outrage as this. The whites have always understood the negroes better; the negroes have always understood the Southern whites better. Doubtless those negroes who have been going North because of the lure of high wages and the promise of social equality with the white man will wonder at the failure of the white people who promised them so much to better understand them.

2,000 NEGROES AND WHITES FIGHT IN N. Y.

N Y C CALL
JULY 4, 1917

San Ju "Black Belt" Scene of Fierc Struggle—Knives and Revolvers Used.

Two thousand Negroes and whites, including a score of policemen and colored soldiers, battled furiously last night in a race riot in the San Juan "black belt."

Knives and revolvers were flourished and a shower of missiles hurled by the combatants in the two mobs.

One of the policemen, who tried to rescue a companion, was attacked by a giant Negro with a 9-inch knife. The policeman, gashed slightly on the arm in the struggle, felled the Negro with repeated blows of his night-stock. The Negro was taken to the hospital with a possible fracture of the skull.

Several others were treated by ambulance surgeons. It is believed by the police that a great many others, fearing arrest, have gone to their homes or to places of hiding with their wounds.

CHICAGO ILL HERALD
JULY 7, 1917

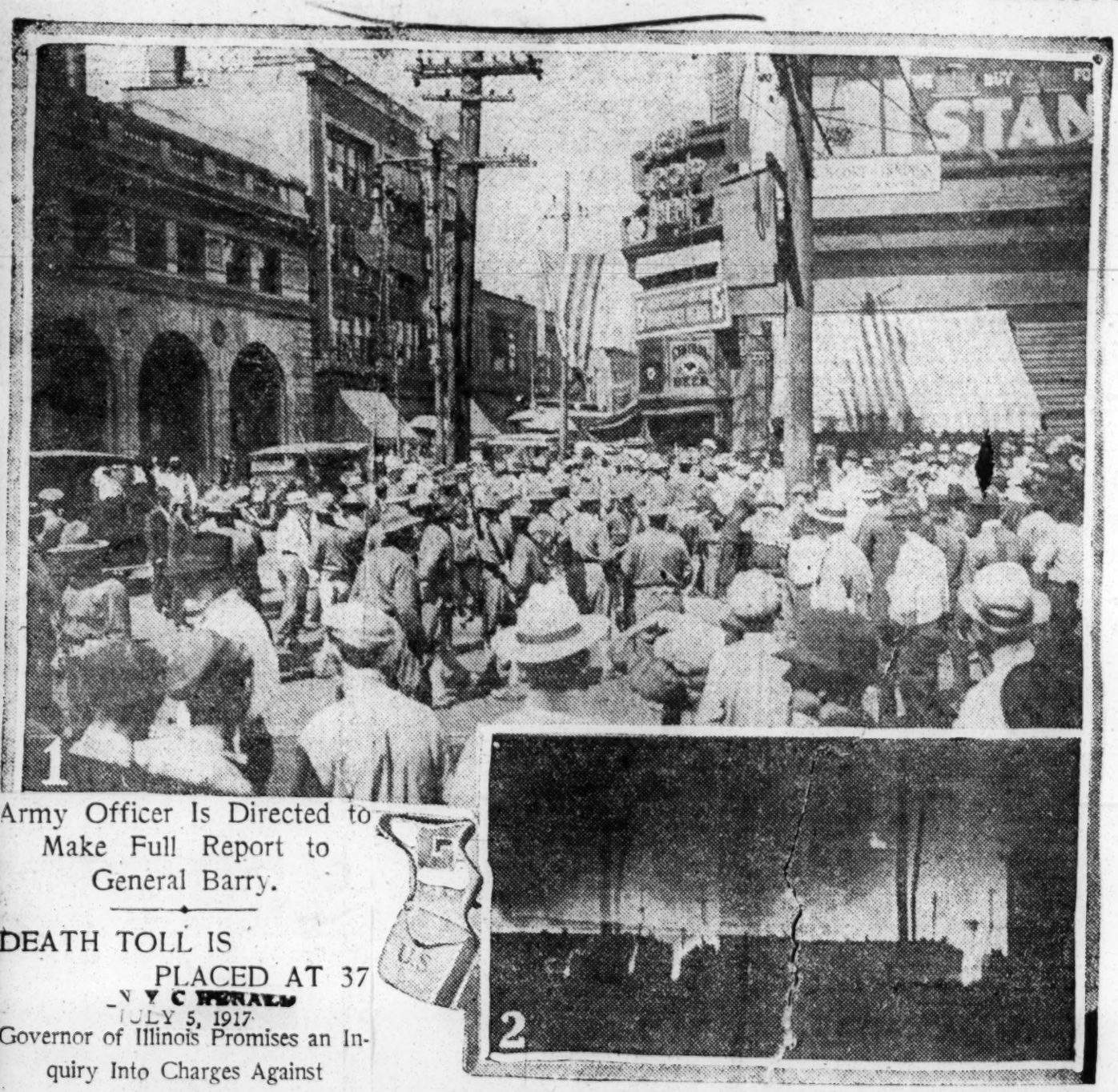
A Remedy for Race Riots.

Chicago, July 5.—To the Editor: I have carefully read your various articles on the East St. Louis race riot, and I am led to believe that you sincerely deplore such unlawful uprisings. I am going to suggest a method of forever stopping such malicious murdering. That is for you to use your influence in having capital withdrawn from industries of all kinds in East St. Louis and wipe it off the map commercially. This is the only remedy. V. S. BUSHEY.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

Federal Investigation of Riots Begins as Order Is Restored in East St. Louis



1

2

Army Officer Is Directed to Make Full Report to General Barry.

DEATH TOLL IS PLACED AT 37

N Y C HERALD
JULY 5, 1917

Governor of Illinois Promises an Inquiry Into Charges Against Militiamen.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Wednesday.—A federal investigation of race riots here in which thirty-three negroes and four whites were killed and approximately three hundred negro homes were burned on Monday was begun to-day by Colonel George H. Hunter, chief quartermaster of the Central division of the United States Army. Colonel Hunter is under instructions to make a full report of the trouble to Major General Thomas H. Barry, at Chicago, commander of the Central Department.

First pictures received here of race rioting and fire in East St. Louis. No. 1—Militiamen dispersing whites and protecting negroes. No. 2—Night view of burning negroes' homes.

The city was quiet to-day. No trouble every section of the city, under strict of any description was reported, and the orders to shoot if necessary.

Fire Department, which was kept busy The city's Fourth of July celebration constantly Monday night and all day was called off and all saloons and theayesterday fighting fires in the negro dis tres remained closed. Militiamen pretricts, did not receive an alarm. vented citizens from congregating in any

Residents of the city had a dreary section of the city. Strong detachments Fourth of July, for the most part remain of soldiers guarded the stock yards and ing in their homes. More than 2,000 Illi the manufacturing plants.

nois militiamen patrolled the streets in The only excitement of the day was the finding of bodies of three negroes in Cahokia Creek, bringing the death list to thirty-seven.

Civil authorities began the work of collecting and preparing evidence to be presented to the Grand Jury when it convenes July 9. Only two of the ninety-seven men arrested Monday night on charges of inciting to riot are being held. The authorities say that the ringleaders of the mobs are known and that action will be taken against them at the proper time.

Governor Frank O. Lowden, who was here last night and early to-day, has promised a full investigation of charges of inefficiency and lack of discipline against the militiamen who were here during the height of the rioting.

The Governor and Adjutant General Frank S. Dickson, who is in personal command of the troops, requested the Chamber of Commerce to gather facts.

Both Adjutant General Dickson and the ocal authorities were confident that there would be no further outbreaks.

Estimates were made by the authorities to-day that more than half of the city's negro population has left. Many negroes escaped over the bridges into St. Louis, Mo., on Monday night and thousands were escorted out of the city by the military authorities yesterday. Scores of homes in the negro section are deserted. It is estimated that before the rioting more than twenty thousand negroes lived in East St. Louis. Negroes remaining in the city today went about their business as usual and were unmolested.

Roosevelt and Gompers.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST:

SIR: Although I am not willing to be counted among the stanch friends of Theodore Roosevelt, I can, nevertheless, do him the justice to say that he spoke truly and well at the Russian meeting, in reference to the race riots at East St. Louis.

Mr. Gompers was wholly in error to attempt to defend this massacre, which has put a stain upon our flag just at this time, when its folds should be as pure as heaven's blue.

If it is our purpose to lead this distracted world, or any part of it, back to liberty and peace, let us surely see to it that such persons as are responsible for the East St. Louis riots are punished to the full extent of our laws, and that such a spirit be put down with a strong hand whenever and wherever it attempts to raise its head in this free land of ours.

While we hope to show the people of Europe the way to peace by righteousness, let us at least try to keep our own children in the path of righteousness, at any rate for example's sake—

For he must have the truth himself,
If he the truth would teach.

If there are those who think it was not the time or place for Mr. Roosevelt's remarks, I submit it is better to say the right thing at the wrong time than not to say it at all. EVA COOMBS.

Bridgeport, Conn., July 10.

THE CAUSE OF RACE RIOTS
WALLA WALLA WASH UNION
JULY 14, 1917

A great deal is being written regarding the East St. Louis race riots. There is considerable to be said, and considerable is being said, on both sides.

The negro's view of the situation is that he is a free American, entitled under the constitution and its amendments to the same rights as any other American of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." These rights, he declares, have been infringed. He has fled from a hostile Dixie to a north which treats him no better than Dixie treated him.

Apparently, however, it takes more than a constitution to eliminate racial prejudices. What happened in East St. Louis is precisely what happened in Vancouver some years ago, in protest against Oriental immigration. The underlying racial hostility, the feeling that whites were being crowded out by men of another color, the rather belligerent attitude of both sides, in each case precipitated a clash. It is a significant circumstances, perhaps, that in both cases it was claimed by the whites that the dark-skinned peoples were being systematically imported to influence the labor situation.

This last circumstances may have as much to do with the trouble as mere race prejudices. Organized labor is keen to protect its rights, as it sees them. But a sudden large influx of population of a different race and color is apt under the most favorable circumstances to result in trouble.

When the negro comes gradually, individually, white people usually adjust themselves. Gradual changes are easy. But sudden, wholesale changes in the population of any community are apt to upset things, as they did in East St. Louis. Racial antagonism is a serious problem that demands careful handling everywhere.

THE LATEST TRAGEDY

BOSTON WAR POST
JULY 4, 1917

For sheer wilful brutality the action of the cowardly mob in East St. Louis has hardly been equalled in all the long list of outrages on Negro citizens in this country. Drunk with lust for blood, these savages shot down colored men and women, burned their homes and spread terror throughout the city. They will escape punishment, of course. The community is as cowardly as these blood hunters, for they will be protected in their crime.

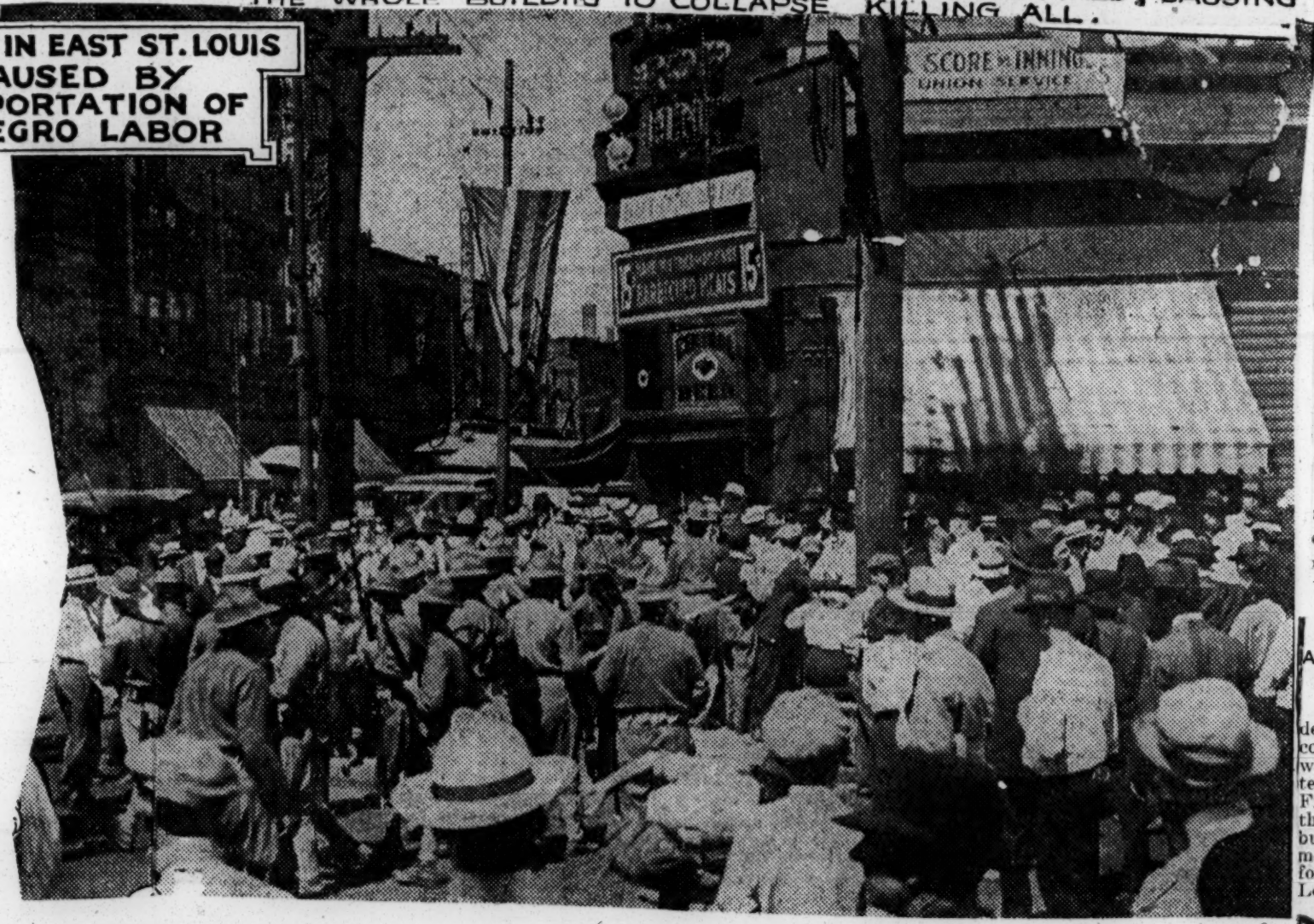
If only some time, somewhere, some one of these brutal Negro haters was actually brought to trial and adequately punished, it would be a milestone in the history of American justice.

So long as these communities remain what they are it appears to be disgracefully impossible.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

TWELVE NEGROES RAN INTO THE OPERA HOUSE, WHICH WAS LATER FIRED, CAUSING THE WHOLE BUILDING TO COLLAPSE, KILLING ALL.

RIOTS IN EAST ST. LOUIS CAUSED BY IMPORTATION OF NEGRO LABOR



Women Among Most Violent Rioters.

N Y C MAIL
JULY 3, 1917

Blood madness has seized upon the citizens of East St. Louis, Ill., where an orgy of butchery of negroes and incendiarism reigns. Directly across the Mississippi river in St. Louis not a trace of the race war spirit has developed.

Women, many of them carrying babies, have been among the most violent in the East St. Louis mobs. White men and women have joined in many attacks on negroes.

One young negress was beaten with a club wielded by a white woman while other women tore the victim's hair and ripped off her clothes.

An aged negress was struck several times by a group of women who attacked her guard of three militiamen.

Three white men seeing a negro lying in a gutter and hearing him moan, cried: "What, not dead yet!" turned him over and shot him in the head.

Souvenir hunters to-day were gleefully showing bits of clothing torn from negro victims.

Three hundred and ten negro dwellings valued at $300,000 were destroyed by fire in the rioting last night.

CHICAGO ILL HERALD
SEPTEMBER 13, 1917

A FAMILIAR FACTOR.

In the background of the Houston riot appears the familiar figure ever to be found amid such disturbances—administrative incompetence. A weak chief of police and a disorderly subordinate, according to a local citizens' committee, must at least be counted among the immediate causes of the outbreak. It is the old story.

Race prejudice, with its latent potentialities of trouble, was, of course, present. The negro troops were doubtless in the mood to avenge any discrimination. Inflammable material was ready for the spark and the match was applied with shocking consequences. But in Houston as elsewhere, dormant disaster might never have been awakened but for one incapable and another unfaithful guardian of the law. Overt irritation might have been avoided, or if that were not preventable, swift efficiency might have stamped out the incipient mutiny.

The lesson of Houston following hard upon that of East St. Louis ought not to be forgotten. If American communities desire honestly to preserve peace and to maintain order capable officials must be employed. Emergencies make short work of blunderers.

PHILADELPHIA PA RECORD
SEPTEMBER 23, 1917

NEGRO AVENGER ABROAD

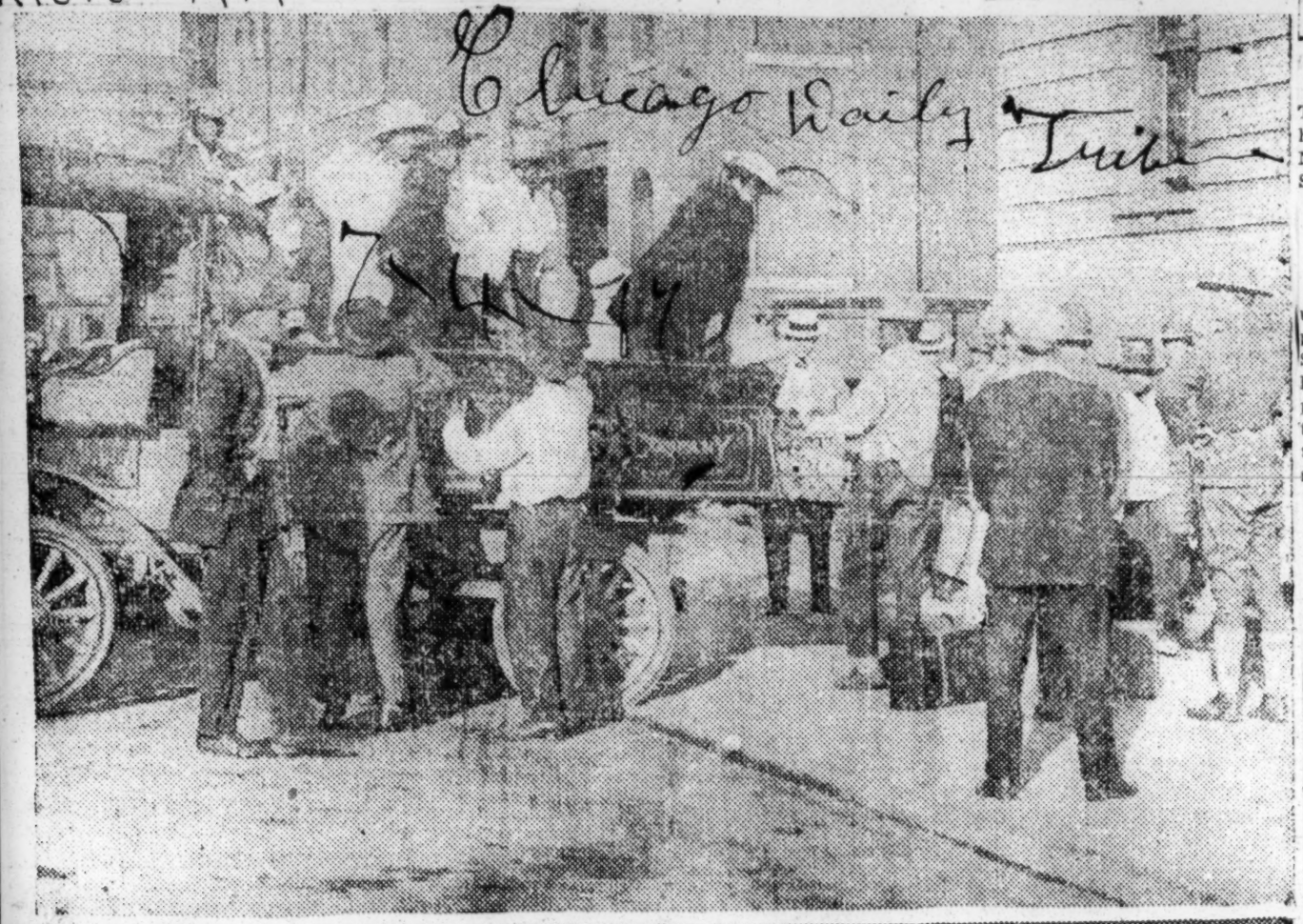
Attacks Camden Man in Retaliation for St. Louis Riots.

Testifying in the Police Court, Camden, yesterday against Charles Smith, colored, of No. 1112 South Sixth street, whom he charged with assault and battery, Thomas Glenn, 55 years old, of Fifth and Bailey streets, said: "I met this man near the Vine street ferry. He bumped into me and after he punched me in the face he said, 'Now I'm square for what you whites done to us in St. Louis."

Smith was committed to jail in default of $500 bail. Glenn's head was badly cut.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis



Refugees were taken to the East St. Louis terminal of the river tunnel, through which they were hurried to safety in St. Louis.

EFFICIENCY EXPERT TO BE HIRED FOR EAST SIDE

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 31, 1917

The Citizens' Committee of One Hundred of East St. Louis, which has been helping to rehabilitate the city since the race riot, will be made into a permanent organization. It will help handle questions vital to the city's welfare, C. E. Pope, chairman, announced today. Members are leading business men and manufacturers.

The next work, according to plans, is to engage an efficiency expert who will determine if any city employes can be dispensed with. The expert will report to the committee, which will recommend changes to Mayor Mollman.

The committee has raised more than $100,000 to aid in financing the fire and police departments. It also was instrumental in bringing about removals from the old Board of Fire and Police Commissioners and the suspension of Chief of Police Payne and Night Chief Hickey.

The permanent organization will meet whenever necessary, Pope said.

NEGRO MUTINY IN CHICAGO JAIL

N Y C TIMES
JULY 4, 1917

Outbreak Said to Have Been Caused by News from East St. Louis.

CHICAGO, July 3.—Yelling negro prisoners in the Cook County jail here, numbering 200, were locked in their cells and denied the privilege of exercising today. The demonstration is said to have been caused by news of the trouble in East St. Louis, but the jailer denied this. The negroes refused all appeals of the guards to quiet down.

Clarence Kelly, a negro, was shot and killed on an elevated railway platform early today by a policeman after he had wounded two persons and terrorized a number of others with a long-bladed knife. Kelly was seated in a car with his feet in the aisle when Mr. and Mrs. Fred J. Hohing passed through. Hohing accidentally stumbled over the negro's feet and the latter attacked him, despite Hohing's explanation. As Kelly struck at Hohing the latter threw up his hands to guard himself from the knife and received a cut across the right hand. The negro then turned on Mrs. Hohing and wounded her slightly before he was seized by passengers and the train crew. When the train arrived at the Belmont Station, on the North Side, the Hohings left the car to transfer, and Kelly, escaping from his captors, renewed his attack. A policeman summoned from the street below shot and killed the negro.

Pamphlets containing the full report of the State Council of Defense's investigation of conditions in East St. Louis were ordered printed today by Samuel Insull, the Chairman. It was stated that the council considers the situation critical and that its findings relative to the importation of negro workmen applied to all cities in the State.

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS

OCTOBER 17, 1917

Punishment for White Race Rioters.

When the prosecuting authorities recently secured the conviction of certain negroes because of their participation in the murderous race riots in East St. Louis The Daily News, in commending all who had labored to secure that desirable result, expressed the hope that equal success would attend the efforts to bring to punishment white men who committed murders in that city. Such convictions have now been brought about.

The two white prisoners first placed on trial in East St. Louis on account of their participation in the riots were convicted last week and given penitentiary terms of fourteen years each, the same punishment that was imposed upon the colored rioters. In appreciation of the good work of the attorney-general and his associates in this important inquiry and prosecution Gov. Lowden telegraphed his congratulations to Mr. Brundage, saying truly that they "have rendered a great service to the cause of orderly government in Illinois."

The state of Illinois, no less than the officials who are entitled to credit for the successful prosecutions, is to be congratulated on this vindication of law and order in the commonwealth.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

CHICAGO ILL TRIBUNE
JULY 6, 1917

ILLINOIS' SHAME.

Wadley, Ga., July 5.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—[Special Telegram.]—What have you to say regarding treatment Negroes in Illinois? Don't kill them. Send them back to pick our cotton.

CITIZENS OF WADLEY.

GET SOME DEMOCRACY OURSELVES.

Chicago, July 5.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—If the authorities had taken the proper precautions after the first East St. Louis riot the second would never have happened. Instead the state appointed a committee to investigate and the public knows that investigations of that sort never lead to anything. They say it was labor trouble growing out of the importation of Negro laborers from the south. Even so, can a man be blamed for trying to better his conditions elsewhere in a free country? Unscrupulous politicians in Chicago import men for the sole purpose of voting, to say nothing of importing them to make an honest living. When men are imported by large mining corporations during labor troubles or by farmers when they are short of harvest hands do we read of any state appointing an emergency council or committee to discourage or stop it? At this time especially, when we are asked to and are upholding liberty, justice, and democracy abroad isn't it high time we started at home?

ARMOUR HENDERSON,
3647 Rhodes avenue.

RIOT INQUIRY IS SECRET.

Trib Atlantic Express, 7-12-17

Juror Declares East St. Louis Officers Ordered Negro Shot.

East St. Louis, Ill., July 11.—So tight has the curtain of secrecy been drawn about the police investigation and coroner's inquiry into the deaths resulting from the race riots of last week that little information concerning official reports of the rioting can be obtained.

According to a St. Louis, Mo., newspaper reporter, however, one of the coroner's jurors yesterday declared that Illinois guardsmen had shot and killed two Negroes on the order of a police sergeant. This juror, it is said, declared that Colonel E. P. Clayton, of the guardsmen, had testified to that incident.

Colonel Clayton would neither confirm nor deny the statement.

Attorney-General Brundage announced that he and three assistants would attend the secret inquiry being held by the coroner and that his department would conduct the county grand jury investigation of the rioting.

The attorney-general said that everything possible would be done to uncover the true history of the events leading up to the trouble and to make the leaders pay a just penalty. He intimated that he already had the names of several men said to have urged the mob in the streets "to get the niggers," and that cases against them would be presented.

"There can be no favoritism," he declared. "There is rottenness in East St. Louis somewhere and we expect to find it. When we do, it will have to go."

CHICAGO ILL EVE POST
JULY 7, 1917

SHERMAN GOES DRY.

"It is the saloon-keepers of East St. Louis and their kind who lead the van of every lawless movement and breed and spew their infamous vermin upon every community where they are suffered to exist. I am a 'bone dry' senator from now on," said Senator Sherman after reading of Illinois' disgrace.

The senator's indictment is just. The anti-saloon leaguers and the prohibitionists have been saying precisely these things for years. It is a pity there are so many minds like the senator's that cannot see them until they are dramatized by wholesale arson and murder.

If we should add anything to the senator's remarks, it would be merely to say that blind, partisan, get-the-jobs politics is another of the sources of the kind of thing that has shamed this state; and it is both the nursery and the nursed of the lawless saloon.

MINNEAPOLIS MINN JOURNAL
JULY 3, 1917

Our National Disgrace.

In another century William Cowper, writing of the white man's treatment of his b[illegible] the black man, said:

He finds his fellow guilty of a skin not colored like his own,
And, having power to enforce the wrong for such a worthy cause,
Dooms and devotes him as his lawful prey.

Again we have to hang our heads in shame at our treatment of the black man.

We have been very free of late in denouncing German atrocities. We hold mass meetings to denounce the deportation of Belgians, but the deportation of Belgians was almost merciful compared with the tretment black men have recently received at the hands of their white brothers in East St. Louis.

We denounce very freely the wrong that Ireland has suffered at the hands of England, wrongs many of which are two hundred years old. We wonder why England has not long since solved the Irish problem and is very ready to give England advice. At the same time it is the wonder of the world why we make so little progress in solving the negro problem.

Is it not possible for the press and pulpit to create a public sentiment in this County that will result in giving the negro a square deal?

RACE RIOT INQUIRY BILL IS REPORTED IN SENATE

Washington, Aug. 11.—The Sherman resolution, creating a joint committee to investigate the East St. Louis race riots, to-day has been reported favorably in the Senate.

NEGRO SHOT BY THE MOB. AS THE AMBULANCE COMES UP POLICEMAN IS ARRESTING LEADER OF RIOTERS WHILE THE SOLDIERS HOLD BACK THE CROWD.

Convicted Rioters Lose Appeal Case

Information has been received that in the cases growing out of the East St. Louis riot, ten Colored men who were convicted, the Supreme Court at Springfield on Thursday of this week upheld the sentence of 14 years. During the pending of the case in the Supreme Court, one of the defendants, Othaniel Peoples, died. The nine other defendants are now in the penitentiary at Chester, Ill.

The St. Louis Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has decided to take the matter up to the United States Supreme Court.

RIOTS CUT ATTENDANCE IN EAST SIDE SCHOOLS

ST. LOUIS MO STAR
SEPTEMBER 5, 1917

Results of the race riots in East St. Louis, July 2, are seen in the attendance at East St. Louis schools, which opened yesterday.

The Lincoln negro grade school yesterday had an attendance of 252. A year ago it was 600. The negro High School enrolled forty-eight pupils against seventy-four a year ago.

The High School for whites this year has only 768 against 825 for last year.

The total attendance this year is 7,661 with 786 beginners., while the total attendance last year was 8,220 with 819 beginners.

The attendance in all schools in East St. Louis is decreased by 559, but the number of beginners increased thirty-three.

UTICA N Y PRESS
JULY 4, 1917

The riots in East St. Louis apparently are very serious. There has already been considerable loss of life, and the property reported yesterday morning as having been destroyed was valued at $3,000,000. There was general lawlessness, murder and arson. Both negroes and whites were involved in it and men and women appeared equally belligerent. One version of the beginning is that a company of joy riders in an automobile began shooting up the negro quarters. The latter were of the temper to rebel and once the fire was kindled, it spread rapidly, involving hundreds of people. The whites seem to have been as lawless as the blacks, though the latter have suffered more in loss of life. Some think it had pro-German promotion, and anyhow it has set up an unfortunate state of affairs, for it will require some time to smooth over and put conditions back where they were before. St. Louis is a strong pro-German city and East St. Louis has a large negro population. For some time it is claimed there have been organized and systematic attempts to stir up trouble among the southern blacks who readily accept misrepresentation and are easily frightened The situation is decidedly serious so far as East St. Louis is concerned and it is calculated to scare other southern cities.

N Y C POST
JULY 7, 1917

Theodore Roosevelt's sense of justice, and his fundamental belief in an ordered democracy, never shone out more usefully than in his set-to with Mr. Gompers at the Russian meeting last night. One may regret that such a controversy should have been injected into such an occasion, but once in it, Col. Roosevelt bore himself manfully. He did not seek the quarrel. In his formal address of greeting to the new Russian democracy, it was right and proper that he should refer to the defects of our own. His denunciatory mention of the shocking East St. Louis murderous riots expressed only what every decent American feels. And the attempted palliation of the horror and shame by Gompers, with his hollow apologies for labor unions resisting the "tyranny" of competing workmen who had been "lured" to East St. Louis, raised a wrath in Mr. Roosevelt which was wholly righteous. His bold stand and his burning words will be noted throughout the entire land, and will help to bring about a better public sentiment. Already the citizens of East St. Louis are putting on sackcloth and ashes and are pledging themselves—though a trifle late—to give ample protection to every laborer, black or white. All thanks to Col. Roosevelt, say we, for having borne his testimony, like a brave man and a good citizen, against mob murder.

MANY NEGROES FEARING RENEWAL OF RIOTS QUIT WORK IN EAST ST. LOUIS

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
AUGUST 1, 1917

Freight Agents Said to Have Appealed to Troops to Guard Employes.

Rumors that have but little foundation have caused a large number of negroes employed in East St. Louis freight houses to quit work. Some of these have returned, but others, fearful of a renewal of the race rioting, refuse to come back.

Negroes employed in the Illinois Central freight houses balked at going to work yesterday morning until they were marched over to the Vandalia freight houses and shown that negroes employed by that company were working.

At a meeting of local freight agents in the Vadalia offices, the situation was discussed and it is said an appeal was made for protection by the federalized troops now stationed in East St. Louis under command of Maj. R W. Cavenaugh. This meeting followed one held at noon in the rooms of the Terminal Association directors, Union Station, at which Conrad Reeb, president of the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce presented the situation to the railway officials and asked financial support in the effort now under way to increase the police force and raise salaries. Other East St. Louis men prominent in manufacturing, professions and business, also attended the meeting and urged co-operation.

AUGUSTA NEGROES IN EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS

They Have Not Yet Been Heard from and Friends Here Anxious About Them.

AUGUSTA GA HERALD
JULY 6, 1917

There is interest in Augusta in the East St. Louis rioting of a few days ago and letters from that point are eagerly awaited. It is then expected to hear of the fate of several colored people who left Augusta recently for that point.

It will be recalled that homes in the negro quarter in East St. Louis were set on fire and the inmates were shot down as they ran from the burning buildings. There have been conflicting reports as to the number of colored people killed, but it is known that it is up in the hundreds. One belief is that several negroes who were slain were thrown into the river.

Just how many Augusta negroes emigrated to East St. Louis is not accurately known. It is stated, however, that many of the colored citizens here proceeded to that point, and it is the fear among their friends that they have been involved in the trouble there. Letters and telegrams to them have not yet been replied to.

Waterbury, Conn. American
JULY 6, 1917

LABOR RIOTS, NOT RACE RIOTS.

The idea popularly accepted, that the East St Louis riots and murders were an outbreak against negroes, is contradicted by the New York Times, which says:

The East St Louis riots were not race riots, but labor riots. They were not aimed at negroes, but at underbidding workmen who happened to be negroes. It was not their color which "offended the mob mind," but their appearance in large numbers in the labor market. If they had been contract laborers from southern Europe, appearing in the same circumstances, the result might have been the same, for East St Louis has an evil record in the matter of labor riots, and this was not her first offense. Negroes have lived in East St Louis until now in such peace as is possible for anybody in that town. Once the mob spirit was loosed, it did not discriminate, nor ask its victims if they were new arrivals. The riots are comparable to those in California against the Chinese in the '70s. Though the Chinese were the victims, those were not race riots; they were a ruffianly protest against cheap labor.

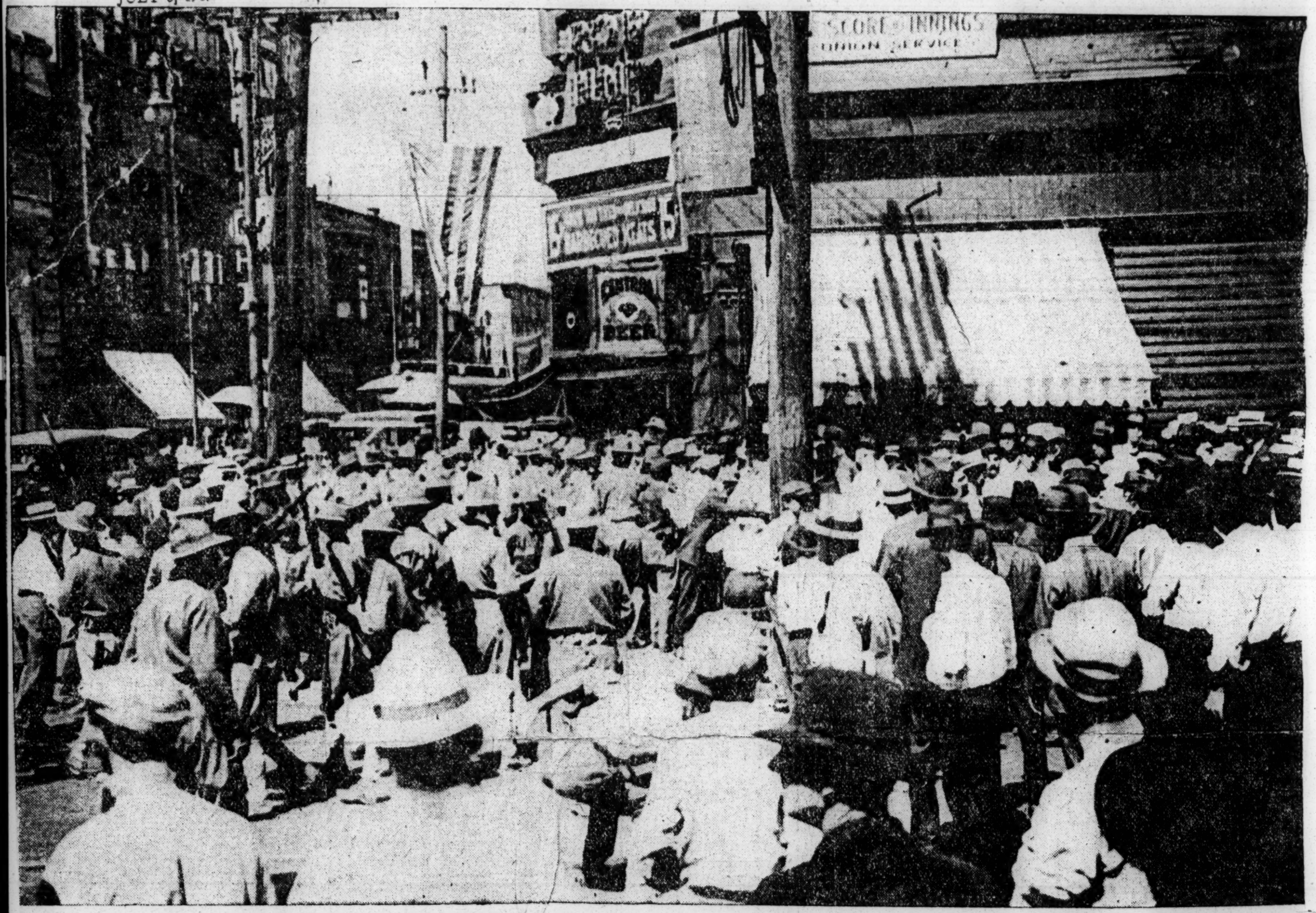
In the absence of Mr Gompers, the secretary of the American Federation of Labor, Frank Morrison, denies that labor unions are responsible for the riots. But his explanation admits the fact that the presence of colored laborers from the South, misled by false advertisements, "in such numbers that they could not secure either work or decent living quarters," had the effect "seriously to disarrange social as well as economic conditions and to arouse bitterness on all sides." The violent protest seems, therefore, as the Times says, to be against the presence of laborers "who happened to be negroes."

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

PICTURES OF BLOODY RACE RIOTS AT EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

N Y C CALL
JULY 6, 1917



—Photo from Underwood & Underwood, New York.

Crowd which stopped street cars at Collinsville avenue and Bradway East St. Louis, and hauled off and massacred negro passengers. Militiamen stood by "helpless."

RGES INDEMNITY FOR DAMAGES!

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Takes up East St. Louis Race Trouble

STEPS TAKEN TO BRING ACTION AGAINST CITY!

The Crisis

Dr. Du Bois was Sent to Make a Thorough Study of the Situation, and Organized a Force of Twenty-five Volunteer Workers and Five Paid Workers to Look After the Needs of the Wounded Victims—The Association Proposes to Leave no Stone Unturned to Bring the Perpetrators to Speedy Justice.

9/4/17

When the first troubles in East St. Louis became public late in May, the N. A. A. C. P. recognized that this was something of the utmost importance. East St. Louis is one of the great centers whither the migration of at least a quarter of a million Negroes has set. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance to understand any troubles that might arise and to ward them off if possible. We recognized the strong interest that various people South and North had in stopping Negro migration and discouraging the emancipation of the black serf.

Before, however, our representative could get to East St. Louis, the terrible riot of July 2 had taken place. A hundred or more Negroes were killed, scores of homes and property destroyed, and 6,000 refugees crossed the bridge into St. Louis. The St. Louis branch of the N. A. A. C. P. immediately began relief work. Our members, prominent in professions and in business, for nearly ten days gave almost their entire time to the succor of the victims. A mass meeting was called and a special finance committee appointed. Contributions came from as far as Kansas City and Chicago, and some $400 or $500 was immediately collected. The association worked in conjunction with the white Red Cross and with other colored individuals in the city. The Municipal Lodging House was opened and hundreds of individuals' homes.

Immediate steps were taken to prepare legal cases against the city and county. The legal committee of the association held open doors and hundreds of declarations of losses were received by Attorney Phillips. Dr. W. P. Curtis and others gave much time to the wounds of the victims. From the national office, Dr. Du Bois was sent to make a thorough study of the situation, and Miss Martha Gruening to inquire into the attitude of the employers and labor unions.

Dr. Du Bois organized a force of twenty-five volunteer workers and five paid workers. Chancellor Lloyd, of the Knights of Pythias, kindly donated the parlors of the Pythian Hall, and Dr. Curtis donated an office on Market street. Clerks were installed and the stories of nearly 200 victims carefully taken down. Detailed statistics covering 1,500 of the refugees were also compiled. Visits were made to the various sections of East St. Louis and to the colored settlements of Brooklyn and National City. Several meetings of the executive committee of the branch were held and one mass meeting of citizens which overflowed the beautiful Presbyterian Church on Pine street. Every effort was made to cooperate with churches and other organizations with notable success. We also got in touch with leading white citizens like ex-Secretary Nagel and Mr. C. M. Hubbard and Miss Pulliam, of the Red Cross.

The Chicago branch contributed $200 to the relief funds and also, under Judge Brown, is preparing to give legal aid to the prosecution of the county and city. It will be remembered that Illinois has two statutes which bear upon this riot, first an "Act to indemnify the owners of property for damages caused by mobs and riots" passed in 1887, and the other, an "Act to suppress mob violence," approved in 1905. The association, through its national office and through the Chicago and St. Louis branches, proposes to leave no stone unturned to bring to justice the guilty perpetrators of the East St. Louis outrage. The St. Louis branch is still active; the investigations of the national office are proceeding, and the Washington branch is pushing the resolutions for investigation introduced by Congressmen Dyer and Dallinger and Senator Sherman. All members and friends of the race are urged to write to their congressmen demanding passage of these resolutions, which are H. J. Res. 118, H. J. Res. 124, and S. Con. Res. 10.

Detailed stories of the truth about East St. Louis will appear shortly in various magazines and in the Crisis. Persons who are convinced by our experience in East St. Louis and elsewhere that a national fighting body of this sort is absolutely indispensable are urged to join the association and to contribute to our Anti-Lynching and Anti-Mob-Violence fund. A check for $100 has been received from the Knights of Pythias of the Grand Jurisdiction of Illinois and other contributions have been sent by various organizations and individuals. Literature and information may be had by writing to James W. Johnson, acting secretary, room 518 ,7 0Fifth avenue New York.

tigation by the Federal government be not undertaken at that time, saying if it were that the Negroes who were the leaders of the lawless acts and had led the law-abiding Negro into trouble, would feel that the act of the United States in going into the subject was putting the government behind the Negroes in the effort to circumvent or defeat the then pending state investigation.

What I stated from the floor was merely the contents of the messages and had the full contents been known there would have arisen no misunderstanding.

Following this I took upon myself to have the department of justice, through its agents, promptly enter upon investigation without waiting for the long course of a congressional investigation and the uncertainties of any conclusion of such an investigation in times like these. I had the department of justice take the subject up in harmony and in union with the Republican governor and the Republican attorney general of the state of Illinois.

I send you this that you may make such use of it as your sense of justice to me would suggest.

With best wishes for your health,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) JAS. HAMILTON LEWIS.

1253 MacPherson, Kans., Republican

AUGUST 3, 1917

First item in hunting season news Law off on negroes in East St. Louis Mo.

LOS ANGELES, CAL. TIMES

AUG 5, 1917

ILLINOIS AND RACE RIOTS.

Whites and blacks have mingled in a bloody and scandalous race riot in East St. Louis (Illinois) and the number of dead is unknown, though thirty bodies lie at the morgue, and the injured have been counted up to three score. Practically all of the dead and injured are negroes, who, being outnumbered at every corner were hunted like wild animals and had little chance to retaliate on the mob of whites (mostly unionite pickets and their sympathizers) that swarmed into the "Black Belt" with torches, guns and ropes. The police looked on, either timidly or sympathetically; the National Guardsmen, hurried out after a singularly long delay, allowed, with nothing more than a perfunctory protest, the mob to take its vicious course; and the negroes, women and children and men, tumbled from their burning homes and frantically made their way across the river to St. Louis (Missouri,) where at present much more of law is upheld and order maintained.

The Chicago Tribune may well, as it has done, editorially cover its head with sackcloth and ashes and bow down in shame and humiliation for the disgrace that has come upon Illinois, both through its citizenry and through its executives. The Tribune found some months ago a venomous solace in the national political campaign by designating California as the "Boob State" because our electoral votes contributed vitally to the election of Mr. Wilson. We have no desire to return in kind with epithet now that black—the blackest of shame has spotted the State of Illinois.

Any thinking person recognizes the inconvenience of huddling blacks and whites together, and race irritation is inevitable—particularly among the negroes and the low breeds of white that give way to violence purely and solely because they are overwhelmingly more numerous and have nothing to fear from the attack. But no amount of irritation, or anything else justifies the brutality of race riots. Russia has been considered barbarous because of the pogroms, the massacre of Jews. That part of Illinois which contributed to the massacre of the negroes has little more claim to civilization than those quarters of Russia which have inspired pogroms. The negro is an American citizen; the historic rolls of our country show that he has fought often and with gallantry for his country. His condition is unpleasant; his forefathers were brought to ours in chains, and his intrusion was merely captivity. The negro leaders and educators are working hard and sincerely to ease the friction, t bring the race up to high levels of educ tion and culture. The task is difficult. T negro is only a few generations remov from tropical savagery—but it was wh e unionites who precipitated the riots in East St. Louis, and not the great-grandchildren of jungle warriors.

And guardsmen, members of the American army now at war for "civilization" for the "principles of freedom" and "equality," when placed on duty to protect the black citizens of their own country looked inactively on and even suffered themselves to be disarmed, while a white mob raced in murder-frenzy through the streets. And this in the State of Illinois, a northern State, the State from which Lincoln came to the Presidency to give the negroes liberty!

The Mayor of East St. Louis says the whites were angry because the negroes came in as strike-breakers and remained; nd then further he palliatively explains that robberies and petty crimes became numerous, so "the people became exasperated and determined to drive them out of town." An explanation diabolically simi liar in ineptitude to the Russian apologies for pogroms—as though the sanctity o or union jobs or the exasperation of fre quent robbery could condone and ameliorat a massacre. And the policemen and guards men of Illinois, sworn to duty and there t stop lawlessness, grinned at the looting an played spectators to house-burning and mur der. Three million dollars in property gon up in flames because some non-union ne groes had jobs, and some jobless negroe were suspected of petty crimes; scores o dead and more than scores of wounded be cause the "white trash" of East St. Loui wanted to "drive them out of town." An Illinois stands alone in her disgrace—be cause since the revolution pogroms hav stopped in Russia.

PITTSBURG PA DISPATCH

JULY 8, 1917

Causes at East St Louis

There may be nothing more than simple coincidence between the race murders and property destruction at East St Louis, the flight of some 12,000 Negro refugees to St Louis, and the arrival of a committee of Mississippians to take the disturbed blacks "back home" either on a special train or chartered steamboat. The secretary of the American Federation of Labor denies that the white workmen of the Illinois city had anything to do with the origin and prosecution of the race war, but men in the fire-swept town speak of the beginning of the bad feeling as when some hundreds of white strikers were replaced by Negroes from the South. The suspicion that Southern business and industrial interests did not view the conflict of races with dismay is strengthened by the quick arrival of the Mississippi committee to take the refugees "back home," where the communities are suffering because of the Northern flight of Negro labor.

That the economic influence has a place in the affair may also be inferred from the fact that the business interests of East St Louis have informally organized to resist the importunities of the Mississippi delegation on the ground that East St Louis industries will be crippled and cannot get along without Negro labor. With sectional business interests actively bidding against each other for Negro labor, the inference seems to demand recognition that after all the basis of the race war is economic, not racial. The fact that East St Louis business interests have pleaded with the Negro to stay there, promising complete protection, might be interpreted as additional reason why the whole affair may be indexed as one of the complex economic struggles that seem to be something else until analysis goes further than surface events.

PERSONNEL OF JURY TO WEIGH RIOT FACTS

JULY 10, 1917

Personnel of the Grand Jury which is to probe the East St. Louis riot and massacre follows:

Warren Hammer, Prairie du Long; Fred Groh, Lenzburg; Martin Heckert, Fayetteville; James A. Reichert, Sugar Loaf; E. A. Muskopf, Millstadt; Fred Schwinn, Stookey; J. H. Batdorf, Freeburg; Charles Hoehn, New Athens; Louis Schaubert, Mascoutah; John G. Hoff, Engelmann; William Trefzer, Shiloh Valley; Joseph E. Biebel, St. Clair; F. M. Shepperd, Stites; John Donovan, Canteen; Daniel Schaefer, O'Fallon; Adam Schaeffer, Lebanon; George Bollmer, Belleville; Joseph Vonahme, East St. Louis; Robert McConnell, East St. Louis; George Nies, Belleville; H. J. Schmidt, Belleville; E. F. Knobeloch, Belleville, and J. C. Locquet, Mascoutah.

Riots–1917

East St. Louis

Enmity of Capital to Union Labor and Importation of Blacks to Break Strikes and Preserve Open Shop Are Said to Have Been at Root of East St. Louis Race Riots

N.Y. TRIBUNE
JULY 8, 1917

(Special Correspondence)

St. Louis, July 7.

AN ECONOMIC vacuum produced by the World War is pulling the American negro problem north.

The East St. Louis massacre was not an isolated or endemic thing. It was an ominous eruption of racial and social antagonisms which have been and are still gathering under the surfaces in scores of Northern communities.

In seeking to reach the basic factors in the situation, minor symptoms may fairly be disregarded. It it be granted that the negro is likely to abuse the greater freedom of the North, that in East St. Louis the authorities were neither sufficiently vigorous in keeping them within bounds before the rioting began nor in protecting them afterward—the fundamental dangers remain the same, and no policing can remove them wherever the black influx has gathered.

The trouble North and South—as always when two races are mixed on the same soil—is a blend of racial strife and industrial competition or exploitation.

The South, which cannot live industrially without the negro, has made too little effort to give him adequate wages or decent living conditions, though it does, in general, assure physical safety except in cases of vicious crime.

The North, which is turning to the negro to supply the place of the cheap European labor cut off by the war, knows neither how to absorb him into its industrial system, how to deal with his peculiar vices, nor how to control the passions which are caused by his appearance in competition with its established labor.

Definite Attempts Made To Bring Negro North

The movement of the negro which has made the South so uneasy and which has created such conditions as exist in East St. Louis began over a year ago. There is some disposition on the part of employers to deny that any overtures were made to Southern negroes to get them to move North and to point to the financial prosperity of the negro in the North as quite sufficient inducement for their Southern brothers to seek a better living. But there is no doubt that definite attempts were made to use the Southern negro as a cheap labor commodity.

The first negro movement which attracted attention in East St. Louis was when eight hundred blacks went there something more than a year ago to take the place of strikers in the packing plants. East St. Louis is largely an industrial community, with a population of about sixty thousand. About 15 per cent, before the strike, were negroes. Most of the Chicago packers have plants there which employ altogether from five to seven thousand persons. A large aluminum plant employs three thousand.

By the time the first riot came this spring three thousand negroes had been added to the population of the city. When the packing house strikes ceased, negroes in many cases continued to hold their places. Factory managers declare that the riots were not due to a shortage of labor demand. Nevertheless, the city has had a large idle population, and one result of it has been a good deal of petty thievery and lawlessness of various kinds.

Trouble first definitely appeared in May when several industrial plants were closed by strikes. White laboring men were unable to unionize the negro. In most cases the negro made it possible for the manufacturer to maintain an open shop. In the May riots six men were killed, the militia was called out, and after an apparent relapse of the population into quiet the state guard was sent back home.

But the labor leaders went before the City Council and demanded that the city put an end to the immigration of the negro into the city. It was the investigation which followed, under the direction of an Illinois state commission, which directly precipitated the riots. The report of the commission was made public last Saturday and it stated clearly that labor agents had been bringing the negro North. The negroes, fearing trouble, organized in their quarter of the city. A squad of patrolmen sent to scatter them was fired upon, some were killed, and the riots were on.

Official East St. Louis Attempts to Evade Issue

East St. Louis murdered almost a half hundred of her inhabitants, beat and tortured several hundred more, and wantonly destroyed half a million dollars in property.

But official East St. Louis remains almost passive. To-day she is attempting to evade the issue.

The punishment of the guilty and the restoration to the negroes of their homes and property destroyed by the mob's violence may never be consummated unless outside agencies step in. And even if the situation were rigorously probed, the guilty punished and the sufferers indemnified, the difficulty would only be smoothed over. It would be a truce, but not a peace.

To-day an exodus of negroes from East St. Louis, and even from the outlying district near by, is pouring thousands of blacks into St. Louis, where the municipal authorities and the Red Cross are taking care of them.

The universal dangers were aggravated by local conditions in East St. Louis. For years there has been a struggle between capital and labor of a peculiar nature. The city is composed almost solely of poor men. There are few big men and no wealthy ones. The big industries located in the city are controlled by outside capital. Many of them are only parts of gigantic combinations of moneyed interests of the country.

The result is an indifference on the part of capital to the laboring interests. The heads of the big industries have looked with disfavor on all attempts of the labor leaders of East St. Louis to organize the men employed there. For years the big industries have successfully resisted the efforts of the labor chiefs. Numerous strikes have been the result.

Out of this situation arose the possibility for the politicians to make fine capital. It did not take this element long to learn of the negroes' political utility. The black man has been a citizen of East St. Louis almost since the city was founded. He did not prove inherently vicious or inimical to the best interests of the city. He knew his place and lived in peace among his white neighbors.

Then came the politicians' realization of his political value. Unscrupulous white men discovered that if one controlled the negro vote of East St. Louis he might control the city. The black population was the balance of power, for the whites were so evenly divided on most questions that by throwing the negro votes into the scales a certain faction could win any struggle at the polls.

Politicians Protected Negro In Lawless Activities

The investigation which will be inevitable, as investigations are, will probably never name the politician. But he must bear a heavy burden of moral responsibility for Monday night's massacre. The politician has catered to the negroes, paid them money for their votes and protected lawless saloons and dives and gambling houses conducted by negro leaders.

The obvious happened. Negroes who were otherwise honest and law-abiding succumbed to the seduction of the politicians' offer, which represented the line of least resistance. Other negroes, lawless ones, came to East St. Louis to take advantage of the conditions favorable to them there.

Certain elements among the negroes reached the conclusion that they were privileged characters. They openly violated the laws of the city and they managed to evade any restraint on them. White men were robbed by negro women and the thieves were not punished. In numberless cases the victims instead of the thieves were arrested.

Things went from bad to worse. Minor violations of the law were succeeded by greater depredations. Negroes, armed with revolvers, clubs and knives, invaded the white sections of the city and robbed representative citizens. In many cases shootings or beatings were meted out to the victims when they did not have loot enough to satisfy the negroes.

To the protests of the citizens against the lax methods of officialdom's dealing with the situation no answer was returned. No real effort was made to better conditions. Then came the riots of the week of May 28.

Southern Press Mystified At Exodus of the Negro

In its comment on the situation most of the Southern papers profess mystification at the exodus of the black man. Ignoring the Jim Crow laws, the low wages, the squalid negro quarters and the civil and political disabilities, it still declares that the black man will find his best friend below the Mason and Dixon line. Southern newspapers look now upon the negro as the child of the South, as a victim of cruel and cold Northern commercialism, and recommend that his wisest course is to return to the South, where he is not merely needed, but understood. There is, in fact, something of sentimentalism in the gentle eye which the South now turns

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

upon the negro.

"Racial prejudices," declares "The Memphis Commercial Appeal," "are more violent in the North than in the South." It says:

The Southern man recognizes the right of the negro to life, liberty and property. In the matter of property the Southern white man recognizes the right of the negro to labor in whatsoever calling he wishes. In the North when the negro begins to be a competitor in labor he is fought through the instrument of racial hatred, and when this hatred is aroused it is blind as to individuals.

There has been an exodus of negroes to the North for two years. Many were attracted by temporary high wages. Others went North because they fancied there were certain privileges they would enjoy in the North that they did not enjoy in the South. But when they got North they found out that the enjoyment of these privileges gave no substantial comfort.

The negro belongs in the South, and for his own good he ought to stay here. The Southerner will not stand for him being shot to pieces just because he happens to be black.

If the negro behaves himself his days in the South will not be marred by much trouble.

The problem for the negro in the South has been difficult during the last two years. The cost of living has been exceedingly high, and in some cases the wages of the negroes have not been advanced as they should have been. And in other places in the South the negro has not had the benefit of an even break in the division of returns on the cotton crop.

The negroes in the North should come back home, and when they are back and obey the law it should be the duty of the white men to see that they are not defrauded, that they are decently paid for well done work and that life be made safe for those who try to do right, seek to obey the law and try to make themselves useful citizens.

And this is the comment of "The Atlanta Constitution," published in a city which has a long record of race riots:

Yet our friends of the North continually are harping that we of the South are unable to cope with the "negro problem"! It is their habit to tell us that we do not know how to deal with the "negro problem," but that they do!

Is this East St. Louis atrocity a demonstration of the war? Is this an illustration of the North's method of solving the "problem"?

If it is, then we must confess that our Northern advisers are right and that we are wrong, for certainly we of the South never have tried that method—and, please God, we never shall!

We hear much of the so-called "constitutional rights" of the colored man, from the Northern viewpoint, but the constitutional guarantee to every man, white or black, of the fundamental right to earn his living in the sweat of his brow—as it is and always has been vouchsafed to the negro in the South—seem[illegible] entirely overlooked.

As to those colored folk who have escaped with their lives, they had better come back home, where they were well off.

Riots Are Attributed To "Curse of Color"

"The Louisville Herald," remarking finally that "they have taught him that his place is in the South," points to the color of the negro as the cause of his troubles in the North.

Not in Georgia—we desire particularly to call the attention of "The Chicago Tribune" to this—Chicago, likewise, is in Illinois—not in Alabama, not in the "Black Belt," did this race war run a course checked only when the bloodstained, murderous rabble was satiated and exhausted and its quarry huddled in cellars or in public buildings protected by a soldiery with orders not to shoot.

What was the crime of these negroes? What had they done that, of a sudden, an indiscriminate hell should be let loose upon them; that—without regard to age or sex—they should be hounded and driven, tortured and done to death, their homes wrecked, their belongings, themselves burned in the shelter, the treacherous shelter, they had sought?

What was the curse but the curse of color?

What the fanaticism but the fanaticism of the white man who saw his job endangered by these citizens who had as good a right to it if they could make good as he had?

There was no other cause for the brutality, none put forward and none that can be put forward.

Likewise the Montgomery, Ala., "Advertiser" finds that "had they been as tolerant of negro labor as the white people of the South usually are, not a negro would have been killed, not a house burned and no stain have fallen upon the fairly good name of Illinois."

"The Cincinnati Enquirer" lashes the Illinois city for its savage treatment of the wanderer. It says:

The negro has been moving out of the South in droves for more than a year past. East St. Louis has probably been invaded no more greatly than scores of other cities, and the problems presented in the Illinois city are not different from those confronting other cities. The coming of the negro and what to do with him is commanding the most serious thought of the North. The problem is going to require patience and tact, and it may require years to solve. The twilight people, as Beecher used to call them, are for the greater part untutored, and, like children, they are rushing into a Canaan of high wages and easy living. Disillusionment awaits most of them, and the rigors of Northern winters to which they are unaccustomed, is likely to play havoc with their health and physical constitution. Just as unaccountably as they set forth for the promised land of milk and honey to the North, they may in a year or two drift back to the soft breezes of Dixie Land.

East St. Louis has made a horrible blunder, a mistake that will leave a livid scar. The handling of this great puzzle must be left to reason and to time. The defiance and desecration of law is never justified, and certainly in this instance cannot be condemned too vigorously.

Not all the Southern papers, however, are blind to the South's share of blame.

Witness "The Houston Post," which has said recently of the negro exodus:

In the towns and cities the negroes are dissatisfied with their living conditions. They are not disturbed about politics or social equality, but the insanitary surroundings amid which circumstances compel them to exist are unsatisfactory, and the white people owe it to their own welfare to improve those conditions.

Even worse conditions obtain on many of the plantations, and added to all of the drawbacks common to the towns and cities is the other fact that the rural schools for negro children where they exist at all are a joke.

Another cause of negro discontent lies in the widely prevalent and largely justified belief among the negroes that there is one law for the white man and another law for the negro. The instances in the court records of the state which prove this to be true are too numerous to be recited here.

"The Savannah Morning News" said editorially:

What is to be done? Must we resort to coercive measures of one kind or another, measures which at best will avail only to defer the negro's departure, while increasing instead of lessening the spirit of discontent which is driving him to other parts of the country? Would it not be the part of reason to look about us and find out why the negro is so fixed in his determination to go elsewhere instead of arbitrarily seeking to stay his departure or to frighten him into staying by picturing to him the disadvantages of the life he will have to live in the North? If the negro is discontented in the South there is undoubtedly a reason for his discontentment. This reason may be partly fancied, but it cannot be wholly so; a race of people does not break every natural tie and go into strange lands because of an entirely fancied grievance.

Consider the matter selfishly or altruistically, as you please, there is no escape from the conclusion that the obligation to understand the negro's viewpoint is resting upon the best white people of the South heavily, or that this obligation is of the most pressing immediacy.

In St. Louis itself "The Republic" devotes its attention editorially to the maladministration of the Illinois forces of law and order rather than to the trouble itself, calling for a Federal inquiry and punishment of those responsible for the laxity which permitted the massacre. But it is "The Chicago Tribune," long the source of bitter criticism of the South for its continued lynching of the negro, that flames most hotly against the riots.

"The Tribune" says:

"We do not propose to talk now about race hatred or economic rivalry or any other learned aspect of the offence. There is just one truth, one sickening, shameful truth: In an American city, in a city of Illinois, there has been a loathsome eruption of the brute, and neither civilized public sentiment nor constituted authority was capable of arresting it."

LETTER TO ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
JULY 30, 1917

Riots in the Making.

To the Editor of the Post-Dispatch.

For the past two days, Wednesday and Thursday a howling mob has passed the front door of our establishment at Eighth and Walnut streets, going south on Eighth street toward the tunnel. It seems that there are about 15 or 20 wagons loaded with sand and each one driven by a negro, with another individual of the same color, perched on the wagon beside him. A policeman walks by the side of the wagon or rides on it as the case may be. Language that would make a ship's "bosun" blush for shame is bandied about within easy hearing of young lady stenographers and clerks in the various offices all along the street and attempted acts of violence are permitted to go unpunished.

Today, for instance, one man, his face distorted with rage and race hatred, picked up a half brick and threw it with every effort at one of those innocent and entirely blameless negroes. It barely missed his head and passed across the street into a crowd of bystanders. The man was in full sight of a policeman and nothing was done about it.

If some poor drunken bum will so much as stagger across the street or an unthinking youth create some minor disturbance in the street, "the long arm of the law" reaches him very quickly.

These riots and near riots on account of race prejudice should stop, but until our police force is authorized to use the right kind of persuasion we can hope for little improvement. The time to stop a riot is before it is one. A single bullet or club of prevention is worth a whole arsenal of cure when we are dealing with riots. Why we refuse to learn at the expense of poor East St. Louis is now more than I can understand. It seems to me a clear case for the newly appointed and highly efficient police commissioners. SOL W. GROSS.

MILITIA HAD NO CARTRIDGES
RICHMOND VA TIMES DISPATCH
JULY 1, 1917

East St. Louis Riots.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., July 8.—A d[illegible] alleged reason for failure to [illegible] tailed report of the race riots at East St. Louis Monday will be placed in the hands of Adjt. Gen. Frank S. Dickson tomorrow, by Colonel S. O. Tripp, who was in command of the State troops. East St. Louis? Is it not [illegible] for us to sweep before our own doors?

It is understood that Colonel Tripp will say the reason the troops did not disperse the mob was that the soldiers were without ammunition until 7 P. M. Monday, when a supply was received. Colonel Tripp will also report that up to 7 P. M. he had slightly more than 100 troops with which to patrol seventy blocks, making impossible any mass operations. At 7 o'clock the rioting stopped.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE
JULY 8, 1917

DEFENDERS OF DOWNTRODDEN.

Burlington, Ia., July 4.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—Are we justified in posing as the champions of downtrodden humanity and the protectors of the helpless in the face of the reports of burnings and murders of defenseless Negroes in East St. Louis? Is it not [illegible]

J. C. GRENIER.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

IMPRESSION OF EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS

The Freeman

A Delegation of Colored Politicians of Chicago, Call on Governor Lowden in Behalf of the Race

7/21/17

CTION AT THE FELLOWSHIP LEAGUE MEETING

Mrs. Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Exiled Editor of the Memphis Free Speech, Says the Negroes of Chicago Should Arm Themselves for Self Protection—Colone Theodore Roosevelt, One of the World's Greatest Politicians, Reasons with Justice—Chicago Tribune's Strong Editorial Utterance.

BY SYLVESTER RUSSELL.

Chicago, Ill., Special to The Freeman.

With the drifting of time, the race riots at East St. Louis are now practically over, and much has been said, mostly politically, and much has been done to allay the tragic friction. There was much unnecessary racial matter described in a critical manner, that could have been omitted or eliminated from the radical to the normal beneficial and more intelligent view of a delicate situation, since it developed to be defective politics, handed out, and floated by thoughtless reporters. What is extremely depressing in the argument is that riots on account of color by union sectarian laborers incited by foreign and socialistic elements in the interests and progress of Germany in war, brought about the unhappy incivility of civil strife and political errors.

The Fellowship League Meeting.

During the progress of the riot much argumentary commotion ensued when at a meeting held by the Fellowship League in Chicago, in which Mrs. Ida B. Wells-Barnet, former exiled editor of the Memphis Free Speech, who for years had boldly championed the rights of her people, declared that the colored Americans of Chicago should arm themselves for protection. F. L. Barnet, her husband, a lawyer, and Dell Roberts, an orator, sustained her assertion. If this remark was hasty and indiscreet, its substance was nevertheless a clear conclusion of what a minority race, helpless and oppressed, would have to do as a last resortment to barbarious injustice. The command was not a threat, but a word-picture of self-protection in a hostile land. It was not a challenge to the white race, but in the time of riot could easily incite an attack from a rowdy class of white ignorant ingrates. The colored race need not be taught by its leaders to prepare for civil war. They know that from slavery. Odds and persecution in the South has taught them to fight at least for their lives when in the sight of tragedy. Mrs. Barnet, who later left for St. Louis, was on the sight directly after the scene of treachery to give council and direct movements of her people under the protection of the militia. In speaking of disarming the blacks, may argue well for a riot, but when it comes to a home, no one has any right to take anything of belongings in a citizen's household, and there is no law to that effect, and this statement is made because the colored race will have to be brave and fight for their lives when attacked, as a race without justice or protection.

Colored Politicians See the Governor.

The delegation of colored politicians who called on Governor Lowden from Chicago at a moment of fret, were ahead of the precedent of the greater throng of highly respected white citizens of the state, who should have immediately entered a protest themselves.

This same version was expressed to your correspondent in a special interview with Teenan Jones July 5.

Apropos to the interview of interrogation, Mr. Jones was sure that the delegation and especially Dr. Carey or Ed Wright would not voice any such sentiment as expressed in the newspapers, and hinted that reporters may have wilfully misconstrued for the sake of publicity favorable to the white race, even at the expense of having to publish a denial, which they immediately did. The delegation consisted of two editors and five politicians high in rank as follows: Rev. A. J. Carey, Edward H. Wright, Major Robert R. Jackson, Louis B. Anderson, J. Gray Lucas, S. B. Turner and R. S. Abbott. If these gentlemen appeared as mediators, an interview by press correspondents was a damaging mistake and it may be that some of them were coached into compromise to follow after their arias as keen quotations, and served out as sly news of dismal importance.

For instance, in denying the statements, the delegation is reported to have said that "the colored people are gradually segregating themselves," a passage that was totally unwarranted. To count on brains, the kind which Frederick Douglass had, as a master mind, none of these men can be thus considered. To count on ability as a mediator, the kind of generalship mastered by the late Booker T. Washington, only Dr. Carey can at least be considered. None of their arguments published by the resolutions were quite to the point of covering the gravity of the situation, and the best substance in the plea, no doubt, to those who are familiar with his versification, came from Dr. Carey and Dr. Carey is an under-paid missionary of the gospel, forced to live in the Roman chariot of political welfare. The bravery of the event as expert prophets see it, is in the fact, especially in the state of Illinois, that the resolutions lacked the fearless tenor of such men as E. Bauregarde Moseley, Oscar De Priest, Edward Green, Jesse Binga or Dr. George C. Hall, who, in an interview with the writer, offered utter disapproval, especially if the political infusion of segregation, intermarriages and the school question were included. Another interview with a brainy colored inventor, whose name is withheld, we have the ready information that no few men would be able to handle or control the problem of such matters and that it would interest and involve many people of both races in unlimited defiance.

Col. Roosevelt Speaks for Justice.

When Col. Theodore Roosevelt, the world's greatest statesman, attended the Russian war mission in New York city July 6, he sounded the alarm of justice for which his hallowed tongue still remains fearless and his name lives in his efforts to sustain the honor of his country in what is right and in peace adjustment. Quotations of his valuable speech are herein reproduced as follows:

'Before I greet the envoys of the new republic, I wish to say a word to you in regard to something that has recently occurred inside our own boundaries.

"Before we speak of justice to others it behooves us to do justice within our own boundaries. I refer to the race riots in East St. Louis, a race riot for which, so far as we can see, there was no provocation and which resulted in such appalling brutality as to leave a stain on the American name.

"It behooves us to express our condemnation of acts that give the lie to our words within the limits of our own country and to say that it is impossible that there should be justification for mob violence. It is our duty to demand that the governmental authorities shall use with ruthless severity every power at their command to punish those guilty of murder whether committed by whites against blacks or whether by blacks against whites.

"It is our duty to insist, first of all on the restoration of order and the reign of the law. Upon the foundation of law and order we must build the structure of justice.

"There should be no apology for the infamous brutalities committed on the colored people of East St. Louis. Justice is not a mere phrase. It has to be transplanted into action. How can we praise Russia for doing justice to all people when we must apologize for doing murder to the helpless—The Chicago Tribune Editorials.

Contrary to what has appeared in the columns of the Daily Tribune, pro or con, two of its editorials on the riot were at least of potent value, and in eevry way beenficial to our country. "The Conspiracies Against Our Peace" was especially glowing in its account of the war situation as an outlook and the artificial sentiment and purposes of pro-German agencies to stir up disturbance. It stated that charges were made that the East St. Louis riot was in most part a deliberation fomented as a part of their secret campaign. Viewing the subject philosophically, it is a disturbing condition that makes it necessary for America to beware of strikes, outlaw riots, lynching and unjust persecution of weaker races in minority of our countrymen, and in view of this condition it will be well for the poor white American laborer to use good judgement along labor lines now in time of war, which is not yet fully a realization to an over-fed prosperous nation and leaders of the colored race will have to get busy in patiently striving to enlighten the heathen faction of our immigration from the South by graduation and as all human souls must dwell upon this earth together, the poor especially of both races, must begin to see and realize everywhere in our united land that quiet, cordial peace and relationship of mutual harmony will be our only saviour

N Y C TRIBUNE
JULY 10, 1917

East St. Louis Man Is Ashamed

W. R. Neal is manager of a hotel in East St. Louis, Ill. Today when he registered at the Congress hotel, he gave his address as St. Louis, Mo. "I'm ashamed to say I came from East St. Louis," he told the clerk.

Mob Kills Many Negroes; East St. Louis Burning

Death Estimates Range from 15 to 75 After Day of Wild Disorder

City Is Placed Under Martial Law

N Y C TRIBUNE
JULY 3, 1917

Women and Girls Join in Dragging Victims from Streetcars

East St. Louis, Ill., July 2.—Four districts of this city are on fire to-night, and in the glare of the flames the white incendiaries are hunting down and killing negroes. Men, women and children have been shot down as they fled from their burning homes. The mobs, frenzied by race hatred, have spared no one.

The estimates of the dead vary from fifteen to seventy-five. It is impossible to tell how many perished in the flames. Homes of the negroes have been burned by the hundreds. Nor have the mobs stopped there. Several valuable industrial plants have gone up in flames. In the Southern Railway's freight yards between 100 and 150 cars loaded with merchandise have been destroyed. The total damage in the city is said to be in the neighborhood of $3,000,000.

Nor is any one able to tell how many negro wounded are still lurking in the fire swept districts where they lived. There are eighty in the city hospitals. Many more, it is believed, who have crawled away from the mobs are lying helpless or afraid to seek aid.

All day long the city authorities have tried to stamp out the riots. They might as well have attempted to tread out the fires that they kindled. More than 300 white men have been arrested and riots continue.

City Under Martial Law

Military rule was proclaimed at 8 o'clock to-night. Six additional companies of state troops are being rushed to the city. Six other companies are on duty here, and have been energetic in their attempts to quell the mobs. Yet at 11 o'clock to-night a fresh district of the city was attacked and put to flames.

Women are helping the men in their work of murder and destruction. White girls boarded streetcars to-night and dragged off negro women, who were turned over to the rioters, who greeted the girls' actions with cheers. Inspired by the acclaim, one of the girls took off her shoe and beat a negress over the head.

At 8:30 o'clock to-night a mob of three hundred armed men charged into a negro district on Third Street. Nearly every member of the mob carried a flaming torch. Before they could start a new blaze, however, two hundred Guardsmen charged with fixed bayonets. The troops fired a volley over the heads of the mob, which then dispersed.

A battle between whites and blacks broke out at the east entrance to the St. Louis municipal bridge. Guardsmen hurried there in trucks and ended the combat. One of the white men killed to-night was Tom Moore, of Granite City. He was standing beside a soldier when a bullet struck him. The shot apparently was intended for the soldier.

Negro Is Lynched

The lynching of a negro to-night caused a mob great amusement. Two white men tied a rope around the neck of a black and started to pull him into the air. The rope broke and the white men fell flat on their backs. While the crowd laughed the negro dropped to the ground dead.

As three negroes were trying to escape from a burning building a mob spied them. One negro was hanged to a telephone pole and the other two were shot. The three bodies were left in the street.

Seventy-five white men attacked a negro in front of a drug store downtown and shot him twice, attempted to drag him to a pole, and beat him as they pulled him along. The troops charged with fixed bayonets, and the mob scattered.

With this show of force the rioters in part quieted down. Troops stood guard at all corners and kept the crowds moving. At 8:30 o'clock fire broke out in the district known as the "Valley." This fire came perilously near to the big railroad yards of East St. Louis. At 9 o'clock four more negroes were shot by snipers. At 10 o'clock it appeared as if the "Valley" district was doomed to destruction. This is the third large area to be burned.

The rioting is a recrudescence of race troubles that occurred here a month ago following the importation of large numbers of negro laborers from the South. Women and girls, joining with the men, dragged negro women from the streetcars in the downtown district during the day. Troopers themselves were disarmed by the mob in many instances, and, together with the police, seemed powerless before the rioters.

Negroes Kill Policeman

The disorder, which began when a mob of 200 negroes fired on an automobile load of policemen last night, killing one, grew worse in the broad daylight this forenoon. In this outbreak three negro men and one white man were killed, two white men and two negroes were shot and wounded

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

and twenty-three others so badly beaten and stoned that they were taken to hospitals.

To-night National Guardsmen began escorting truck loads of negroes across the river to Missouri.

Until the white women began to participate negro women and girls had seemed immune from attack, but when this occurred negresses, too, were terrorized and attacked.

One of the National Guard companies then was ordered from the negro quarter to the business section, but the arrival of the troops seemed to arouse the increasing mobs to further aggression.

No accurate count of the number o negroes attacked was obtainable, many of course, getting away with slight injuries.

At 1:30 the rioting grew more serious. A car was stopped, the trolle pulled from the wire, and a mob o white men invaded the coach looking for negroes. One was taken off cruelly beaten and kicked and then shot. He died in an ambulance. While this disturbance was raging another car appeared. As the car was halted white women and white girls boarded it, and seizing shrieking negro women dragged them into the streets, where they were pounded and kicked.

A few minutes later, as a crowd was attacking negroes, one black was shot in the head. The crowd cheered as policemen put him in an ambulance. National Guardsmen witnessed this scene but did nothing to disperse the mob.

Negro Beaten to Death

One negro man, who was taken from the car, which women rioters first invaded, was beaten in the head with a heavy club. He died in an ambulance.

Some of the men in the mob began to fire. William Keyser, a hardware merchant, was killed by a stray bullet. One negro was shot and killed as he was waiting for a train to take him out of town.

About 5 o'clock a mob raided a pawnshop and carried away rifles and revolvers.

Labor leaders during May expressed a fear that the negro labor was being imported to break anticipated strikes during the summer.

The Negro Deserves Fair Play

LOUISVILLE KY HERALD

JULY 6, 1917

To the Editor of The Herald:

Recent issues of your paper have contained articles from the pen of Mr. Bertrand Shadwell, in which it is claimed that the anti-negro riots in East St. Louis were inspired by German influence.

Now, we do not know whether this is a fact or merely an expression of opinion, but we do know that "no influence," German or otherwise, could provoke such savagery if those Americans who love these "black massacres" didn't have their hearts filled with hatred toward the negroes.

It may be that Mr. Shadwell is one of that class of white men which believes in justice and fair play for every citizen and that he seeks to shift the burden of shame to the kin of that race with which the country is at war; if so, we can't blame him—the East St. Louis butchery is scarcely a thing of which a civilized white man could be proud.

The President says that American participation in this war is justified on the ground that we are fighting, that peoples, nations and races may have the right to live their lives freely and happily, uncoerced by others—he says that Germany would enslave the world, would deny to other peoples the right to do this very thing, and, like the President, we think this is decidedly an idea worth fighting for and there's no place like home to start the ball rolling.

Twelve million negroes constitute a mighty force for good or evil and it is our opinion that before the aims of this country are achieved in the great conflict now at hand, those twelve million negroes are going to be seriously needed. Denying them the right to labor, denying them the right to live and hating them for physical characteristics they can no more help than could the tiger change his stripes, is a poor way in which to teach them to rally 'round the flag. Nor does it avail to write long editorials ridiculing one section of the country for murdering and butchering just as they do in another section. The victim of the torch, the rope, and the shotgun is not concerned with the locality of "his taking off."

These negroes came North for work. They wanted to better their material condition. They wanted better homes, more money, better schools. The same character of aspirations brought the first settlers here from Europe. It is the dissatisfied black man who migrates and the fact that he is dissatisfied proves that he is a superior sort of fellow.

The soldiers did practically nothing to defend the hunted blacks in East St. Louis except to disarm them. It would have been better to disarm the members of the mob.

Mr. Shadwell may be right—the Germans may be attempting to stir up riots here at home—their seed, however, will fall upon barren ground if the American white man will ask the Almighty to grant "that the words which he speaks with his lips he may believe in his heart and what he believes in his heart, he may practice in his life."

7,000 CARED FOR IN ST. LOUIS

ST LOUIS MO REPUBLIC

JULY 5, 1917

85 Per Cent Unwilling to Return to South, Negro Y. M. C. A. Secretary Finds.

Addressing a crowd of more than a hundred negro mob refugees from East St. Louis in front of the municipal lodging-house in St. Louis yesterday afternoon, John Samples, a St. Louis negro, urged them in vehement statements, mixed with profanity, to revenge themselves on the whites.

Before he had time to rouse his hearers into a state of violence he was seized by Patrolman Edward Behnken and rushed to Central Police Station. No weapons were found on him.

He was held on the charge of inciting a riot.

Patrolmen at the lodging-house immediately dispersed the negroes.

A dead line was indicated down the middle of Twelfth street, and strict orders were issued not to allow local negroes to cross it unless they had special business there. No East St. Louis negroes were allowed to cross the line until they received specific permission.

2,000 WERE REFUGEES.

No negro was allowed to return to East St. Louis yesterday without a pass from the Chief of Police. All saloons in negro districts were again warned not to sell intoxicants to any of the negroes. No negroes were arrested for carrying weapons.

A strict guard was maintained after Samples' arrest, and there were no further outbreaks. Samples said he is 30 years old and lives at 2709 Lucas avenue. One of his statements to the refugees was: "Why don't you get guns and kill those white —— that killed our people?"

More than 2,000 negroes drifted into St. Louis from the East Side yesterday. They were taken from the west end of the bridges to the lodging-houses in wagons and motor cars provided by the Red Cross, which is in charge of the relief work, assisted by negro organizations.

Officials estimated last night that there are more than 7,000 East St. Louis negroes in this city. Almost 1,000 had been vaccinated up to 7 o'clock last night and distributed over the city in the homes of negroes.

A number of white women, under the direction of Mrs. C. C. Collins, 30 Lenox place, president of the Women's Auxiliary of the Provident Association, worked all day yesterday alongside of negro women, members of the negro Y. W. C. A., in registering the refugees.

MAJORITY WON'T GO SOUTH.

The refugees are entirely submissive and still a little bewildered and frightened, Secretary D. K. Jones of the Negro Y. M. C. A. said last night. He declared there has been no murmurs of revenge among them. Informed by The Republic that jobs were waiting in the South for all available negro laborers, Jones took an unofficial census of the riot victims to ascertain how many desire to return. The great majority, fully 85 per cent, wish to return to East St. Louis or stay in this city because of the higher wages and better schools, he said.

A number of St. Louis firms already have applied for negro laborers, while scores of wealthy St. Louis families telephoned and visited the house seeking servants. There will be no trouble finding employment for all the blacks desiring to remain here, Jones asserted. The Scullin Steel Company and the United Railways are among the companies reported to have asked for laborers.

One of the little girls who reached the house yesterday carried a little glass bowl in which was one gold fish. It was all she had saved from her playthings. She tearfully sought fresh water for it as soon as she arrived. Another little girl nestled a live baby chicken under her arm.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

JULY 9, 1917

ELECTION LAWS TO BLAME.

South Bend, Ind., July 6.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—Until two months ago the writer was a resident of southern Illinois. Naturally, I have been interested in the riot at East St. Louis. Not less is my interest in the cause of the riot. In your editorial of today you say: "The riot was a direct and inevitable result of unscrupulous political manipulation." Then you seek to localize the responsibility at East St. Louis. Mr. Hyde also only partly touches upon the cause when he speaks of thousands of dollars being spent at the elections. He and you are radically wrong in localizing the responsibility where you have. The blame reaches clear up to Chicago and other places in the state where no protests have been made against conditions that have made such "political manipulation" possible. Nor is THE TRIBUNE blameless. Where have you ever protested against the election laws of Illinois? Where is there another state disgraced by such enactments?

The statutes of Illinois make the vote seller amenable, but they also make the vote buyer immune. To stop a hundred illegal votes it should be only necessary to prosecute the buyer, but under the Illinois laws it is necessary to prosecute the hundred sellers, while the buyer cannot be touched. A prosecutor of southern Illinois told me that he could not get a jury "to convict a poor Nigger who has sold his vote while the buyer would be immune, and besides I would resign before I would prosecute such a case." From the viewpoint of fair play, no one can blame him. On the other hand, in all probability the prosecutor and the trial judge may have bought the seller's vote.

Now, what are the facts in regard to "political manipulation" of the Negro? East St. Louis is typical. Candidates have preyed upon his weakness. The law encourages the strong to tempt the weak and the politician to corrupt the "low down Nigger." In no other state does this occur, and therefore the Negro goes to Illinois. There they are used and bought wholesale. Then, when the inevitable eruption takes place, there is a half hearted "investigation" by officials, some of whom are believed to have bought the votes of "the Nigger." Nor is the blame for vote buying confined to the politicians of St. Clair county, but people wonder how much money was sent by state candidates down there for that purpose. Also people wonder how many of the state officials who are now "probing" the affair are beneficiaries of the votes so bought.

The general public has very little faith in such investigations under such circumstances. A letter from a prominent politician of southern Illinois is just at hand, in which he says: "I can predict the result of the probe before it is begun." Of course, some one will be made the goat. But what about the legislature that permits such laws to be unrepealed? What about the governor and attorney general who never recommend a change of such laws? And what about a newspaper like the W. G. N. that never raises its voice in protest against a law that authorizes "unscrupulous political manipulation"?

Politicians of Illinois are crying out against the primary law as too expensive. Why is it so expensive to candidates? Because they have to buy votes twice to be elected. Just as long as the fundamentals of government, the election laws, are unjust, just that long will there be a maladministration of government.

W. M. EELLS,
Westminster Presbyterian church.

INFLUX OF NEGROES CAUSE OF RIOTING IN EAST ST. LOUIS

(Associated Press)

EAST ST. LOUIS, MO., May 29—A mob estmaited at 3,000 persons determined as they shouted, to rid the city of negroes imported to work in factories and munition plants, swept through the streets last night and early this (Tuesday) morning, attacking and beating negroes wherever found. Several negroes have been injured so severely that they probably will die.

At 1:30 o'clock this morning the mob had broken up somewhat but the police fear they have only formed gangs in order to work more quickly. There was talk of asking St. Louis to send aid across the river.

NEGRO ARRESTED AS RIOT INCITER

Police Sieze Speaker Who Urges 100 East St. Louis Refugees to Avenge on Whites.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

AUGUST 14, 1917

NEGRO TAKEN AS PLOT SUSPECT IN RACE RIOTS

Dr. Leroy N. Bundy, a Negro dentist of East St. Louis, was arrested yesterday in Cleveland, O., after a wide search by Adjt. Gen. Frank S. Dickson and the police of East St. Louis, and accused of complicity in connection with the shooting of two detectives which led to the riots last month in which many were killed and Negroes driven from the city.

Bundy is alleged to have been seen to display large sums of money provided for the purpose of aiding in the importation of Negro labor and to organize them to prevent their being driven away. It is alleged the mob of Negroes who attacked the police on the first night of the trouble was incited to some sort of resistance.

It is for the deaths of the two policemen that Bundy has been sought. The police expect a statement showing the extent of the conspiracy to import Negroes, and Bundy will be questioned to this end. Large employers of labor are believed to have used Bundy as their agent.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

SCORES OF NEGROES KILLED IN EAST ST. LOUIS RACE RIOTS; CITY BURNING, TROOPS RULE

Mobs of Whites Set the Torch to Homes of Blacks in Many Quarters, Then With Guns Seized From Guardsmen Shoot at Their Victims as They Flee From the Flames—Estimates of the Slain Run From 75 to 250—More Troops to Help Quell the Disorder.

ST. LOUIS ASKED FOR ITS FIREMEN; WHITE WOMEN AID IN MOB ATTACKS.

N Y C WORLD
JULY 3, 1917

Mob Rule Holds Sway All Day After a Negro Kills a Policeman—Blacks Are Dragged From Street Cars, Beaten to Death and Shot, the Police and Guardsmen Being Defied—All the Saloons Are Closed, the Surface Cars Are Stopped, and Martial Law Prevails.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 3 (1 A. M.).—State Attorney Schaumloeffel of St. Clair County drove through the riot-swept district to-night with Police Inspector Walsh of St. Louis, Mo. The State's Attorney estimated that the dead negroes would number 250. All estimates, however are conjectural.

At 11 o'clock to-night newspaper estimates of the dead in the riots and fires ranged from fifteen to seventy-five, of whom two were white men. Forty injured negroes and six whites were in one hospital and an equal number in another.

Buildings were still burning at four different points in the city at that hour, and the property loss was estimated at $3,000,000.

Negroes Perish in Flames, or, Running, Are Shot to Death

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 2.—After a day of rioting, in which the police and national guardsmen were defied, mobs of white men set fire to the homes of negroes in every district of this city to-night. Then armed with guns and revolvers, the infuriated whites surrounded the blazing houses and shot at the fear stricken negroes as they fled.

At a late hour a conservative estimate was that fifteen negroes had been shot and killed. The number of those who, fearing to face the mob perished in the flames is not known but it is feared that nearly one hundred met death in this form.

Military rule was proclaimed at 8 o'clock to-night and at the same time 800 white men were arrested and locked up at Police Headquarters. The negro quarters in various parts of the city were burning and the flames reached the very edge of the business district.

A telegram received here from Springfield at that hour said that six additional companies of State troops were ordered here for riot duty, making a total of twelve companies detailed there. Adjutant General Frank S. Dickson was in command of the men.

At 9 o'clock the Mayor sent for Fire Chief Swingley of St. Louis, Mo., to assist in fighting the flames, which threatened to destroy a large part of the city. A company of the St. Louis Fire Department started to East St. Louis, but was ordered back by Chief Swingley.

Women Join the Rioters.

This was the climax of a day of wild disorder, after the resumption of the race riots of a month ago. The whites, angered by the importation of negro laborers from the South, attacked the blacks right and left.

White women and girls, too, joined the mobs in dragging negro men and women from the street cars and in attacking those in the streets. Men seized guns from the national guardsmen patrolling every district and turned the muzzles on the blacks. From early in the morning until midnight the mobs held sway and the city authorities were forced to close all saloons and to stop the running of surface cars.

Hundreds of negroes, fearing for their lives, agreed to leave the city, and the guardsmen requisitioned dozens of trucks and convoyed the negroes across the river to Missouri.

The disorder, which began when a mob of 200 negroes fired on an automobile load of policemen last night and killed one, reached a climax this forenoon. In this outbreak three negroes and one white man were killed, two white men and two negroes were shot and wounded and twenty-three others so badly beaten and stoned that they were taken to hospitals. The two white men who were shot and the one who was killed were victims of stray bullets.

Sixteen guardsmen were disarmed by members of the mob, who calmly asked the soldiers to give them the weapons lest the guardsmen "hurt some one in the crowd." The guardsmen, according to Major William Klauser, patrolled the streets with loaded rifles, but were under instructions to confine aggressive measures to the bayonet. During the rioting of the afternoon, no member of the mob was seriously hurt by a guardsman and the outbreaks continued in the heart of the city, despite warnings of the police and the National Guard officers.

Blacks Kill a Policeman.

The clashes of Saturday night apparently alarmed the negro quarter of the city, or at least gave agitators a chance to organize the blacks for fighting. When word was telephoned to Police Headquarters that the ringing of a church bell had called the armed negroes together, an automobile loaded with police left for the scene to disperse the crowd. The officers were greeted with a volley. Detective Sergt. Coppedge was killed and three policemen were wounded—one, Detective Frank Wodley, seriously.

Police reinforcements early this morning dispersed the mob of negroes and shortly after 3 A. M. Major Mollman asked Gov. Lowden to send national guardsmen here to preserve order. Two companies of the Guard arrived about 9.30 and were assigned to duty in the negro quarter. Trouble came when a negro appeared at Broadway and Collinsville Avenue, one of the busiest corners in the city, and an important street car transfer point. A white man struck the negro in the face and others in the crowd knocked him down and kicked him. As he lay in the street a white man coolly approached and fired at him five times. Two of the shots took effect, one in the arm and one in the leg. As the crowd, thinking the negro was dead, fell back, he jumped up and ran.

A little later, a white man standing in front of the Illmo Hotel fired at a negro, but missed him and wounded a white man, Louis Haege, sixty-five years old, in the groin. The police arrested the man who fired the shot, but the threatening mob forced the officers to release him. Later, a man whom the police say was the one who shot Haege was found haranguing a street crowd.

One of the National Guard companies then was ordered from the [illegible] their lists, ten days for physical examinations and ten days for hearing claims to exemption.

Call Not by Alphabet.

Those on the registration lists are not to be called alphabetically but serially. The cards turned over to the local boards are numbered consecutively as received. Within three days after this has been done notices are to be mailed to the first third of the list, requiring them to report for physical examination on the morning of the fifth day following, for the second third to report on the sixth day, and for those remaining to report on the seventh day.

To make it possible to examine the number of men who will appear in such populous communities as New York, for example, one examining physician in addition to the one who belongs to the local board is to be named, if the number to be examined on any one day shall exceed 80; two if the number exceeds 120, with others in like ratio. One member of the board other than the medical member must be present at each examination, and no member or physician may serve where the person to be examined is of nearer kin to him by blood or marriage than second cousin.

A registered man who may be absent from his home area on the day he was notified to appear must make application, "supported by satisfactory proof," for examination before another board. If a registered man is ill he must give proof of this, one affidavit at least coming from a licensed physician, and in such cases the local board may require examination by one of its own physicians. Those who do not furnish such proof within ten days are to "be recorded as physically qualified for military service."

Classes of Exemptions.

The regulations tell the circumstances in which persons may be exempted. The classes include officers of the United States and of the several States, Territories and the District of Columbia; ministers of religion, students of divinity, persons in the military or naval service of the United States, subjects of Germany residing in the United States, and all other resident aliens who have not taken out their first papers.

Emphasis is laid on the fact that 'the statement on the registration of any such person that exemption is claimed shall not be construed or considered as the presentation of a claim for exemption." These claims must be made in the form of affi-

davits, or such other evidence as may be required by the local boards.

seemed to have been controlled by the munition interests of the country."

Many Amendments Offered.

The Senate devoted little actual time to the discussion of the liquor feature of the Food Bill. The critics of the measure centred their attention on amendments proposing to extend the control of the Government over the country's resources.

In addition to food, feeds and fuel, which the Government is authorized to control, the Senate Committee of the Whole added cotton and its products (this includes clothing) and wool and its products to coal, oil, lumber, lead, leather, steel, iron and other basic products previously inserted into the measure.

One of the surprising features of the day was the acceptance by the Southern Senators of the proposition that cotton be brought within the terms of the bill. That fact alone was responsible for the impression that prevailed in the Senate at the close of the day that when the measure is finally brought up for a vote it will be restored to its original form, with Government control limited to food, feeds and fuel.

The only move made in the Prohibition fight was provided by the Agricultural Committee, the majority of whose members are of the "bone dry" faith.

The committee by a vote of 6 to 5 voted down the moderate Chamberlain amendment, which simply prohibited the use of foodstuffs in the manufacture of distilled spirits, and adopted that proposed by Senator Gore, which, in effect, places the responsibility for stopping the manufacture of wines and beer upon the President.

"Drys" Still Unreconciled.

The more ardent of the "drys" are shall upon conviction thereof be compromise plan which their leaders have sanctioned at the request of the President as they were yesterday.

They continued to bring forward suggestions calculated to upset the plan and make it disagreeable for Prohibition Senators who hailed with relief the apparent adjustment of the matter.

The leaders of the Prohibition lobby, who are boasting that it required the influence of the White House to compel them to abandon their plan, kept away from the Capitol to-day and held out no encouragement to their supporters who still favor a showdown even at the risk of openly defying the President.

That their sympathizers throughout the country were not idle was demonstrated by the shower of telegrams and letters that descended upon Senators commanding them to prevent the adoption of any legislation prohibiting the manufacture of alcohol that does not include light wines and beer.

Several Senators who favor a "bone dry" measure have expressed their determination to resist the passage of the Food Bill unless it is amended to conform to their views.

"Submarined by President."

One of these is James K. Vardaman of Mississippi. In answer to a telegram from T. J. Bailey, Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Jackson, Miss., Senator Vardaman to-day sent this reply:

"The good old ship Prohibition, heavily loaded with the hopes of millions of consecrated women and men for Nation-wide Prohibition, sailing with fair winds and good prospects to the port of victory, was submarined the day before yesterday by the President of the United States It is now lying on the bottom beneath about forty fathoms of beer and wine, with one whole side knocked out.

"I am afraid some of the officers of the crew deserted before it went down. Will do my best to save the wreck. But it is my deliberate judgment that no power on earth except the people can raise it."

While the "dry" lobby leaders are apparently willing to carry out their pledge to keep their hands off the liquor fight, they appear to assume that the Senate will direct the Government to commandeer stores of whiskey held in bond or in process of manufacture.

One wing of the lobby seems to favor renunciation of its pledge to the President to the extent of insisting that the Government take immediate possession of all existing stock of distilled beverages.

Inquiry Into Lobby.

The lobby, which was extremely confident of compelling the acceptance by the Senate of any proposition favored by it until the President urged moderation, seems to be undecided whether it will invite a contest to determine whether the President or the Prohibition forces is the strongest.

The consensus of the Senate is that such a contest would result in the complete indorsement of the President. The result would certainly, it is believed, add impetus to the movement in the House, reported in The World yesterday, for an investigation of the Anti-Saloon League. A resolution proposing this inquiry has been prepared by a Representative from one of the far Western States and will be introduced before the end of the week.

Among the specific points which the resolution will cover, according to its author, are:

The collection and expenditure of money to show the sources of supplies and the manner in which these sums were expended.

The names of the paid agents of the Anti-Saloon League and its allies and the amount that each is getting and the character of its disbursements.

The methods employed to influence Congressional elections and in promoting propaganda.

"Drys" Promise Sensations.

The "dry" leaders are inclined to ridicule the proposed inquiry. They say that they will do everything to bring it about and promise to place before the public some startling information covering the activities of the liquor interests and the results of Grand Jury investigations regarding the operations of the National Brewers' Association.

They assert that they can prove that the brewers have financed the campaign of Congressional candidates, backed newspapers exploiting the beer propaganda and paid large sums to writers of national reputation for publicity purposes.

ST. LOUIS POLICE PROHIBIT SALE OF FIREARMS IN CITY

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 3 1917

Forty-Two Riot Refugees Given Law's Protection Here, Ten Are Arrested.

A virtual embargo on firearms in St. Louis was ordered today by Chief of Police Young, because of the rioting in East St. Louis last night. Pawnshops and hardware stores were requested to telephone the police if anyone attempted to buy weapons. A special detail of police was dispatched to see that neither white men nor negroes armed themselves.

At the request of East Side authorities the St. Louis police early today began searching every person going to East St. Louis on bridges or ferry boats. None was permitted to carry firearms across the river.

St. Louis police today had charge of forty-two negroes. Hundreds of others who swarmed across the Free and Eads bridges yesterday afternoon and last night were not detained after they had been searched for firearms and they told the police they could find refuge for themselves.

One woman and nine men are under arrest at Central Police Station. The police took seven pistols from them when they crossed the Free Bridge. On the bridge the police picked up two revolvers and a rifle, all loaded.

A member of The Star staff, crossing the Free Bridge at 6:20 p. m., met a company of sobbing negro women and children coming toward St. Louis. One old mammy had a box under one arm and a chicken under the other. A little boy with her carried a chicken under his arm.

The old mammy said she and her husband had been at supper when they heard shots and the glass in their windows began to break.

Driven From Her Home.

She said they all went down into the cellar.

"Two white men came in, shot my ole man and dragged him out," she said. "Then they tole me I'd better go. Our house was afire and I went, but I don't know where I'm going."

The woman who lived next door to her said they had shot her husband, too. "Reckon, I won't see that man again," she said with a certain complacency.

When the situation in East St. Louis became known to him, Director of Public Safety Schmoll took measures to care for fugitive negroes. He ordered that the Municipal Lodging House on Twelfth street, between Walnut street and Clark avenue, be thrown open to them. Twenty-one negroes slept there and seemed loath to leave this morning. A guard of police for their protection was on duty. Seven women and four children are in the matron's room at Central Station.

Swears Off "Roaming."

Questioning of negroes who awakened in the care of St. Louis police today evoked many humorous replies. "Awakened" applied to about half. The other half didn't sleep a wink.

One of the negro women demanded to be taken to the Municipal Lodging House to see if her husband was safe. She was assured he was. "You got to show me," she replied. "Ain't no tellin' who's safe, even in jail, these days." She was overjoyed at meeting her husband.

Another negro woman, who resided in St. Louis, announced, upon visiting the jail, that she was going to East St. Louis to collect $33 her husband had coming in wages. One of the rescued negroes said to her, "Woman, you stay right here. It's worth more than $33 to go to that town."

One negro told a reporter he had come to East St. Louis from Vicksburg, Miss., attracted by advertisements of high wages. He said he had $31 coming. "Mister," he said, "get me that $31 and I'll go back to Vicksburg, never more to roam."

One crippled negro, about 50 years old, seemed to be hanging back from the others. At the Municipal Lodging House he was nearest the door. Some one asked him what he was afraid of. "I wants to be where I can get a good start," he said. "I'se crippled and cant' run as fast as the ther boys."

Another negro was asked how ny negroes had fled from East St. He said, "Well, they ain't many there as they used to be and they ain't goin' to be half as many no more."

"Them Pesky Shooters."

Another said he took refuge in his house when the crowd made it too hot for him. "Them pesky shooters wouldn't even let me peek out of my own house," he said. "Every time they saw me they shot, till I sneaked out the back door and waited till I saw a militiaman and rain straight into his arms."

Most of the negroes under protection of St. Louis police were escorted from East St. Louis by National Guardsmen and turned over to St. Louis officers at the ends of the two bridges.

Two St. Louis negroes, who worked in East St. Louis, were treated at the City Dispensary for wounds suffered at the hands of the East Side mobs.

Henry McCurry, 2818 Clark avenue, who is employed at the Swift packing plant in East St. Louis, suffered scalp wounds and cuts on the face before he was rescued by militiamen and escorted to this side of the river.

Four men, who were crossing the Free Bridge in an auto, spied Jefferson Ross, 45 years old, a negro, at 2007 Chestnut street. on his way home from work. They got out, beat Ross, got back into the machine and sped away.

WHITE AND COLORED YOUTHS IN BATTLE

PHILADELPHIA PA INQUIRER
JULY 12, 1917

Negro Fires Into Group of Playing Children, and Fierce Fight Ensues

Police Quell Mob Before Any One Is Seriously Hurt—Rumors of More Clashes

Shots were fired, bricks and milk bottles thrown, night sticks used by the police and much damage wrought in the course of a race riot between about 100 white youths and eighty colored youths last night at Warnock and Oxford streets.

The police detail from the Eighth and Jefferson streets station arrived only to disperse the crowd and made no arrests. By a curious chance no one was injured seriously enough to compel his removal to a hospital for treatment.

The fight was the result of growing ill feeling that had its birth on July 4 when the actions of a colored man provoked the resentment of a group of white men. Last night at about 10.30 o'clock a little crowd of white boys were playing on Oxford street, at the corner of Warnock street, a colored man came along and without warning discharged a revolver into the centre of the group.

The boys shouted for help and the colored man fled. The incident, however, brought an outpouring of youth of both races. Heated words led to personal encounters and these developed into general fights.

Into Warnock street the battle surged. Milk bottles began hurtling through the air, striking and shattering against the walls or thudding against bodies. Bricks also flew about and several of the rioters were cut.

Revolvers flashed here and there, but apparently for the purpose of summoning police assistance to quell the disturbances. Several telephone calls were made to the police station concerning the fight and a detail of six policemen was rushed to the scene.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

10,000,000 Colored-Americans Shocked Over Silence of Congress

One-tenth of this nation's population was shocked beyond description on arising Tuesday morning to learn that in this "land of the free and home of the brave," this noble country that fights for "world democracy," that stands aghast at the sufferings of Belgium, that calls on all its citizens—black as well as white to lay down their lives that nations across the sea might not go down in defeat before the mailed fist of Germany—that hundreds of men and women and children had been murdered and massacred and mutilated because of one thing and one thing only and that one thing is because they are Black.

All the labor problem theories possible may be brought forward but none answers the question "Why was it done?" the only answer is these people ar Black. They are Negroes, the despised as well as the submerged tenth. If the question of labor is brought to the front the answer is why should not, why can not these people—Black People—leave one part of their own native land and go to another—to improve, as they think, their industrial, economical, educational, financial and political conditions? By all the laws of nature or of man there is no reason why. And the only reason for this GIGANTIC EFFORT to intimidate them, to drive them back to the hellholes of the South is because they are Black.

Does any sane man believe for a minute that the ignorant immigrants who flocked to this country by the millions, who accepted lower wages and who served as strikebreakers could have been massacred in this fashion under the guise of labor necessity? No. If union labor gone mad had attempted any such things, police and militia would have protected these people. Thousands of Colored Americans were made really physically sick over the thought that such conditions could obtain. Mob law creeps further and further and no one stays its hand. Up to going to press not one word of condemnation has come from the White House or Congress over this grievious affair.

The irony of it! The hypocrisy of it This nation goes to war—with all its attendant sufferings and privations—it calls on All its citizens to bear arms or to bear increased taxations—so that it may avenge the wrongs of Belgium, that it may save "democracy to the world," when in its own land, one-tenth of its own people, who must and have always willingly furnished proportionately their quota of war's demands— are subjected to the most outrageous treatment imaginable. And those in high places —who wax so eloquently and weep so copiously over Belgium and Armenia and Poland—say not one word against these outrages.

Colored Americans must still remain patriotic—not one word of disloyalty must they offer. All their outraged feelings must be pent up in a tremendous self control and if perchance their indignation must run to words they must weigh them carefully.

"This is our own, our native land." Its principles and theories are right even though its practices are wrong and it behooves Colored Americans to work to correct them And this work can only be done through union and solidarity and in individua cases and separate communities by giving an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth at the sane time, as paradoxical as it may seem, turning the other cheek and looking to the Lord who says, "Vengeance is mine I will repay."

The News sent a number of telegrams to friends in St. Louis and East St. Louis in an effort to get for its readers an original account, giving a Colored man's view of the horror. But up to going to press has received only one reply. Mr. C. H. Turpin, owner of the Booker Washington Theater, has sent a number of papers. From the St. Louis Post Dispatch the News takes the story of an eye-witness. The whole account as given by St. Louis papers or by the Associated Press is gruesome and sickening and the News would fain not republish it as most of its readers have read the horrible stuff. But few, doubtless, have seen this story of an eye-witness, so for them and for the sake of its readers in small towns and out of the way places it publishes this account. It may be possible that that type of race man who holds himself aloof from his race, feeling that "just so he and his get by" everything is O. K., will be driven closer to his race when he reads this horrible, nauseating account and sees that all Black Folks ar under the ban in this great "democracy."

By CARLOS F. HURD.
A Staff Reporter of the Post-Dispatch.

For an hour and a half last evening I saw the massacre of helpless negroes at Broadway and Fourth street, in downtown East St. Louis, where a black skin was a death warrant.

I have read of St. Bartholomew's night. I have heard stories of the latter-day crimes of the Turks in Armenia, and I have learned to lothe the German army for its barbarity in Belgium But I do not believe that Moslem fanaticism or Prussian frightfulness could perpetrate murders of more deliberate brutality than those which I saw committed, in daylight by cittizens of the State of Abraham Lincoln.

I saw man after man, with hands raised, pleading for his life, surrounded by groups of men—men who had never seen him before and knew nothing about him except that he was black—and saw them administer the historic sentence of intolerance, death by stoning. I saw one of these men, almost dead from a savage shower of stones, hanged with a clothesline, and when it broke, hanged with a rope which held. Within a few paces of the pole from which he was suspended four other negroes lay dead or dying, another having been removed, dead, a short time before. I saw the pockets of two of these negroes searched, without the finding of any weapons.

Rock Dropped on Negroes Neck.

I saw one of these men, covered with blood and half conscious, raise himself on his elbow, and look feebly about, when a young man, standing directly behind him, lifted a flat stone in both hands and hurled it upon his neck. This young man was much better dressed than most of the others. He walked away unmolested.

I saw negro women begging for mercy and pleading that they had harmed no one, set upon by white women of the baser sort, who laughed and answered the coarse sallies of men as they beat the negresses' faces and breasts with fists, stones and sticks. I saw one of these furies fling herself at a militiaman who was trying to protect a negress, and wrestle with him for his bayonetted gun, while other women attacked the refugee.

What I saw, in the 90 minutes between 6:30 p. m. and the luric coming of darkness, was but one local scene of the drama of death I am satisfied that, in spirit and method, it typified the whole. And I cannot somehow speak of what I saw as mob violence. It was not my idea of a mob.

Crowd Mostly Workingmen.

A mob is passionate, a mob follows one man or a few men blindly a mob sometimes takes chances The East St. Louis affair, as I saw it, was a man hunt, conducted on a sporting basis, though with anything but the fair play which is the principle of sport. The East St. Louis men took no chances, except the chance from stray shots, which every spectator of their acts took. They went in small groups, there was little leadership, and there was a horribly cool deliberateness and a spirit of fun about it. I cannot allow even the doubtful excuse of drink. No man whom I saw showed the effect of liquor.

It was no crowd of hot-headed youths. Young men were in the greater number, but there were the middle-aged, no less active in the task of destroying the life of every discoverable black man. It was a shirt-sleeve gathering, and the men were mostly workingmen, except for some who had the aspect of mere loafers. I have mentioned the peculiarly brutal crime committed by the only man there who had the appearance of being a business or professional man of any standing.

I would be more pessimistic about my fellow-Americans than I am today, if I could not say that there were other workingmen who protested against the senseless slaughter. I would be ashamed of myself if I could not say that I forgot my place as a professional observer and joined in such protests. But I do not think any verbal objection had the slightest effect. Only a volley of lead would have stopped those murderers.

"Get a nigger," was the slogan, and it was varied by the recurrent cry, "Get another-" It was like nothing so much as the holiday crowd, with thumbs turned down, in the Roman Coliseum, except that here the shouters were their own gladiators, and their own wild beasts.

When I got off a State street car on Broadway at 6:30, a fire apparatus was on its way to the blaze in the rear of Fourth street, south from Broadway. A moment's survey showed why this fire had been set, and what it was meant to accomplish.

Fire Drives Out Negroes.

The sheds in the rear of negroes' houses, which were themselves in

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

e rear of the main buildings on ourth street, had been ignited to rive out the negro occupants of the louses. And the slayers were waiting for them to come out.

It was stay in and be roasted, or come out and be slaughtered. A moment before I arrived, one negro had taken the desperate chance of coming out, and the rattle of revolver shots, which I heard as I approached the corner, was followed by the cry, "They've got him!"

And they had. He lay on the pavement, a bullet wound in t head and his skull bare in t places. At every movement of pa which showed that life remaine there came a terrific kick in t jaw or the nose, or a crashi stone, from some of the men who stood over him.

At the corner, a few steps away, were a sergeant and several guardsmen. The Sergeant approached the ring of men around the prostrate negro.

"This man is done for," he said. "You'd better get him away from here." No one made a move to lift the blood-covered form, and the Sergeant walked away, remarking, when I questioned him about an ambulance, that the ambulances had quit coming. However, an undertaker's ambulance did come 15 minutes later, and took away the lifeless negro, who had in the meantime been further kicked and stoned.

By that time, the fire in the rear of the negro houses had grown hotter, and men were standing in all the narrow spaces through which the negroes might come to the street. There was talk of a negro in one of the houses, who had a Winchester, and the opinion was expressed that he had no ammunition left, but no one went too near, and the fire was depended on to drive him out. The firemen were at work on Broadway, some distance east but the flames immediately in the rear of the negro houses burned without hindrance.

Militiamen Troy to Curb Mob.

A half-block to the south, there was a hue and cry at a railroad crossing, and a fusillade of shots was heard. More militiamen than had seen elsewhere, up to that time, were standing on a platform and near a string of freight cars, and trying to keep back men who had started to pursue negroes along the track.

As I turned back toward Broadway, there was a shout at the alley, and a negro ran out, apparently hoping to find protection. He paid no attention to missiles thrown from behind, none of which had hurt him much, but he was stopped, in the middle of the street by a smashing blow in the jaw, struck by a man he had not seen.

"Don't do that," he appealed. "I haven't hurt nobody." The answer was a blow from one side, a piece of curbstone from the other side, and a push which sent him on the brick pavement. He did not rise again, and the battering and kicking of his skull continued until he lay still, his blood flowing half way across the street. Before he had been booted to the opposite curb, another negro appeared, and the same deeds were repeated. I did not see any revolver shots fired at these men. Bullets and ammunition were saved for use at longer range. It was the last negro I have mentioned who was apparently finished by the stone hurled upon his neck by the noticeably well-dressed young man.

The butchering of the fire-trapped negroes went on so rapidly that, when I walked back to the alley a few minutes later, one was lying dead in the alley on the west side of Fourth street, and another on the east side.

Women Take a Hand.

And now women began to appear. One frightened black girl, probably 20 years old, got as far as Broadway with no worse treatment than jeers and thrusts. At Broadway, in view of militiamen, the white women, several of whom had been watching the massacre of the negro men, pounced on the negress. I do not wish to be understood as saying that these women were representatives of the womanhood of East St. Louis. Their faces showed, all too plainly, exactly who and what they were. But they were the heroines of the moment with that gathering of men, and when one man, sick of the brutality he had seen, seized one of the women by the arm to stop an impending blow, he was hustled away, with fists under his nose, and with more show of actual anger than had been bestowed on any of the negroes. He was a stocky, nervy chap, and he stood his ground until a diversion elsewhere drew the menacing ring of men away.

"Let the girls have her," was the shout as the women attacked the young negress. The victim's cry, "Please, please, I ain't done nothing," was stopped by a blow in the mouth with a broomstick, which one of the women swung like a baseball bat. Another woman seized the negress' hands, and the blow was repeated as she struggled helplessly. Finger nails clawed her hair, and the sleeves were torn from her waist, when some of the men called, "Now let her see how fast she can run." The women did not readily leave off beating her, but they stopped short of murder, and the crying, hysterical girl ran down the street.

An older negress, a few moments later, came along with two or three militiamen, and the same women made for her. When one of the soldiers held his gun as a barrier, the woman with the broomstick seized it with both hands, and struggled to wrest it from him, while the others, striking at the negress, despite of other militiamen, frightened her thoroughly and hurt her somewhat.

From negress baiting, the well-pleased procession turned to see a lynching. A negro, his head laid open by a great stone-cut, had been dragged to the mouth of the alley on Fourth street and a small rope was being put about his neck. There was joking comment on the weakness of the rope, and everyone was prepared for what happened when it was pulled over a projecting cable box, a short distance up the pole. It broke, letting the negro tumble back to his knees, and causing one of the men who was pulling on it to sprawl on the pavement.

Stouter Rope Obtained.

An old man, with a cap like those worn by street car conductors, but showing no badge of car service, came out of his house to protest. "Don't you hang that man on this street," he shouted. "I dare you to." He was pushed angrily away, and a rope, obviously strong enough for its purpose, was brought.

Right here I saw the most sickening incident of the evening. To put the rope around the negro's neck, one of the lynchers stuck his fingers inside the gaping scalp and lifted the negro's head by it, literally bathing his hand in the man's blood.

"Get hold, and pull for East St. Louis!" called a man with a black coat and a new straw hat, as he seized the other end of the rope. The rope was long, but not too long for the number of hands that grasped it, and this time the negro was lifted to a height of about seven feet from the ground. The body was left hanging there.

While this lynching was in preparation I walked to Broadway, found a Corporal's guard of militiamen, who had just come from where the firemen were working, and called their attention to what was going on. I do not know that they could have done anything to stop it. I know that they did not try to.

Senator Sherman Is 'Bone Dry' Since East St. Louis Riot

CHICAGO ILL. HERALD
JULY 6, 1917

WASHINGTON, July 5.—[Special.]—Senator Sherman, during the Senate debate on the food bill today, discussed the recent East St. Louis, Ill., race riots. He said:

I know that twelve companies of Illinois National Guards failed to restore order or to prevent some of the outrages, even after they had arrived on the ground. Some of the companies arriving early at the scene were disarmed, their authority set at defiance and they were treated with contemptuous disregard and outrages continued even after they were present.

But I wish to say, Mr. President, that the principal source of the violence, of the fetid, corrosive element that blazed away in disorder and wrote the story of blood across the sky over East St. Louis is the infernal, lawless, damnable saloons that have infested that town and damned the community for years.

\+ \+ \+

I have no words of apology for the slaughter that has happened there, for American citizens under the full panoply of the laws of their country who have been brutally outraged, taken into an alley, shot by revolvers, beaten to death with bludgeons, burned in their own homes, fleeing to an opera house for safety and having it burned and wrecked over their heads, thirty-four charred corpses taken from the ruin—I have no apology for that for my own state or any other state, for something that ought never to happen and would never happen except for the inherent defect that is lurking in our system—the increasing contempt for law and order that is springing up all over this country into a grand procession of criminals.

\+ \+ \+

It is the saloon-keepers of East St. Louis and their kind who head the van of every lawless element in breeding and showing itself as infamous vermin in every community where they are suffered to exist.

I am a bone dry senator from now on.

Senator Thomas started the discussion with a reference to the riot, and during Senator Sherman's speech Senator Lewis interrupted to say that news reports of the trouble were inaccurate, and that the citizens have asked for a federal investigation.

TOLEDO OHIO BLADE
JULY 5, 1917 Times

The Mob Spirit

ABOUT the time we begin to feel that we are showing signs of being civilized the mob spirit breaks out and when all the horrid details of the massacre are printed, we realize that we are only a very slight degree removed from the lowest of the animal kingdom. A few years ago Springfield, Ohio, disgraced itself and the state by a race riot that was not quelled until many lives had been sacrificed and much valuable property destroyed. This week East St. Louis gave an even ghastlier exhibition of unbridled murder the full extent of which may not be known for several months. As in the affair at Springfield, the frenzy of the mob was visited on the negroes.

It is bitter irony that these two brutal assaults on colored citizens should be staged respectively in Ohio, which was a main link in the "underground railway" for freeing slaves during the war of the rebellion, and in Illinois, which proudly claims "the Great Emancipator" for its martyred citizen. Neither riot was without provocation but both were without justification. The law was in working order in both states and there was no reason to fear that the guilty would not be punished. It was a case in both instances of men deliberately working themselves into a rage and unfortunately having at hand a leader who would incite them to murder and arson.

Years ago the press of the north were unsparing in denunciation of the south for its lynching bees, but it has remained for two cities above Mason and Dixon's line to outdo all southern lynchings in the extent of outlawry and in the degree of monstrousness.

[illegible] APPEAL

NEGROES ARE RETURNING.

Plantation Workers Who Were in East St. Louis Wire for Tickets.

Plantation negroes of Tennessee, Mississippi and a few from Arkansas, who were drawn to East St. Louis by the high prices paid for labor, are returning better than that in the northern cities, and especially in East St. Louis.

But few of the negroes are coming to Memphis, for it is the country negro, not the city negro, who is returning south. The city negroes, it is said, have gone over to St. Louis and are given jobs. It is the country negro that does not care for the city life, such as they learned of in East St. Louis.

Ticket agents in the tri-states say they have wired many tickets to the negroes in the last few days and that many have come without tickets being wired them. They say there has not been any carload shipment of the blacks, but just regular travel. Covington and Dyersburg are said to have had many negroes return in the last few days and expect more in a short time.

The river men have not noticed any influx of the negroes, but say in the few days at St. Louis there has been no trouble in getting labor, while formerly many of the negroes would work as far as St. Louis, then quit and take a job paying more money.

to their old jobs, according to railroad men.

These negroes evidently did not like the treatment accorded them, and after the rioting of the last few days plantation managers have received telegrams asking for car fare, and the information is the negroes will return to their old jobs. In the majority of cases the negroes have been sent tickets and they are returning, satisfied that the treatment given them in the south is much

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

NEGROES DID NOT START TROUBLE

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
JULY 6, 1917

Outbreak Caused By White Men In Automobile Shooting Into Negro Homes Sunday Night. Policemen Mistaken For Rioters Are Slain.

Friday morning July 6, the East St Louis situation, so far as the riot is concerned, seems to be quiet. No further racial trouble is expected. Lawyer N. W. Parden and city detective James Hardiman. Negroes are under arrest charged with neglect of duty. No other state, or city officials have been arrested. A guardsman killed a white man last night, who failed to halt when commanded to do so.

The entire country has been aroused to a sense of shame and pity by the magnitude of the national disgrace enacted by the blood-thirsty rioters in East St. Louis Monday, July 2.

So much has been said in the daily press about the affair, that it would be a waste of time to review the facts in the horrible massacre were it not for the false reports made and the probable result on the minds of the people.

Although the fact that Negroes were armed when the rioting was renewed has given credit to the claim that they were planning an uprising, investigation shows that arming was only for self-protection. Eye witnesses of the initial conflict last Sunday night disprove the first reports of the press. The trouble was not started by the Negroes. It dates back to the first riot on May 28. Since that time Negroes have been waylaid and beaten by white thugs, without provocation, daily. Last Sunday night a Negro was seized by a gang near the Municipal Bridge and in self-defense, he managed to get his gun and shot one of his assailants.

Later in the evening, or some time after midnight, an automobile loaded with white men traversed a portion of the Colored district, speeding at a rapid rate and its occupants shooting into the homes of the residents. These shots aroused the tenants. So far as the ringing of a church bell, calling them to arms, no one claims to have heard it. The only claim is made in the daily press. The firing of shots, alone, caused the men to come out into their yards and on the streets to ascertain the trouble.

Following this, another automobile came on the scene and the Negroes immediately fired upon it, thinking this was another machine with lawless occupants whose purpose was to repeat the acts of the preceding one. They, however, proved to be police officers, who were drawn to the scene by the shots fired by the occupants of the first car.

One officer was killed and another wounded. The automobile shows indications of being hit five or six times How many were in the crowd is uncertain, but there was no "military formation" as stated.

The Negroes deny that there was any exchange of words and the report that they had said, "We don't need your protection," was only a statement that had been made by someone over a month ago and was coupled with this report to give it color.

Argus Reporter On Scene

A reporter for the St. Louis Argus arrived on the scene Monday afternoon and his account of the horrible carnage that was perpetrated in this great manufacturing center of the state of Lincoln, from that time until midnight is beyond the belief of intelligent manhood. Never before in the history of the "Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave" has humanity stooped to such depths of savagery and committed such atrocious crimes.

The statements of the daily press about the cruelty to the Negroes administered by the blood-thirsty mob and the laxity of the police and militia were not exaggerated. While our reporter states that there were no less than one hundred Negro men, women and children shot, tortured and burned to death, he believes there were more. How many, no one may ever know. More than two hundred homes were destroyed, with all their contents. The scene of the destruction of life and property was not in the thickly populated district, the mob was too cowardly to invade it, but vented its fury on isolated spots and helpless victims. It had no choice. It was as a sporting crowd, hunting for game. A black face was the game. Innocent men, women and children fleeing from their burning homes, pled for mercy, but were shot down and their bodies thrown back to be consumed by the flames. Injured men were dispatched on to death by clubbing, stoning and stamping. Dying victims were strung to poles and others thrown in the water to drown. And all of this occurred before the eyes of the police and within range of the guns of the militia, yet no effort was made to check the fury of the mob.

That more whites were killed and injured than given in reports, is evident from what was seen during Tuesday afternoon and night.

The loss of property will be great and according to statements made to the reporter by heads of big manufacturing concerns, many places will be compelled to close until the government will guarantee protection.

Daily Press Reports

Inasmuch as the public will form its opinion largely upon the daily press reports, it is advisable to state that the account of the affair as given in the final edition of the Globe-Democrat Tuesday morning, July 3, was the fairest and most accurate. Carlos F. Hurd, in the home edition of the Post-Dispatch on the same date, also gives a fair statement of the doings of the barbarous mob. Editorials in these two dailies and the St. Louis Star showed that the editors took high ground and condemned mob violence in no uncertain terms.

A news item appearing in the "Sunrise Extra" of the St. Louis Republic, July 5, was biased and bore the earmarks of the yellow journalism that incites mob violence.

ALBANY N Y KNICKBKR PRESS
JULY 4, 1917

A DISGRACE TO AMERICA.

Race riots such as have been taking place in East St. Louis, Ill., are a disgrace to the country. They cast a blot of shame upon the American flag and upon every American. More particularly these riots foul the good name of the state which endures them, and make it a scandal and a by-word.

There is only one reason for such wretched collapses of civilization. That is the cowardice and poltroonery of men in authority. Dismiss every other contributing cause from mind, for none could warrant such consequences. It makes no difference who or what the victims were, or why they were attacked. The shame is the same in any case. The mayor and sheriff of East St. Louis, and the other socalled men in public office there, are yellow from skull to boot. What has happened is proof of that. And the Governor of Illinois seems not to be without blame.

If the population of East St. Louis was made up of decent men, there would have been no such demonstration of beastliness as has occurred. That is true enough. An indication of the quality of that population may be gleaned from the fact that recruiting officers have reported the city as a hopeless field in which to seek volunteers for the nation's service. But, regardless of the character of the population, no mob ever got out of hand, and proceeded to inflict barbarities in defiance of law and the common instincts of humanity, without the active or passive connivance of men in authority who had betrayed their trust.

Mob psychology is simple. It is not even as complex as that of the wild beast of prey. Let a hue and cry be started and a blow struck, and in the absence of restraint a wave of passion sweeps over a crowd. Unreasoning, senseless, imbecile, cruel, heartless—the crowd becomes in an instant a collective beast, stripped of every gift which civilization has labored for thousands of years to bestow, intent on torture, groveling, rabid, inhuman.

If at such a time a man vested with authority respects himself and his oath of office sufficiently to do his duty, the mob is dispersed. It has happened over and over. But there must be no paltering, no argument, no feebleness, no temporizing, no silly sympathy, no unwillingness to shed blood, no thought of consequences, no fear of revenge, and no mercy. It may take rifles that will shoot to kill; machine guns are better. Sometimes a fire hose has sufficed. Taken in time there need be no bloodshed at all. If the mob has been allowed to gather, stronger measures may be necessary. But it is better that a thousand snarling beasts in human form should perish than that the forms of law which humanity has erected to safeguard and guarantee its existence should be trampled down.

Mercy is excellent, but the truest kindness to a mob is to show it no mercy. To give it its way is to thrust a knife into all that makes possible our existence in security and order. The forms of law and the tradition of the public peace are not arbitrary figments of the imagination. They are the result of centuries of human experience. They stand between the human beast and society. Without them the world would revert to chaos. But the mob would tear them down. Today its victims are strangers. Tomorrow you may be the victim. Kill the mob before it kills you, and so you will serve mankind.

ARE MORAL TRAITORS

ROOSEVELT HITS HARD

ONE STANDARD OF LOYALTY

SPRINGFIELD MASS REPUB
JULY 5, 1917

Ex-President Denounces American Champions of Germany—Says Cause of East St Louis Race Riots Must Be Ascertained

Declaring that those in America who champion Germany's cause against the cause of America are guilty of moral treason, and are in fact, although not in law, moral traitors, Col Theodore Roosevelt, in a Fourth of July address at Forest Hills, L. I., yesterday, pleaded for a single standard of patriotism and loyalty.

The colonel preceded his remarks on the war situation with an allusion to the race riots in East St Louis, saying that the causes should be ascertained and the remedy found. "Before I make the speech I have prepared I wish to say one word on the instant need of to-day, July 4, Independence day, the day on which the nation was born and was dedicated to the cause of orderly liberty and equal rights for all," he said.

"There has just occurred in a northern city a most lamentable tragedy.

We who live elsewhere will do well not to feel self-righteous about it. for it was produced by causes which might at any time produce just such results in any of the communities in which we individually dwell. There have been race riots with dreadful accompaniments of wholesale murder and arson. The first necessity is that the government should use its strength to stop and to punish the violators, and once more to instal the ordinary instrumentalities of law and order, but this is not enough. The causes, social and industrial, should be fearlessly and thoroughly investigated, so that the primitive remedy may be found, and the investigation should blink no fact, however ugly. I reverently believe in facing truths by officially acting on the knowledge thus gained, so that when order has been restored we can establish a permanent working system of justice."

"We are now at war with Germany," said Col Roosevelt. "For over two years Germany has heaped insult upon insult, injury upon injury, on our people. We did not even dare to prepare so as to be able effectively to resent wrong in the future. Our supine inaction was partly due to the folly engenedered in our people by the professional pacifists. But an even more important factor was the dread many of our politicians felt, not merely of the German army abroad, but of German votes at home. The selfishness and shortsightedness of the American politicians were indefensible, and they were due to the fact that the men who took the lead in the German-American movement sought entirely to subordinate the actions of the country of which they were nominally citizens, the United States, to the needs of the country for which they cared, Germany.

Treason to Republic

"Now we are at war with Germany, yet many of these persons supported, of course, by professional pacifists, continue to champion Germany's cause as against the cause for which we are fighting. This is a moral treason to the republic, and all who engage in it are in fact, although not in law, traitors who have no right longer to be treated as American citizens. The time has come to insist that they drop their dual allegiance, and in good faith become outright Germans or outright Americans. They cannot be both, and those who pretend to be both are merely Germans who hypocritically pretend to be Americans in order to serve Germany and damage America. At this moment the vital thing to remember about these half-hidden traitors is that to attack America's allies, while we are at death grips with a peculiary ruthless and brutal foe, or to champion that foe as against our allies, or to apologize for that foe's infamous wrongdoing, is to be false to the cause of liberty and to the United States.

"There can be no half-and-half attitude in this war and no honorable man can afford to take such an attitude. We are bound by every consideration of loyalty and good faith to our allies, and any opposition to them or any aid given to their and our enemy is basely dishonorable as regards our allies and treasonable as regards our own country."

Col Roosevelt said that the claim that it was natural for American citizens of German origin to favor Germany was "nonsense, and criminal nonsense to boot," and added: "Either a man is an American and nothing else or he is not an American at all. We are akin by blood and descent to most of the nations of Europe, but we are separate from all of them. We are a new and distinct nation and we are bound always to give our wholehearted and undivided loyalty to our flag and in any international crisis to treat every foreign nation purely according to its conduct in that crisis. It is both weak and wicked to permit any of our citizens to hold dual or divided allegiance and it is just as mischievous; just as un-American, to discriminate against any good American because of his birthplace, creed or parentage."

Elaborating on that point and protesting against the plan to exclude from American Red Cross units Americans of German or Austrian parentage or descent, Col Roosevelt said that if he had been permitted to raise a military force for service in France many of his officers would have been chosen from among men of German parentage who were undoubted Americans.

Contrasts German and Confederate Methods

Col Roosevelt severely arraigned those who seek to excuse the acts of Germany "our embittered and envenomed foe," by saying "we would behave in like manner if we had the opportunity," and reviewed the history of the civil war in support of his contention that the utterance was "infamous falsity." "Contrast the brutality shown toward women and children on Lusitania, and scores of other ships, by the officially directed German submarines, with the Alabama's action fifty years ago," he continued. "Semmes never destroyed a vessel without providing for the safety of the passengers and crew. He turned his own officers out of their cabins to put in them the women and children of his foes, and once when he had 700 prisoners and a prize he allowed them to go in freedom on the vessel rather than send them to a nearby port where there was yellow fever. Compare these actions with the methodical and organized brutality of the German military authorities in this war, and then brand with shame the American traitors who seek to aid Germany by asserting that we, if given the chance, would be guilty of atrocities like those she has committed."

Touching on the matter of language Col Roosevelt declared that "We must have in this country but one flag, and for the speech of the people but one language, the English language. During the present war all newspapers published in German, or in the speech of any of our foes, should be required to publish, side by side with the foreign text, columns in English containing the exact translation of everything said in the foreign language. Ultimately this should be done with all newspapers published in foreign tongues in this country.

"Universal suffrage should be based on universal service in peace as well as war," said Col Roosevelt in concluding his address. "Those who refuse to render the one should have no title to the enjoyment of the other. We stand for the democracy of service; we are against privilege, therefore against the privilege which would escape service in war.

"We must fight with steadfast endurance, until we win the peace of overwhelming victory for righteousness, and even while thus fighting we must prepare the way for the peace of industrial justice, and the peace of industrial democracy, which are to come after, and to consecrate the war."

BALTIMORE MD. AMERICAN
JULY 4, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS.

Horrible and fiendish the act of the rioters in East St. Louis fill the minds of persons of other communities with disgust, and with doubt as to the superiority of American civilization. No one for a moment could condone the acts of a mob that carried out its excesses to the lengths of that mob; no matter what they may have felt to be their provocation. Of course, back of all else lies the pernicious activity of the agitators who have been going through the South and seeking to denude it of its colored labor and inducing the negroes who live there comfortably and with little of infliction of any kind to migrate to the North to enter into competition with white labor.

Yet, this fact affords no extension of the awful orgie of crimes, of bloodshed and of rapine that have marked the St. Louis riots. A few negro desperadoes undoubtedly needed to be dealt with by the law in salutary fashion. The same is true of whites. But to include every black person under a blanket indictment and to employ the worst measures of lynching and massacre possible is something that shocks the sensibilities of all well regulated persons. The United States can ill afford to have such a spectacle of barbarity to present to the world at any time and particularly the present. Labor agitators, doubtless, have much magnified the competition of the colored labor, although the latter would do well to remain in the Southland.

Negro Refugees In Evansville

Negroes are flocking into Evansville on every train arriving here from E. St. Louis. They say that colored men with their families are leaving by the hundreds.

According to a message from East St. Louis the mobs are moving to the southeastern part of the city and there are a few fires there. Otherwise things are quieting at 1 a. m. Wednesday.

All trains leaving Evansville have been ordered to coal at Moscautah instead of St. Louis as usual because of lack of workers at E. St. Louis.

Newspaper Man Tells of How Innocent Victims Were Put to Death.

New York Age 7-12-17

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE)

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.—While the daily press is disagreeing as to the direct cause of the East St. Louis massacre, the remains of innocent victims are being found in charred masses of debris by searching parties. While some are making a desperate as well as ineffectual attempt to palliate the work of the mob by trying to show that Negro workmen incurred the displeasure of white labor by filling the places of aliens who had returned to Europe, colored women and children are going about homeless and helpless by the score. Some have lost nearest and dearest relatives as the result of this shocking outburst of savagery.

Since the massacre, which will go down in history along side the atrocities committed in Brussels and Rheims, a delegation of Negroes has held a conference with Gov. Lowden at Springfield, but the outcome of this meeting will not bring back the lives of those who, for no valid reason, were struck down and murdered in cold blood.

Civic and business organizations here are now waking up to their sense of duty, but too late to save East St. Louis from being a disgrace to the United States and a blot on civilization. Even the police have come to life—guardians of the laws who stood idly by and permitted the helpless to be slaughtered like so many sheep in an East St. Louis abattoir.

The employment of Negroes in large numbers is not anything new in East St. Louis. For years they have worked in the stock yards. The big plants of this town and Venice furnish the male inhabitants of Lovejoy, formerly known as Brooklyn, a Negro town only a few miles away, with employment at a good remuneration. So the presence of Negroes did not create a new condition.

Roosevelt's Bad Break.

The disgrace of America through the recent rioting at East St. Louis is in no degree assuaged by the unseemly dispute at the New York reception to the Russian Mission between THEODORE ROOSEVELT and SAMUEL GOMPERS. Organized labor's responsibility for the outbreak of brutality in the Illinois city remains to be proven; that it had a part in creating the situation that got beyond control and led to wholesale murders and arson seems to be admitted in the telegram which Mr. GOMPERS offered in explanation of the horrible event. According to this message from the president of the Illinois Federation of Labor the riots resulted from "employers enticing Negroes from the South to break the back of labor." Apparently the riots were labor's reply to the action laid at the doors of employers. If that is the case, labor has a hideous crime to answer for. But this is not a true explanation of the mob violence.

The motive of the East St. Louis mob was racial antipathy. The trouble started in resentment of the employment of strangers in places vacated by residents, but no mere labor dispute could have so upset the poise of the thousands who participated in the Negro hunt. The reversion to savagery was not in fear that the opportunity to work and live was in danger; it is traceable to dislike by the whites in the mass to the settlement of a large number of blacks among them. The antipathy is not peculiar to the members of labor organizations. Until it is established union labor committed the East St. Louis crimes even so distinguished a citizen as Mr. ROOSEVELT should withhold accusation against it.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

Mob Spirit In Houston

To the Good White Citizens of Houston:

Recently the country stood aghast and appalled at the East St. Louis reign of horror and atrocity, when murder and arson ran rampant.

Our own state has recently witnessed lynchings at Courtney, Galveston and Lovelady.

The Waco horror still haunts us like Banquo's ghost.

We have sung the praises of Houston and its failure to indulge in the great mobocratic practices and programs thus far.

But it seems like the hoodlum element here is bent upon pulling off an East St. Louis "stunt" and we take this means to sound the alarm before the outbreak occurs.

Last Friday evening a white fellow struck a Negro on Prairie avenue and the Negro returned the blow.

Several whites came to their comrade's assistance and the Negro, being outnumbered, beat a hasty retreat down Prairie avenue to Milam street chased by a crowd yelling "Lynch him," etc.

He was only saved from great injury by the house detective at a pool hall at 502 Milam and the quick arrival of the patrolman on the beat.

They held the mob back and heard both sides of the story and released the Negro.

Tuesday a Negro entered Rice Hotel Annex drug store to ring his employers and was struck over the head by some cowardly and cringing chauffeurs and chased to the Commercial drug store at corner of Texas avenue and Milam street.

They followed him uttering all kinds of oaths and bent upon his blood, because he is chauffeur for a wealthy and reputable family, much to the dissastisfaction and displeasure of these self-appointed custodians of the public welfare.

Again a patrolman came upon the scene and saved and released the Negro, whose only crime was that he was driving a car for a decent white family and was attempting to ring up his employer.

This is a bad spirit and is calculated to culminate in racial strife worse than East St. Louis.

The Observer asks the good white citizens to see that this element and their practices are put out of business and that forthwith.

Every Negro does not possess the rabbit (running) characteristics and for the peace, reputation and equanimity of the community, this mob spirit must be crushed and tamped completely out.

That there are some whites here who want repetition of the East St. Louis disgrace s evidenced by the statement heard from he lips of a white man the other day.

Here are his words: "The thing that happened in East St. Louis should happen and s going to happen in Houston."

We are tired of these tramps and cowards hasing innocent and defenseless Negroes nd appeal to your fairness and sense of ustice to see to it that the law is fully exerised and executed and this mobocratic spirit ipped in the bud.

You have asked our aid in all your great ovements that mean for progress of both he community and commonwealth and we ave always done our part like men and merican citizens.

Will you fail us now in the face of such nobocratic demonstrations, when our sole lea is full protection?

Are we asking too much?

Do we deserve protection?

Do you want the reputation of our fair metropolis besmirched and defiled?

Do you desire the better and best element f Negroes to leave this section in greater umbers than at present?

Will rank ingratitude, the unkindest cut f all, be our portion from you?

Do not deceive yourselves by saying "Such things can not happen in Houston."

But on the other hand adopt means and methods to prevent such dastardly and diabolical acts.

Remember Slocum community, Atlanta and East St. Louis.

CHICAGO ILL NEWS
JULY 7, 1917

JOY FOR PRO-GERMANS.

We must remember that some people, at least, are getting pleasure out of the East St. Louis massacre. The holy joy with which pacifist and pro-German compare these happenings to those in Belgium almost makes the real American forget his shame. But he should not grudge these folks their satisfaction. Their life is pretty gloomy nowadays. They haven't had such an event to rejoice over since James O'Donnell Bennett wired that the Russian republic was drinking itself to death.

CHICAGO ILL JOURNAL
JULY 3, 1917

Find the Cause

The East St. Louis affair is the most disastrous and disgraceful outbreak the state has known for a generation; perhaps the worst it has ever known. That it should come during the heat of a foreign war and on the eve of Independence day makes it still more ominous. But it can not be appraised nor can its recurrence be guarded against until all its causes are traced; and The Journal doubts greatly if race prejudice alone, or even race prejudice and economic rivalry together are sufficient to account for so violent an explosion.

The authorities should look closely to see if some local and removable cause, some graft, some privilege, some protected vice, some excess of demagoguery, some evil intrigue did not drop the match in the powder magazine. Every northern city now receiving an influx of negro workers will wait eagerly for the outcome of such an investigation.

SOUTHERNERS DIDN'T DO IT.

There is an undercurrent report that the people who did the killing in the recent Illinois anti-negro riots were southern people.

ATLANTA GA CONSTITUTION
JULY 10, 1917

Whatever individuals or influences are engaged in circulating such a report has not been officially brought into the light, but certain it is they are not friends of the negro, the south nor the nation—no more so, in fact, than those originally inspiring unrest among the colored people of the south and inveigling them into emigrating northward in pursuit of a will-o'-the-wisp mistaken for prosperity and happiness.

The report itself is so utterly absurd as to require no specific refutation. Any person intelligent enough to read a newspaper is aware of its absurdity on the very face of it.

The white southern population of the state of Lincoln is infinitesimal—the white southerners resident in the whole state being by far too few to stage such a demonstration as that of a few days ago—and what few white southerners may be there are not that kind.

About the only southern people living—or that did live—in Illinois are colored people against whom the riots were directed; and everybody who knows anything knows that the participants in the murderous outbreak against them were northern people resentful of the negro's purpose of working among them for his living!

Circulation of all false rumors cannot efface that fact, as much as the good people of Illinois would like to efface it!

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS
JULY 5, 1917

Trifling with Race Problems.

While the terrible crimes committed by East St. Louis mobs cannot be excused or condoned on account of the conditions from which they sprung, public opinion will be at fault unless it takes account of the provocative effect of race differences under such circumstances as have lately prevailed in that frenzied community. Not only must the murderers who wrought such havoc be seized and punished, but the lessons of the barbarous outbreak must be studied and applied.

A competent committee of the Illinois state council of defense, after investigating the outbreaks of mob violence in East St. Louis last May, found that the importation of negroes from the south to that city had been stimulated artificially. It was suggested by the committee in its report that the migration of any class of the population from one part of the country to another should be allowed to proceed along natural lines, in order that the equilibrium may not be disturbed. The committee declared that the problems of shifting labor to points where additional workers are needed during the war should be handled by the various state councils of defense in conjunction with the national council of defense.

Social conditions are affected so vitally in many ways by the sudden shifting of labor groups that other interests specially affected should be consulted as well as the interests of employers of labor or of labor agents seeking profits by drumming up workers in large masses and shipping them to new fields.

In California to-day various interests are asking that for the duration of the war the ban against the importation of oriental coolies be lifted in order that these alien and unassimilable workers may be procured in large numbers for the farms and to provide labor for other industries. The outbreaks in East St. Louis should restrain those persons who seek unnecessarily still further to accentuate the race problems of the United States.

1 to 14 Years for E. St. Louis Rioter

BELLEVILLE, Ill., Aug. 18.—S. L. Schulz, of East St. Louis, Ill., who was indicted on charges of rioting, conspiracy and assault with intent to murder by the grand jury which investigated the recent East St. Louis race riots, pleaded guilty in the Circuit Court here to-day to conspiracy and to one count charging assault.

He was sentenced to an indeterminate term of one to fourteen years on the assault charge and to five years' imprisonment on the conspiracy charge sentences to run concurrently. The charge of rioting was dismissed.

The specific charge to which Schulz pleaded guilty was that he struck with a club a white man named Murphy when the latter attempted to rescue a negro whom the mob was clubbing to death.

DIVISION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

NEW HAVEN CONN. EVE. REG.
JULY 7, 1917

THE ST. LOUIS RIOTS.

In the discussion of the recent occurrence at East St. Louis there is frequently heard allusion to "race riots" and much comment has been made on the fact that the assaults on the negroes sprang from racial hatred. Such is by no means the case. The trouble came from protests of laborers who saw their jobs going because of the importation of other workmen who were willing to labor at a lower wage.

Had these imported laborers been aliens from Galicia, Austria, Poland or Japan, the cause for the riot would have been the same. California still remembers the riots in which the Chinese were sought out, but the rioting was not caused so much by any race hatred against the Chinese as it was by the fact that they were willing to work for less wages.

East St. Louis has always been a turbulent city, but negroes have lived there for many years in peace, and doubtless will continue so to do in years to come. The emigration of the southern negroes to the north caused the invasion which was the inciting cause to the rioting. All talk of dragging the national skeleton out of the closet and rattling it just as our troops land in France" is beside the mark.

NEGRO UPRISING WAS PLANNED

BROOKLYN N Y. CITIZEN
JULY 7, 1917

Sensational Testimony at East St. Louis.

EAST ST. LOUIS, July 7.—The Grand Jury probe into the recent race riots here is expected to develop sensational testimony involving Dr. L. N. Bundy, a negro dentist and a leader among his people.

Bundy, who has disappeared, is alleged to have been the brains of the uprising, which led to the shooting of two detectives and precipitated the race riots.

It is said that negroes testifying at the coroner's inquest told of plans which had been completed for a general negro uprising on July 4. It was stated that they were armed and prepared to fight. The inquest was secret.

Of sixteen blacks questioned, five are said to have admitted they were members of a mob which early Monday morning killed Detective Coppedge and wounded a patrolman so seriously that he died.

Mrs. Ida Barnes, teacher in a negro high school, is credited with a statement that uprisings were expected in other cities.

Mrs. Barnes is quoted as saying: "Chicago is a powder-box which any incident is apt to explode. The negroes are all well-armed and prepared to protect their homes."

PORTLAND ME PRESS
JULY 9, 1917

COURAGEOUS ROOSEVELT.

It was characteristic of Theodore Rosevelt to emphatically declare himself at the meeting held to welcome the Russian delegates with relation to the East St. Louis episode. He took exception to the contention of a labor leader that the riots in that city which resulted in the slaying of so many negroes, was occasioned by employers "enticing negroes to come North to break the back of labor" and that whatever happened in East St. Louis the employers of labor were responsible for. Col. Roosevelt voiced the almost unanimous opinion of America when he said—"There should be no apology for the infamous brutalities committed on the colored people of East St. Louis." He said he would go as far as any man to do justice to the laboring man, but when murder is done and injustice prevails, he will go just as far to put him down, if necessary. It took a Roosevelt to make this declaration and in this instance, as in many others, he has given expression to the sentiments of the American people. Whatever the underlying reasons were for the riots in East St. Louis, there can be nothing to justify the disgraceful acts which took place there. It makes no difference who was murdered, whether it was colored or white men, there can be no apology offered for lawlessness such as prevailed in that city. We must confess surprise that Samuel Gompers, who since the war began, has on several occasions shown himself to be a good citizen and a patriotic one, and who has performed notable service, particularly in his efforts to help bring Russia to a realization of its responsibilities, should undertake to extenuate or excuse the East St. Louis murders. We do not know that organized labor or any part of it was in any way to blame for the killing of the negroes, and every American would be loath to believe such a charge if it were made, but the leader of organized labor in the United States should not make any attempt to justify the East St. Louis occurrence. It is all that Col. Roosevelt said it was, a disgrace to America. Roosevelt had the courage to say what he thinks of it and he has said no more than he was justified in saying.

EVANSVILLE IND. COURIER
JULY 4, 1917

Mildness With a Mob

The chamber of commerce of East St. Louis are right in protesting against the inefficiency of the militia. The defense of the officers is that they believed they could control the situation without resorting to harsh measures.

The failure of mildness is shown already in the large death and property loss. It is possible yet that before quiet is restored an even heavier toll of life must be taken. Even more sinister is the danger that the mob spirit may reassert itself at a later date and, encouraged by the complacency of the authorities during the present trouble, may go to even more desperate lengths.

The time to deal firmly with a mob is before it grows dangerous. It is a saving of life in the end and therefore is the mildest measure that can be used.

The militia should be a war body solely and not a posse comitatus. The men who join do so to be soldiers and not to become peace officers. It is a high tribute to the patriotism of the men who join the militia, that they are so ardent to serve their country that they will join in spite of the distasteful and disagreeable features of riot duty.

But they should not be asked to perform these services. There should be a state constabulary, paid and trained, for the duty of preserving the peace. No new principle is involved. They are merely policemen who operate over wider territory than a city.

OBER 22, 1917

Priso ers Held for Race Riots Convene Court in Jail and Slug 'Convicts'

Prisoners held in jail at Belvidere, Ill., awaiting trial in connection with the East St. Louis riots, hold a "kangaroo court" and administer their own punishment, a complaint transmitted to Attorney General Brundage set forth today.

There are over 100 in the jail awaiting trials, and the smallness of the jail makes it necessary for the sheriff to keep the prisoners, who have been unable to furnish bond, in bull pens.

The information was sent in by Assistant Attorney General Middlekauf, following the conviction of two more white men—Charles Hanna and John Gow—of killing William Keyser. Whenever any one of the prisoners is seen talking to a representative of the state, Mr. Middlekauf says, the others summon a kangaroo court, elect one of their number judge, and decide on a penalty, which is usually a slugging.

Schultz, the only white person to confess, is now in the penitentiary, but the kankaroo court also found him guilty of squealing, and his front teeth were knocked out. Mr. Middlekauf said.

PASSAIC N J HERALD
JULY 20, 1917

EXCUSES FOR PILLAGE.

In making attacks upon foreign miners in Missouri, Arizona and elsewhere, and upon negro laborers in East St. Louis and other places, some of the participants doubtless were zealots misdirected by self-seeking heads of organizations, but the majority were looters. Taking advantage of what might be a petty dispute easy of adjustment, these lawless persons foment trouble, then give vent to their natural inclinations. Destruction becomes a mania, and in the excitement occasioned by the outbreaks of violence, looting of stores and the pillaging of houses is carried on with brazen effrontery. It was done at East Youngstown, East St. Louis, in hamlets in the lead belt of Missouri and other places. It has been the history of every dispute of the kind, and it has invariably been the prospectiv looter who fanned the flame of discord.

Distinction is difficult between the honest laborer with a grievance and the vicious individual who will not work, and vainglorioously posing as a martyr to foreign aggression, starts a riot and robs friend and enemy alike. It generally happens that the difference of opinion is lost sight of in the glare of burning buildings, amidst the shouts of a mob and the staccato commands of representatives of law and order. In the face of such acts of violence as have been committed at East St. Louis and in the lead belt of Missouri and in Arizona there is but one thing to do, and that is too obvious to require mentioning.

It would be interesting to know how long the "Americans" who protest so against the employment of "foreigners" have been identified with this country. The chances are that few of them can go back a generation. The employment of the foreigners in America is necessary. There is more work in our mines than native miners can possibly do, just as there is more work in such communities as East St. Louis than the native population can do. Protection must be accorded thos who are willing to labor, and by doing this quickly the looter is prevented from starting a riot as an excuse for his lawlessness.

FEARS OF FURTHER ANTI-NEGRO RIOTS

VICKSBURG MISS HERALD
JULY 15, 1917

MIGRATION PROBLEM ALARMS NORTHERN CITIES.

Disturbances Like That in East St Louis May Occur in Other Places.

New York, July 14.—A widespread plan to forestall all repetitions in other cities of the recent negro disturbances in East St. Louis, Illinois, was announced here tonight by L. Hollingsworth Wood, chairman of the national league on urban conditions among negroes. Mayors and other responsible citiens in indzustrial centers throughout the north are being asked by letter to give organized consideration to problems arising out of the migration of negroes. The league is organized in 18 northern cities and is endeavoring to turn raw labor into a civic and industrial asset.

Mr. Wood estimates about 400,000 negroes have flocked from the south and that the movement is continuing, many of the men and women being untrained for the labors which they seek in the north. Detroit's negro population has increased to 20,000. Mr. Wood said, and Pennsylvania now has 65,000 and Ohio 30,000. The widow of Booker T. Washington is among those associated with the league's plans.

[illegible] MASS GAZETTE
[illegible] 1917

Men of Mississippi are the first to make a move to get the migrating negroes back to the South. Business men and plantation owners in that state offer to charter a steamboat or train to bring 500 or 1000 of the black people from the excited districts further up the great river where there have been race riots with seriously fatal results, and provide them with work in the old homes of the wanderers. East St. Louis is offering advantages and protection for the negroes if they will stay there in spite of the riotous conditions, but the black men are inclined to turn southward. That makes trouble for the railroads and other industries, and officials are getting ready to appeal to the United States government to take means to prevent the loss of laborers, the railroads need now for the handling of vast freights which are needed all over the country. The negroes appreciate the new value that is placed upon their power as workers, but they are more distrustful of the people in the vicinity of St. Louis than of the people of the South whence they came some months ago in large numbers. It is one of the problems that is bound to bother this country, whether or not it is true that the race riots have been fomented by German agents.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

PEORIA (ILL.) STAR
JULY 5, 1917

THE EAST ST. LOUIS POST-MORTEM.

Thousands of negroes, many of them beaten and burned, have fled for their ilves from the state of Abraham Lincoln, following one of the most violent race riots seen in this country in many years. It is estimated that the state may be compelled to pay claims aggregating $200,000 because of its failure to protect its citizens and their property at East St. Louis, but this liability is incomparable with the misvhief done to the good name of Illinois.

The state council of defense reports that a pretentious and anonymous advertising campaign resulted in the influx into East St. Louis of hundreds of negroes who were lured thither by promises of abundant work, short hours, high wages, good working conditions and humane treatment. The crisis, according to the state council of defense was reached when inflammatory speeches were made at a public meeting arranged by the city council It is asserted that these speeches could have been prevented by the local authorities.

The state council of defense also points out that:

A peculiarity of this (advertising) campaign for the importation of unskilled labor to East St. Louis was its anonymous character, a fact in itself suspicious. There appear in all newspapers over the country almost daily advertisements for labor in some other place, which are signed by those who want the employes. Such advertisements, of course, are legitimate. But it seems strange that the extensive territory of the south should be covered by a propaganda urging migration to East St. Louis and at the same time that these advertisements should not only be signed by no one, but that they should not designate any particular plant of which there are many large ones in East St. Louis that required additional labor.

The evidence warrants the conclusion that there was an extensive campaign to induce negroes in great numbers to come to East St. Louis. Such a campaign had required considerable financing, and its backers took pains to be unknown.

The state council of defense concludes its report by making the following recommendations:

1—That widest publicity be given the East St. Louis situation that the danger in situations of this kind may be made apparent to the south and to industrial centers in the north, to he end that migration of southern negroes may be discouraged before other outbreaks of a similar nature occur.

2—That migration of any class be allowed to flow along natural lines that the equilibrium of population may not be disturbed; that the severest condemnation should be visited upon those prompting any artificial movement of population.

3—That problems of shifting labor to points where labor is needed during the war be handled by the councils of defense in connection with those responsible officers of the labor movement who are daily showing their patriotism in endeavoring to restrain industrial strife.

When scores of men are killed, their homes burned and thousands of others are forced to flee for their lives; when the state constabulary is called out and appeals are made to Washington for federal aid, the state council of defense need have no fear that there will be any dearth of publicity. The council may depend upon it that the press will follow the news. Every newspaper in the United States has told the story of the East St. Louis riots. But the question will arise in the minds of many people familiar with the uses of publicity, "What was the Illinois council of defense doing while anonymous advertising was bringing to East St. Louis hundreds of unskilled negroes?"

There was a race riot in East St. Louis as early or as late as May, and the state council of defense made a report a few days before the latest outbreak that it was highly desirable migration should be restricted to natural flow. Why didn't the state council of defense tell the newspapers a few weeks ago what it is telling them now? Why did it wait until the mischief was done?

Post-mortem observations on riots occurring as the result of anonymous advertising conducted by unknown persons and the colonization of a small city with hundreds of negroes for whom no lodgings or definite employment had been provided are not impressive.

It was the business of the state council of defense to warn the state and its responsible authorities of the facts in the East St. Louis case at a time when their disclosure meant the preservation of life and property. This it did not do. A newspaper reporter could have uncovered all the facts the state council has made public as the basis of its recommendations. The identity of the anonymous advertisers and their backers is still to be disclosed.

Let us have a state council of defense, not a state council of undertakers.

MACON, GA., TELEGRAPH
JULY 4, 1917

THE FIGHT FOR BREAD

The South has known but one racial clash that in any way approached the severity and extent of the outbreak in East St. Louis Monday afternoon and night, and that was the Atlanta riot of several years ago when a large number of negroes were killed and the race was hunted about the streets in much the same way as in East St. Louis, although on entirely different provocation. A number of rapes of white women and girls within the space of a few hours roused the Caucasian blood of Atlanta to a fervor of violence on the males of the race that had perpetrated the one crime that will lash white men to summary action as can no other offense. When it was over it was over, and there has been no trouble since.

This East St. Louis business is altogether deeper, more significant and, to the nation as a whole, much more alarming than either the Atlanta riot or its Northern similarity, the Springfield outbreak, because the outrages of Monday and Monday night go below even outraged racial pride in sex inviolability. They are what The Telegraph and other journals that have particularly watched the developments of these migrations of negroes predicted from the start would result—the sounding of the guns in the economic clashes bound to occur as soon as negroes began to take white men's jobs away from them or hold jobs white men wanted. The racial phase of it is strongly aggravating and perhaps controllingly, but it is not the generic base of the problem or its manifestations; which are purely economic.

East St. Louis is a packing city. Packing house employes needs must be strong and in return they are well paid. It is work that negroes can do about as well as white men. The negro can and does work for less than the white man because his standard of living is more simple and in nearly all ordinary labor and toil he does the work as well. Under the old time hit and miss, free and easy labor conditions the negro would displace the white help because of his working more cheaply. He cannot do that in these days. Secure in its consciousness of racial superiority white labor arrogates to itself priority in the right to work, and draw the rewards of work. The negro is welcome in the North as long as there is plenty of work and to spare for both white and black, but the moment there develops an idle surplus of labor the negro must step out and shift somewhere else.

Evidently he didn't want to do that in East St. Louis and the employers were satisfied to let their negroes stay on while white men were idle, with the result that the white labor took matters into its own hands and set in to solve the labor problem by driving the negro out with arson, rapine, murder and outrage to hasten his going. In so doing these white men were obeying a natural, primitive instinct, the instinct that binds all the races of the earth together in defensive and offensive-defensive entities, yellow, white and black, each to its land and its customs and unions of community interest.

The negroes are coming back South, eventually. Those who do not come of their own accord in time will be driven out just as the whites of East St. Louis are driving them by the thousands across the great bridge into Missouri, which is a Southern State and where the negro is safe and protected. Chicago, Boston, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland—they'll have their own editions of the grim drama East St. Louis has just enacted, just as soon as the abnormal labor market eases off and negroes are found in jobs that white men want. White workmen won't stand on ceremony the moment they see the light of hunger in their children's eyes, the fire of rebellion in the glances of their women while negroes under fair pay are doing work they can do and want to do. They will act all over the land as they have acted in East St. Louis and all the sheriffs and special policemen and appeals to law and order that our entire peace-keeping structure can produce won't stop them solving it for themselves.

The negro is a worthy and useful workman who is getting to be more useful with each generation. He is needed and under the right conditions he can enjoy, what is vouchsafed to no other class of labor on the continent, an absolute monopoly of a definite labor market. Under competitive labor conditions he cannot survive, he can and will only suffer and be abused and finally reduced to more criminality and viciousness, because under competitive conditions his race marks him apart as the element to be given the short end of the stick, to be crushed and thrown out of the way at no matter what price in outrage, violence and illegal force.

The negro gets along in the South because instead of being an economic competitor he is an economic necessity and his race becomes thus an asset instead of a liability to him. In the North

ST. PAUL DAILY DISPATCH
SEP 6 1917

A STUDY IN GOATS.

For a long time our reactionary public officials were wedded to a set of interests which included the manufacturers and distributors of liquor. They could ever be depended upon either to vote for liquor or not to vote at all when that were possible. Times have changed. A dry wave has swept the country, and big business has awakened to the financial losses it suffers in the too free toleration of liquor. There has been a split in the old line, and now the industrial and financial barons of the country are not afraid to stand on the platform with Billy Sunday and damn the liquor curse.

Nor are senators who are traditionally tied up to the financial powers afraid to stand up before their colleagues and make liquor the goat in the analysis of evils which lie far deeper. When Senator Thomas brought up the race riots of East St. Louis as an indication of social unrest, he was promptly challenged by one of the spokesmen of reaction, Senator Sherman of Illinois. "Can they (the negroes) fight for the flag and give their whole devotion to the cause," asked Senator Thomas, "if their friends and relatives can at any time be subject to murder?"

To which Senator Sherman's only reply was that East St. Louis is "the worst saloon town in America," that the mayor is supine and the police inadequate, and that the recent disorders were due entirely to the saloons. The saloon is a convenient goat for those who wish to defend interests not so unpopular with the self-righteous of our land. But stay! Is not even a goat worth preserving? What will Senator Sherman do for a Billy when the saloon has been abolished?

For Race Riot Inquiry

N Y C TRIBUNE
SEPTEMBER 11, 1917

House Committee Favors East St. Louis Investigation

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10.—Favorable reports on the resolution calling for a Federal investigation of the East St. Louis race riots was ordered to-day by the Rules Committee of the House. The House is expected to act on it some time this week.

A committee of five Representatives is supposed to determine whether the riots interfered with interstate commerce. The committee would also be instructed to determine whether this interference was caused by the neglect of Illinois officials to enforce the law. In addition, the committee would be instructed to ascertain how much damage was done to companies working on government war contracts.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

he will, except under abnormal conditions, in such numbers as now infest the leading communities be ever a disturbing and warred against economic maladjuster of the labor balance, an economic disturbance, his race his greatest and the insurmountable liability to himself.

East St. Louis has marked up a bad and distressing episode, but it is not even a marker to what is to follow in those other cities to which the great migrations from the South have been flowing for the last year. When their time comes they'll rock the foundations of the republic and even our lawmakers will be forced to take cognizance of the fact that there is a racial problem in America, a problem that will only be aggravated by a policy of refusing to recognize what a good many people believe shouldn't be, and will only be solved when assailed with full knowledge and recognition that it must be worked out on separate, definite, existing racial lines.

[illegible]
JULY 9, 1917

NO TOLERANCE FOR CRIME.

It is trite and stale to say of Colonel Roosevelt that he is a red-blooded fighting man. Jess Willard is a pigmy beside him. Even if, at their prime, John L. Sullivan and Jim Corbett and Bob Fitzsimmons and Big Jeff could have been rolled into one the composite production would have fallen sadly shy of measuring up to The Colonel's belliccosity. It would be necessary to go back to the days of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane and Attila, the Hun, or to the bersaekerraging persons of Northern mythology, to find his equal. And it is easy to think that sueh an expedition, scouring the long lanes of history, might return empty handed. Anyhow, so far as our own land and generation are concerned, The Colonel stands grand and peculiar, though never gloomy—his blood runs too hot for that—in a class by himself.

Since The Colonel is forever fighting, and fighting hard, and in all manner of causes, he is constantly ranging large masses of people with him and against him. To no one, perhaps, has the felicity been given always to be able to fight on The Colonel's side, and to none the parlous fortune of being always opposed to him. There is none but finds himself, more than occasionally, enthusiastically on The Colonel's side and aching for the chance to slap him on the back and wish more strength to his arm.

Time and again the World-Herald's judgment and prejudice have been affronted by Colonel Roosevelt's actions. But we find ourselves heartily in accord with him in the rebuke he administered so publicly and emphatically to Samuel Gompers who had sought, in a half-hearted fashion, to excuse the East St. Louis outrage on the ground that it had resulted naturally from an attempt to use the Negroes to "break the back of labor."

Colonel Roosevelt was wholly right in saying this:

"There should be no apology for the infamous brutalities committed on the colored people of East St. Louis. Justice is not a mere phrase. It has to be translated into action. How can we praise Russia for doing justice to all people when we must apologize for doing murder to the helpless? In the past we have listened to the same excuse from those in authority in old Russia for the fearful pogroms on the Jews. I will do anything for the laboringman except that which is wrong and that I won't do for him or for anyone else. I care not a snap of my finger for a telegram from the head of the labor unions of Illinois. Let there be the fullest investigation into these murders."

Mr. Gompers is hardly a new hand at the unlovely job of excusing crime. Men still remember the defense he attempted to make in behalf of the McNamara murderers in Los Angeles because, forsooth, he looked upon them as fighting labor's battles. It is a dangerous and reprehensible attitude of mind and a rank poison to inject into the veins of democracy.

All right-thinking men sympathize with labor in its honorable ambition by legitimate means to improve its condition, and to secure for itself a just and equitable share of the products of its own toil. And all well-informed men know that now as always labor has injustice and wrong to contend with, that it is preyed upon by greed and privilege. All justice-loving men recognize the full right of those who have only their muscle and brawn to sell to organize and exert themselves, industrially and politically, within the limits of law and order, to secure equity. But when the limits of law and order are broken when murder, arson and destruction are turned loose upon society, just there sympathy is ended and support must be withdrawn.

[illegible] Have The Faith

[illegible] SOCIALIST
MAY 14, 1917

By VICTOR A. OLANDER.

Secretary-Treasurer, Illinois Federation of Labor.

Press dispatches say Negro Equal Rights League of Boston charges trade unionists with responsibility for East St. Louis riots. Any such charge is viciously untrue. It was the East St. Louis central body, including locals having negroes in membership, that requested the investigation of disorders by State Council of Defense in May. That investigation showed that southern negroes had been misled by false advertisements and unscrupulous employment agents to come to East St. Louis in such numbers that they could not secure either work nor decent living quarters. The effect was to make acute the exploitation of labor, both negro and white, and to seriously disarrange social as well as economic conditions, and to arouse bitterness on all sides. The Chamber of Commerce was urged by one of its own officers, weeks ago, to use its influence against the campaign of misrepresentation and false promises responsible for the influx, but the chamber took no action. It is shocking to me that such organizations as the alleged Negro Equal Rights league have little or nothing to say about the fraud practiced against negroes by unscrupulous employing interests, that such associations remain discreetly silent while southern negroes were cheated into leaving their homes for northern cities and towns already overcrowded, exhibit no concern regarding the miserable living and working conditions which many of the negroes are forced to endure under such circumstances, and offer no protest against the vicious exploitation of labor thru which blacks and whites suffer alike. The Illinois trade union movement is striving to organize the workers of both races, many of our local unions have negro members, some exclusively, and negro delegates attend our conventions and central bodies, but I have not learned of a single instance here where such associations as the Negro Equal Rights league have aided or encouraged negro workers to join together for the purpose of self-help in trade unions, to prevent exploitation, to secure recognition of economic rights, to obtain improvements in working conditions, shorter hours or better wages. On behalf of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and its entire membership of both races, I protest against the rank injustice of the charge alleged to have been made by the league, and I characterize that charge as unqualifiedly false and untrue.

CHARLESTON S C EVE POST
JULY 5, 1917

THE NEGRO IN THE NORTH

Writing to The New York World under date of July 1, to call attention to a gratifying reduction during the past six months of the lynching record of the country, Robert R. Moton, successor to Booker Washington as principal of Tuskegee Institute, says:

I gather from reading many newspapers and from other sources that in spite of the notable decrease in the number of victims of mob violence for the six months, the horrors connected with the recent burning at the stake near Memphis have increased among negroes the fear of lynchings and accelerated their migration to the North.

This communication appeared in the same issue of The World as that in which reports of the East St. Louis mob massacre of negroes were given. Doubtless some of the poor blacks who lost their lives in that orgy of lawlessness had moved from the South, accelerated by fear of lynching. It is to be hoped for the sake of those who escaped and have left the scene of the disorders that there will be no farther north movement. Warnings have been given of the possibility of similar disturbances occuring in Chicago. The refugees from East St. Louis had better turn their steps southward, where, at least, they can get work. The East St. Louis outbreak was due directly to the dissatisfaction of white workmen that the negroes should have employment, and they undertook to drive the colored people from the city. That is an attitude which seems to be growing in the North, and, as they seem unable or unwilling in the big cities to protect the negro against mob violence when it is a question of nis getting a job, he is likely to return to the South as being, after all, the best place for him.

GRAND RAPIDS MICH HERALD
JULY 6, 1917

THE RACE RIOTS

East St. Louis, as an industrial community, resembles somewhat several of the centers which cluster about Chicago and which are interesting much more for their products than for their own advancement.

Builded wholly upon labor, centering in the industrial plants which have grown up on the east bank of the Mississippi river at St. Louis to avoid heavy bridge tolls in eastern shipments, the community has always lacked many of the restraining influences that might be expected in a more generalized center.

The bitterness which has been growing up there over the importation of negro labor and which burst with such appalling fury this week, was unrestrained from the outset or only half-heartedly suppressed. Fed by this half-official connivance, it seized hold upon every untutored race prejudice and grew to an inevitable climax.

Political and criminal charges are now plentiful in Illinois over the riot tragedy, but common sense will see the real fault in the lack of early and vigorous repressive measures which might have led to industrial equity, while handling decisively all law violators.

By the time the national guardsmen, themselves Illinois citizens and, so far as the uprising in their state was concerned, fundamentally civilians, were called, the time for regular army tactics had been reached. It is difficult to blame the guardsmen for the things that ensued, just as it is difficult to escape the conclusion that East St. Louis affairs were very badly managed in the days leading up to the rioting.

ASHAMED

City Council Passes Resolutions Deploring the East St. Louis Mob Violence

[illegible] TRIBUNE
JULY 7, 1917

LOUIS B. ANDERSON, Negro alderman from the "black belt," yesterday offered the following resolution in a meeting of the Chicago council. It was passed without a dissenting vote:

Whereas, The good name of the state of Illinois has been besmirched by the recent lawlessness and mob violence in the city of East St. Louis; and,

Whereas, The safety of our govment, the peace and happiness of its citizens depend upon the strict observance of the law by the people, and the rigid inforcement of the law by the properly constituted authorities, therefore be it

Resolved, That we deplore the actions of the mob, which resulted in the loss of many lives of innocent men, women, and children, the destruction of millions of dollars of property, and bringing disgrace upon the fair name of the state; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon all citizens of whatever race or creed to unflinchingly respect the law and accord to all men those rights guaranteed under the constitution and the laws of the land.

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 18, 1917

LAW AND ORDER FIRST.

Careful examination into the causes of race rioting in the Missouri lead belt and in East St. Louis clearly shows that whatever the proximate reasons may have been, economic and industrial conditions are at the bottom of it all.

In both cases apologists for the rioters have claimed justification on the grounds of self-defense. In East St. Louis they say the importation of unorganized negro laborers by big industrial concerns made conditions intolerable for established and organized labor. Substitute the words "unorganized foreign labor" for "unorganized negro labor" in the formula and the same excuse is advanced for the Flat River imbroglio.

Race prejudice is a contributive rather than a causative factor in such disturbances. Negro laborers and unorganized immigrants have lower standards of living than white American laborers have. They will work for less money, at longer hours and with fewer conveniences in houses and factories; they are more tractable and less likely to go on strike.

When two such hostile factions live in the same community the course of developments follows the logical train of discontent, suspicion, trifles exaggerated into grievances, animosity, threats, individual clashes, reprisals until there is an explosion, when instinctive racial antipathies flame forth and terrible crimes are committed.

It is not sufficient to lay the blame entirely upon the rapacity of employers or the greed of big business. Greed and rapacity are vital elements, of course, but the whole assemblage of human weaknesses is also involved.

Society's duty is clear. It must forever strive to find economic remedies for economic ills. But when either side, impatient of the progress of orderly redress, resorts to murder, arson or other forms of duress, it must be checked with an iron hand.

Illinois in the East St. Louis case and Missouri in the Flat River case must punish the offenders and re-establish law and order. There must be no paltering compromises. Deep as the grievances of any faction may be, it must be taught that the welfare of all society is paramount and that that welfare is endangered when the devils of the mob-spirit are turned loose upon the commonwealth.

NEWARK N J EVE STAR
JULY 6, 1917

Crime by Imitation.

IT remained for a Northern State to outdo the South in lynchings. In point of numbers murdered, in sheer brutality and viciousness, the South has no record that will compare with that made at East St. Louis. It is a blot that Illinois can never wipe from its tablets.

Yet if justice were to be done this East St. Louis crime would be placed at the doors of the South. It was in that section that mob law was developed into a code. It was there that men first were permitted to nourish the fiendish idea that lynching was a virtue, that hanging negroes without due process of law argued a superior sense of righteousness, that race hatred and race tyranny were cultivated as a duty in citizenship. Had there been many men of high courage in public office instead of many men of feeble character, lynching would have been crushed at its first appearance. Had the South had any sense of responsibility toward the negro, had it desired to improve him, had it done anything else except to exploit his labor and maintain him in squalor and ignorance, the crimes held to be peculiarly negro crimes would not have occurred, this migration into the North would not have started, lynchings would have been unheard of.

The South can taunt the North for eclipsing it in savagery. It is a shame we feel and suffer. Yet what the North has done has been simply to flatter by imitation. The crime of lynching is still the Southerner's crime. He devised it, developed it, gave it pridefully to the country as a sectional product. However hard our sin, there is satisfaction in knowing that we were incapable of creating it.

N Y C WORLD
JULY 9, 1917

ROOSEVELT AS A LYNCHER.

When, in the presence of the Russian commission at Carnegie Hall, Mr. Roosevelt denounced violence against negroes in East St. Louis, he forgot the time in 1906 when, as President of the United States, he lynched a battalion of the Twenty-fifth Regiment (colored) at Brownsville, Tex.

A riot had taken place in that town, in which a few soldiers participated. Because their fellows would not reveal their names he ordered the dishonorable discharge from the service of an entire battalion and undertook to disqualify every member of it for future employment by the United States. It took time to correct this usurpation, but in the end, partly by his own shame-faced confession of error and partly by act of Congress, the wrong was corrected.

In 1912, when Mr. Roosevelt was organizing a bolt against the Republican Party and was crazy for a third term, he undertook to lynch the whole colored population of the South. He wanted a Roosevelt party in that section but he did not want it to be a negro party, and in his well-remembered letter to Julian Harris of Atlanta he told his colored friends to stand back and let "the best white men of the South" speak for them.

This is the man who for a high and holy purpose found it necessary on Friday night, in the interest solely of truth and justice, to wash a lot of dirty American linen in the presence of Russian guests of the Nation. He may have deceived [illegible] but he did not fool the American negro.

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 3, 1917

THOSE WHO ARE GUILTY.

Once a mob is formed there are no limits to which it will not go, no excesses it will not perpetrate in its mad desire to satisfy its fury and blood lust. Its mind is no longer an average of the minds that compose it, but it is a juggernaut of cyclonic emotions. Let such a mob be driven by hate and savagery, and all the brute that crouches in the depths of man is brought to the surface to wreak devastation and ruin on all that opposes it. We have just been horrified by the reign of terror of such a mob in East St. Louis. And who is to blame?

Not really the members of such a mob, for they were in a state of moral intoxication, hypnotized by numbers and a spirit of hate beyond their control. The ones to blame are those who permitted or assisted the formation of that mob. The police who failed to disband the gathering crowds, the militiamen who did not disband hostile and excited groups, the men, whoever they were, who helped bring the overwrought individuals together. They are the ones that are guilty. There was plenty of warning of the gathering storm. For more than a month the situation has been growing tenser day by day. East St. Louis was actually under martial law when the terror broke. Who is responsible for the rioters being permitted to organize? That is the one question to be decided. The burden of proof is on the municipal authorities and the militia to show how the matter got beyond their control, why they were not able to prevent a national disgrace!

FT WAYNE IND SENTINEL
JULY 4, 1917

A contemporary observes with some force that what East St. Louis did to the negroes took place in the state that gave Lincoln to the nation. Just so. But we recall that a few years ago the white folks of Springfield, in the same state, "lynched a nigger" in the shadow of the monument that marks the Great Emancipator's resting-place.

KANSAS CITY MO STAR
JULY 21, 1917

A PROTEST FROM ST. LOUIS.

Following the riots in East St. Louis a member of the national guard killed a citizen. The coroner's jury found that the soldier was drunk. The soldier was off duty, but in uniform when he killed the citizen.

Whereupon the St. Louis Star demands that drinking liquors should be denied soldiers. "These are days," says the esteemed Star, "when efficiency is "the watchword. Only the efficient win "—the efficient man [illegible] "pany, the efficient army. An army be-"fuddled with drink is not efficient."

The United States government already has recognized the principle laid down by the St. Louis Star. It prohibits the sale of intoxicating liquors to soldiers in uniform. The soldier who killed the East St. Louis citizen was doubtless a member of the Illinois National Guard and subject to the laws of Illinois. The esteemed St. Louis Star understands, no doubt, why there is not such a law in Illinois. Can the Star imagine a law of that kind being passed in St. Louis, for instance?

The truth is that the booze which makes a soldier inefficient also makes a civilian inefficient, and once states like Illinois and cities like St. Louis recognize that fact it marks the twi-light for booze.

N Y C TIMES
JULY 6, 1917

A Distinction Not to be Forgotten.

An excellent example of a kind of comment easy to make, and too often made, upon the East St. Louis riots, is to be found in The Boston Journal. Here is an extract:

> Shall there be more race warfare? Shall the streets of cities in free America run with the blood of innocent people whose color offends the mob mind?

The East St. Louis riots were not race riots, but labor riots. They were not aimed at negroes, but at underbidding workmen who happened to be negroes. It was not their color which "offended the mob mind," but their appearance in large numbers in the labor market. If they had been contract laborers from Southern Europe, appearing in the same circumstances, the result might have been the same, for East St. Louis has an evil record in the matter of labor riots, and this was not her first offense. Negroes have lived in East St. Louis until now in such peace as is possible for anybody in that town. Once the mob spirit was loosed, it did not discriminate, nor ask its victims if they were new arrivals. The riots are comparable to those in California against the Chinese in the seventies. Though the Chinese were the victims, those were no race riots; they were a ruffianly protest against cheap labor.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

PROVIDENCE R I EVE NEWS
JULY 7. 1917

It was unfortunate that our Russian visitors should have witnessed the near row between Samuel Gompers and Colonel Roosevelt. That heated controversy only confirms, however, what the Evening News said the other day that the disgraceful affair at East St. Louis was due to industrial disturbance, a hatred of the colored man quite general in Illinois and bad municipal government. Colonel Roosevelt it must be remembered has in his day done about as much for organized labor as even Mr. Samuel Gompers.

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
JULY 4, 1917

An Indelible Disgrace

IT IS impossible to write in terms moderation of the shocking display savagery and of racial hatred which occurred at East St. Louis. It is secondary moment whether the disor were begun by the "whites" or "blacks." The sorry fact remains neither the authorities of Illinois nor Missouri's chief city were able to with an outbreak attended with atroc comparable only with those of which Germans were guilty in Belgium. a moment when the nation is engage a great war to sustain the principle democracy this exhibition of lack of control, of utter lawlessness, of incred barbarity, is a disgrace that is faste upon the entire country, even thoug single community is responsible for it

It is too early to ascertain the details or to appraise the cost of East St. Louis riots in human lives in property destroyed. But there is escape from the damning fact that hours an entire community was gi over to rapine and indiscrimin slaughter, the torch being applied to h dreds of buildings for no other reas than that they were the homes of negro There is no need to minimize the serio ness of the social problems created the sudden migrations of black labor fr the South into districts in which wh labor has hitherto predominated. But Louis and its environs cannot plead th the negro labor question is a novel o or that the issue was forced upon a co munity unprepared to meet it. The who nation will look to that city and to t authorities on the Illinois side of t river to see that justice is done. It w be impossible to wipe out the stain undo the wrongs that have been co mitted; but the hands of justice can least be kept clean and the majesty law reasserted.

HARRIS TELLS NEGROES TO STAY IN GEORGIA

Following a telegram which he received from the mayor of East St. Louis, the scene of Monday night's race riots, urging that negroes stay away from East St. Louis, Governor Nat E. Harris Tuesday issued a statement to the negroes of Georgia suggesting that they remain in Georgia, thereby "serving their own interests best and the interest of the commonwealth."

PASSAIC N J HERALD
JULY 9, 1917

THE NEGRO OM.

As the story of th ng in East St. Louis develop we find a condition which would discredit an invading army of barbarians. We have been shocked at Turkish atrocities, Bulgarian atrocities, Russian pogroms, German atrocities in Belgium and France. Well, here we have American atrocities without shadow of excuse, an American pogrom.

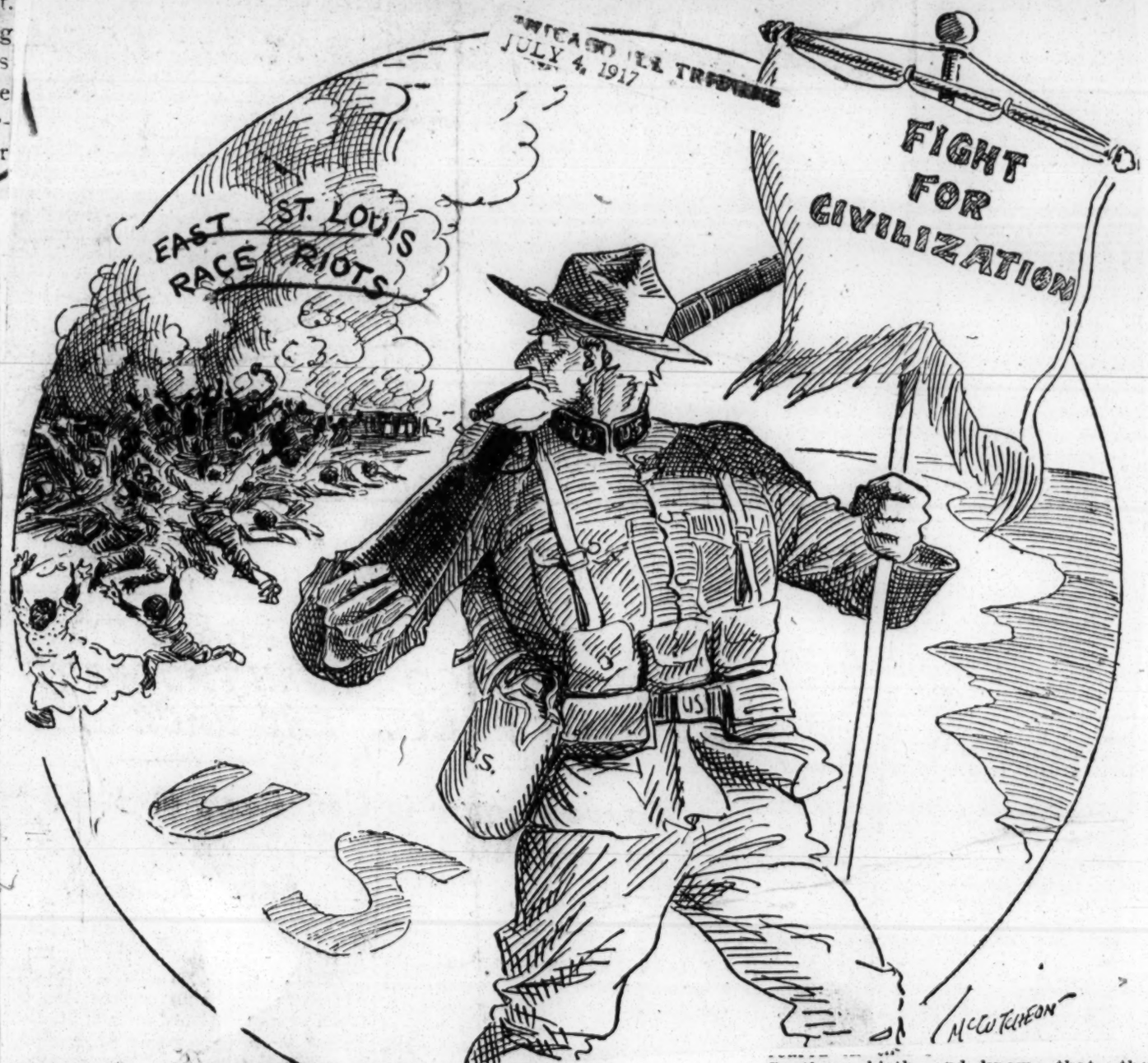
The worst of it is that it appears not to be a sudden convulsion of the those dark forces which still exist in the subconscious life of peoples. The riot was the culmination, the natural result of conditions deliberately created or permitted to exist for a considerable time. Vicious politics, corruption of the ballot, vice graft, weak police control, insolence, and law defiance, by blacks and whites, suspicion, hatred, and fear on both sides finally exploded in the disgraceful outbreak of the last few days.

The riot was a direct and inevitable result of unscrupulous political manipulation. It was made possible by a low order of political and social intelligence in the community. The decent people of East St. Louis were betrayed by the elements of political and business exploitation.

The insolence and violence encouraged in a low class of negroes by politicians who used them for their own purposes has now been repaid many fold by the cruelty and violence of low class whites. The murder of harmless old men, the beating of innocent women and girls, the burning of houses and goods make a record which covers East St. Louis with dishonor and Illinois with shame.

AN AWKWARD INTERRUPTION FOR INDEPENDENCE DAY

[Copyright: 1917: By John T. McCutcheon.]



EAST ST. LOUISAN ACCUSED OF MURDER IN RACE RIOT

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
AUGUST 4, 1917

J. D. Dickerson Denies Any Connection With Massacre; Negro Doctor Arrested.

J. D. Dickerson, 24 years old, a salesman, 300 North Fifth street, East St. Louis, was arrested yesterday afternoon on a mittimum issued by a Coroner's jury, charging him with murder, in connection with the race massacre, July 2. Dickerson denied any connection with the rioting.

Dr. I. H. King, 32 years old, a negro physician, formerly assistant county physician, was arrested yesterday on evidence heard by the Coroner's jury, but not on a charge of murder. He is suspected of being implicated in the shooting of a white man near Fifteenth street and Bond avenue. He denied the charge.

ST LOUIS MO TIMES
JULY 13, 1917

Doesn't Agree With Dr. Lee.

To the Editor.

ST. LOUIS, July 10.—Sir: In Monday's issue of your paper I was amazed to see a statement from Rev. Dr. James W. Lee to the effect that the East St. Louis trouble was due to "politics without conscience." He is also quoted as saying the blacks were "guilty of no offense." I would like to ask Rev. Dr. Lee what he thinks would have been the consequence had a black mob collected on Grand avenue, this city, and let us suppose Dr. Lee or some other good citizen had called for police protection, as was the case in East St. Louis, and when the officers responded and were fired upon by the blacks and four of them were killed? I dare say the result would have been the same, probably worse.

Rev. Dr. Lee says he was born and reared in the South. I am also of Southern birth, and know that the Southern negro is segregated and not allowed to mix and mingle with the white race as they are here.

I was a resident of East St. Louis for 22 years. My two sons were born and reared in that city, and I am proud of them, for they are true to their friends, to their country and to their God. I am a Christian, a member of the Methodist Church.

The trouble in East St. Louis was due to capital vs. labor. The parties who induced the negroes to come to that city in large numbers are the ones to blame, and should be punished.

I will say to the good people of East St. Louis, if you sit calmly by and allow such insults to be flaunted in your faces, shame on you. I believe that white mob was composed of people from all walks of life. As always happens in cases of excitement of any kind, anyone who happened to be in that vicinity at the time. MRS. M.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots—1917

MOBS AGAIN START BURNING OUT EAST ST. LOUIS NEGROES

Flames Rapidly Getting Beyond Control

ONLY BRIEF LULL IN RACE RIOTS

Fifteen Hundred Troops Fail to Maintain Order

N. Y. C. POST
JULY 3, 1917

AT LEAST THIRTY KNOWN DEAD.

But Search for Bodies Had Barely Begun When Disorders Broke Out Afresh — Negroes Fleeing by the Hundreds from the City—Estimates of Total Number Killed in 24 Hours of Rioting Run as High as 250.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 3.—Fires which were started by rioters in three negro quarters at noon to-day were fanned by a high wind and are rapidly getting beyond control. Troops and police have hurried to the scene, where rioters also are assembled. The rioting, which had been in progress about twenty-four hours, was quelled temporarily about midnight, and the city became quiet for a few hours, but this afternoon mobs composed of white men renewed their attacks upon the negroes. Fifteen hundred troops and the police apparently are powerless to cope with the rioters.

Although surface indications were that the orgy of butchery and incendiarism which cost many lives here last night and laid whole blocks in ruins, had spent its force, Adjutant-General Frank S. Dickson, of Illinois, asserted earlier in the day that he feared there might be more trouble to-night and discussed with Mayor Mollman, the advisability of calling for more troops.

The six companies of guardsmen, who were on the ground last night, the Adjutant-General explained, were numerically inadequate to patrol the wide territory covered by the riots. He feared that even the additional companies, which arrived later, bringing the total number of guardsmen here to 1,500, would not be enough to establish authority.

Estimates of the number of dead ran as high as two hundred and fifty. At 9:30 o'clock this morning, twenty-four bodies had been recovered, three of them being those of white men. Seventy-four wounded negroes were found. About half a dozen men were killed in the first of the rioting yesterday.

Many bodies are supposed to be under the acres of ashes and smouldering debris where fires consumed scores of negro homes last night.

The city was quiet this morning. Saloons were still closed. Sleepy-eyed guardsmen, with marks of fire-fighting still on their khaki, patrolled the streets and guarded bridges and saloon doors.

Negroes driven from their homes huddled here and there, seemingly anxious to keep out of sight. Five hundred of them, men, women and children, spent the night at the city jail.

REPORT OF MOB COMING FROM MISSOURI.

Chief of Police Ransom Payne, hearing that a crowd of men from the Missouri side of the river were coming over, each to "get a nigger," appealed to Chief of Police Young, of St. Louis, Mo., to close the bridges. These were closed last night, but were reopened again this morning. A few fires burst forth anew in wrecked buildings, keeping the firemen busy.

Negroes by the score were seen to-day walking out of town in the fear of a repetition of the horrors of the race rioting.

One group was attacked by whites in a switch yard. Militiamen fired their rifles in the air and dispersed the whites. No attempt was made to keep the blacks from leaving the city.

National Guardsmen preserved order during the afternoon, save for a few minor outbreaks.

FIRST FIRES BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL.

East St. Louis

The fires which were set by the mobs during the night in five different parts of the city where negroes lived, besides burning over three hundred negro cottages destroyed more than one hundred loaded freight cars belonging to the Southern Railway, valued at half a million dollars. The total fire loss is put at $800,000.

The Broadway Theatre valued at more than $100,000, also was burned. Although the fires burned for several hours they were brought under control before daylight.

Eleven companies of the Illinois National Guard, numbering 1,500 men, patrolled the streets to-day with orders to prevent any loitering at corners and any assembly of people on the streets. Adjutant-Gen. Frank Dickson, who arrived late last night, said that troops would be so disposed throughout the city as to prevent repetition of last night's disorders. General Dickson said that military rule had not been established, and probably would not be. Mayor Mollman, of East St. Louis, the adjutant-general said, asked for a declaration of military rule, and this fact gave rise to the statement that it actually had been proclaimed. He said that the transfer of military cases to civil courts involved so many intricacies that he was reluctant to ask the Governor to proclaim martial law.

TWO NEGROES HANGED.

Only one white man was killed in last night's rioting, and he was shot by a negro sniper. Two negroes were hanged during the night by mobs and four were killed by snipers.

The work of searching the ruins for bodies began before daylight, and soon many bodies had been taken to various undertaking establishments.

Hundreds of negroes, many of them women carrying babies, crossed over into St. Louis, Mo., last night. At the same time thousands of curiosity seekers from the Missouri side crossed the bridges into East St. Louis, making it more difficult for the police and guardsmen to restore order.

Hundreds of negroes are employed in the big mills at Granite City, and many of them live in East St. Louis. Some of the mills, desiring to save their men from attack, would not allow the negroes to leave for home at the usual hour.

Early to-day the guardsmen, under command of Adjutant-Gen. Rickson rounded up more than 500 rioters and brought them to the city jail.

TROOPS ORDERED NOT TO SHOOT.

The troops who were on duty during the most serious disturbances, being under civil authority, were ordered not to shoot. This resulted in a number of rifles being taken forcibly from the soldiers. In explanation of the failure of the troops to fire on the mobs, Gen. Dickson said the purposes for which the troops had been sent had been gained without firing, and that wholesale bloodshed would have been the result of any firing on the part of the troops.

Squads of soldiers sent out to bring in firearms found in possession of any whites or negroes, seized dozens of revolvers, rifles, and shotguns. One youth found with a meat cleaver concealed under his coat, said he would have used it to kill a negro had an opportunity been offered.

One of the results of the fires was to plunge parts of the city in darkness and surgeons at St. Mary's Hospital and the emergency operating room, opened in the City Hall, were forced to do their work while policemen held flashlights or candles over the tables.

In the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad yards a negro woman leading a small child was attacked by white women who were following a mob. The negro woman seized the child in her arms and ran into a cottage which the white women bombarded with stones and chunks of coal. The woman escaped without serious injury.

Col. S. O. Tripp, of the Illinois Guard, was the chief figure in a sensational rescue of an aged negro. The black man, with a rope around his neck, was being dragged through a street by more than a hundred men. An automobile bearing Col. Tripp and City Attorney Fekete appeared as the mob was about to hang the negro to a pole. Col. Tripp left his car and forced his way through the mob, which allowed him to take charge of the black man without molestation.

Later the City Attorney rescued a negro at whom a mob was shooting. He placed the negro in his car, and, after a ten-minute parley with the mob, was allowed to depart.

With the exception of isolated encounters between whites and negroes at widely separated points, the rioting virtually ceased about midnight.

All saloons have been closed indefinitely by the Mayor.

RED CROSS RELIEF WORK.

Dr. Thomas L. Barnidge, of Kansas City, representative of the Red Cross, arrived to-day to direct relief work among negroes whose homes have been burned. He has arranged quarters for several hundred negroes, but has no provisions with which to feed them. A large automobile truck toured the city under his direction, removing wounded negroes to hospitals.

BRUTAL INCIDENT RELATED.

Bits of clothing taken from dead negroes were shown to-day by souvenir hunters. One brutal incident of the night was related to-day. On Fourth Street, near Broadway, three men saw a negro, apparently dead, lying in a gutter. One flashed a pocket light in his face and saw that he still breathed.

"Well, what do you know about that," he exclaimed, "not dead yet."

He and one of his companions then drew their pistols and fired a bullet into the negro's head.

Policemen to-day tried to prevent the taking of photographs of fire ruins and black bodies still lying in the streets.

"It's the Chief's orders," said one patrolman. "East St. Louis doesn't want that kind of advertising."

CAUSES UNDERLYING THE RIOTS.

The causes underlying the disturbances have to do with the importation of negro laborers from the South. In East St. Louis, with a population of about 84,000, there already was a large negro colony, and the war influx increased the proportion to an extent which caused much comment. Unrest among the whites smouldered, and even flared up in May of this year when in a riot three negroes were shot and wounded and a number beaten.

An incident of the night indicated the temper of the mobs. One crowd went about the streets shouting against the Mayor. "Let's get Mollman," they cried out. "He's the man that brought 'em in."

The cry was raised because of a false rumor that Mayor Mollman went South and advertised that negro labor would be well paid in East St. Louis. As a matter of fact, the Mayor visited New Orleans and conferred with railroad heads and others to discourage the negroes from coming.

YOUNG NEGRO WOMAN ATTACKED.

Another of the innumerable brutal incidents of the night was the attack on a young negro woman. White men and women were among the assailants.

"Let the women have her," was the cry among the men, and white women began tearing the garments from their victim. The negress's cry, "Please, please, I ain't done nothin'," was stopped by a blow in the mouth with a club which a woman swung like a baseball bat. Another white man seized the victim's hands and the blow was repeated. Fingers tore at her hair and her waist was stripped from her.

"Now let's see how fast she can run," suggested by a bystander, as the woman broke loose. The white women were loath to leave her alone, but after following her with their blows for a short distance, they stopped and she ran crying down the street.

The white women next tried to get at an old negro woman who was guarded by three militiamen. One of them wrestled with the soldier for his rifle and others succeeded in getting in a few blows upon the black woman.

NO HINT OF TROUBLE IN ST. LOUIS.

ST. LOUIS, July 3.—Negroes in this city

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

o-day went about their usual occupa- ons unconcerned, despite the reign of error which their fellows experienced in ast St. Louis, Ill., last night. There has no hint of race trouble here.

The St. Louis Argus

LAWYER WARNS CHICAGO NEGROES TO ARM SELVES

FORMER PROSECUTOR FERDINAND L. BARNETT, SEES DANGER OF RIOTS IN WINDY CITY. CONDEMNS GOV. LOWDEN AND OTHER PUBLIC OFFICIALS FOR RIOTS DUE TO "LAXNESS OF DUTY."

7-16-17

Special to the Argus:—

Chicago, Ill., July 5.—The following is an extract of an article which appeared in the Chicago Daily Tribune, issue July 4.

"Arm yourselves now with guns and pistols," said Ferdinand L. Barnett, a former assistant state's attorney, in speaking to 100 Negro men at a mass meeting held last night to protest against the riots and bloodshed in East St. Louis. The meeting took place at 3005 South State Street.

"Don't buy an arsenal," continued Barnett, "but get enough guns to protect yourselves. You may be victims in Chicago within a fortnight of such murders and outrages as have taken place in East St. Louis. And when trouble starts let us not hesitate to call upon our Negro militiamen to defend us."

Condemn State Officials

Barnett and A. H. Roberts, another speaker, sponsored resolutions condemning Gov. Lowden and other public officials' "laxness of duty" because the riots took place, and demanding punishment of the participants in the riots.

"The fact that the governor let this mob run its course is forever a black spot on the executive record of the state," said Mr. Barnett. "The officer who told the militia not to shoot should be court martialed and branded a traitor and murdered. I don't know who is to blame, but a mob is a mob, and ought to be dispersed or killed.

"We are going to rectify this in some way. The 10,000,000 of our race will not stand for this massacre.

"Behind an army go the guerrillas—looters, cowards and thieves. Behind this riot is the public defense council, whose culminations are written without consulting a single Negro. They breathe the same spirit as the mob of East St. Louis did.

Hold On To Your Guns

"Get guns and put them in your homes. Protect yourselves. And let no black man permit a policeman to come in and get those guns."

Roberts told his audience that he hoped "God would demand 100,000 white lives in the war for each Negro slaughtered in East St. Louis."

"I love my race better than my country," he shouted. "This country, under Woodrow Wilson is asking us to carry the flag of democracy to Europe. God forbid that we take across the Atlantic any of the democracy of East St. Louis."

Tells Negroes to Organize

L. W. Washington, another speaker, told the Negroes to organize.

"Tell the governor that every Negro in Chicago and Illinois is behind these resolutions," he said, "and if we don't get justice from him, then send them to the President of the nation."

John Douglasson told the audience to prepare for similar riots in Chicago.

The applause was loud while the speeches were being made. A plea was made for contributions to pay traveling expenses of Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett to Springfield to present the resolutions to Gov. Lowden.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR MURDER.

The Planet 7/21/17

We have often asserted that the colored people of the Southland would sooner or later find their rights to life, liberty and property safe-guarded and defended by southern white people who had always been classed to be their bitterest enemies. We see or think we see a ray of light, so to speak intimating that a realization of this prediction is at hand. The Jacksonville, Fla., Times-Union, in its issue of the 9th inst., says:

Of course, the presence of a bull in a china shop would be advertised when the same bull in a pasture could crop the succulent grasses unmolested; a bull that desired advertisement would, therefore, rush out of the pasture into the shop. Probably it was the same reason that when Col. Roosevelt was asked to speak at a meeting called to welcome the representative of the latest republic, he should find it necessary to accuse organized labor of wholesale murder to put his audience in good humor with the world. No proof was shown and no reason given for pitching such a bombshell into a gathering of friends; Roosevelt did it, and the act needs no explanation.

A proverb easily appreciated in Florida declares: "If you give a calf rope he will hang himself." Roosevelt offered the rope, and Gompers made a calf of himself without delay! For, rising to deny an imputation which had nothing for support but the word of Roosevelt, the president of the American Federation of Labor provided the proof needed by his adversary when he read a telegram from the president of the Federation of Labor of Illinois asserting that employers who enticed Negroes from the South to break the back of labor in the North and West were really responsible for wholesale murders in East St Louis in the state of Illinois!

No need for more words Roosevelt drew his bow at a venture, and the flying arrrow pierced the armor of organized labor, because Gompers opened the joints of his harness; if organized labor did not massacre and burn in East St. Louis, the world has heard the confesssion of moral responsibility, and this evidence is more vital than would be the legal proof that a number of laborers in a moment of excitement had become a murderous mob. The president of the national federation and the president of a state organization have now made themselves responsible for the opinion that if an employer hires laborers in the South to do work in Illinois, then that employer is responsible when organized labor shoots, burns and hangs such laborers, kills their women and children and burn their houses. If this does not constitute a serious charge against federated labor and call for its outlawry under the laws, then the prosecutions of trusts are mere acts of tyranny.

The situation could not be more admirably stated by this master mind in the editorial office of the Times-Union.He went further and he said much more. Here it is:

But the published facts in the case justify other charges. For some days agitation and threats predicted the coming of disorder but no steps were taken to protect order and decency; the lives and property of American citizens were loudly threatened, and nothing was done by way of rebuke to the agitators nor toward the protection of a city threatened with murder and arson

When Cleveland was president of the United States and Altgeld was governor of Illinois, another city of the same state underlay like threats. Then as now, the governor of the state took no steps to protect the interests of the public, and the president of the United States sent troops to Chicago against the excited protests of the governor of the state. It has been said that it was merely a pretext to assert that federal property was endangered; it may be that President Cleveland was wrong and President Wilson is right, but can we say a risk may not be taken when life is at stake at home by a president who risks so much to defend Belgium and France across the seas? Are German sympathizers to be punished, even if a proclamation of martial law be necessary, while organized labor may slay at will?

This question will ring and reverberate from one section of this country to the other. Colored people have always been averse to striking and to causing trouble by labor disputes. They have stood by their white employing friends in this section of the country, risking life and limb in an effort to carry out their promises to the white men, who pledged to stand by them. The firemen's strike on southern railroads has been settled only when the black, loyal employees had been retained in the service. Now, the Times-Union wants to know why federal aid cannot be invoked to protect these humble people from a sunny clime. It affords a situation fraught with future hope for both the "brother in black and the "brother in white."

The conclusion is as follows:

The Times-Union has consistently and faithfully denounced and condemned disorder and mob-law in the South. But in the South enmity is always excited against a supposed criminal; the Southern mob seeks to punish guilt. In other sections enmity is aroused not against guilt, supposed or assumed, but against the Negro race; the crime alleged is that of seeking to earn an honest living by honest work. According to the plea urged by Mr. Gompers, the Negro must not venture to earn wages desired or refused by organized labor; he must not go from the South to seek work in other sections.

President Gompers says he knows Roosevelt, who is only a bluffer; let us agree with him. Now if Col Roosevelt be more than a seeker after easy notoriety, let him go further in this matter, and we will go with him heart and soul. Let him lead public opinion to show that Gompers is worse than a bluffer in that he has ventured too far.

We feel like exclaiming, "Praise God from Whom all blessings flow." When a southern newspaper takes this high ground and champions the cause of the colored people while at the same time explaining the difference in the exercise of lawlessness against this race in the South and the kind visited upon this same race in the North, it is an omen that the leaven is working and that a realization of our hope, the unification complete in every detail of the better class of white people and the better class of colored people from the Mason and Dixon Line to the Gulf of Mexico and the boundaries of the Southern Republic. is at hand.

JULY 4, 1917

Anarchy in East St. Louis.

America, too, has its backward, ignorant people who have not learned the simple lesson of respect for law and order. East St. Louis, Ill., which on other occasions has shown the same disposition to give itself over to insane riot, has broken into anarchy that has brought death to hundreds and much destruction of property Great Russia has gone thru one of the mightiest revolutionary upheavals of history, and, while we feared lest anarchy should break loose upon her and destroy liberty, she has come back with a law and order that has surprized the world.

Yet here in our midst is a city that is not able to control its people. In mad race prejudice a white man fires at a black, misses and hits another white, and when the police arrest him a mob comes to his rescue. Soldiers, presumably their own local men in uniforms, sent to quell the riot, are ordered not to shoot, and tamely allow the mob to take away their rifles.

Russia is made of better stuff. When three regiments under an anarchistic leader refused to obey orders, their comrades marched upon them, opened fire and took them prisoners. We are supposed to be the progressive republic that is a fair example for this new democracy, but St. Louis, Mo. can learn of Russia how to cope with the forces of anarchy when they break loose or threaten to break loose upon her.

N Y CITY RECORD

JULY 9, 1917

EMPLOYERS LOSE NEGRO WORKERS FOLLOWING RACE RIOTS

St. Louis, Mo., July 6.—Business men here complain that the race riots in East St. Louis, Ill., have interfered seriously with railroad transportation, as the freight terminals of many of the roads are in that city, and there is a dearth of labor.

Officials of large corporations in East St. Louis met today to determine how to induce negroes who left that city to return to work. They said they needed the negroes if the output of the factories was to continue without curtailment. Labor agents from other cities, it was said, are working among the refugees in St. Louis, Mo., to induce them to go elsewhere.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

Mr. President, Why Not Make America Safe for Democracy?

MOLLMAN AND HIS SECRETARY ARE INDICTED

East St. Louis Mayor Charged with Malfeasance and Maurice Ahearn Accused of Conspiracy in Race War.

REPORT OF JURORS URGES RESIGNATION

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
SEPTEMBER 9, 1917

Executive Refused to Ask Sheriff's Help, Aide Prevented Movie Men from Obtaining Evidence, Bills Say

Mayor Fred W. Mollman of East St. Louis and his secretary, Maurice Ahearn, yesterday were indicted by the St. Clair County grand jury at Belleville on charges growing out of the investigations of the race riots at East St. Louis May 28 to July 2, in which more than fifty persons were killed, several hundred were beaten and 245 buildings valued at more than $300,000 burned.

Mollman is charged with malfeasance in office, and it is recommended that his resignation would be the "greatest good he can do his city."

Ahearn is referred to in the grand jury's report as being a conspirator to the rioting, in that "he ordered the police force of East St. Louis and the militia to destroy the cameras of persons attempting to take photographs of the rioting—thus destroying the evidence which would have been so valuable to the grand jury in ascertaining more of the real offenders.

"No man gave greater aid to the rioters, and assured them more safety from prosecution, than did Maurice Ahearn when he ordered that the photographers be denied their free rights to take pictures of the scenes of the rioting, and ordered that their cameras be destroyed."

Brundage Conducted Inquiry.

The grand jury which investigated the riots was under the direction of Attorney General Edward J. Brundage of Illinois, with his assistant, W. C. Middlekauf of Freeport, actively in charge. A score of operatives and criminal lawyers, expert in the detection of crime, were constantly at work, some of them being on the scene even before the rioting was quelled July 2.

The specific charge against Mollman is that he failed to perform his duties as mayor in that he did not direct the militia which was sent to East St. Louis to disperse the rioters, and that he failed to call on the sheriff for aid in suppressing the rioters, and further that he did not call on the sheriff to deputize many persons who volunteered their services in dispersing those engaged in the riots.

The grand jury, in its final report, returned seven indictments against thirty-nine persons, and called Judge Crow's attention to the fact that since it has been empaneled, July 9, it had been in session thirty-two days, examined 649 witnesses and returned 158 true bills and 17 not true bills.

Judge Crow thanked the jury for its steadfast work in investigating the riots and the results it had obtained. He expressed a hope that the petit juries, which will try the indicted men, would be faithful to their duty.

Trials Start October 1.

Middlekauf said trials of the indicted men would begin October 1, and be pressed in an endeavor to have them cleared from the docket by January 1. All thetrials will be in St. Clair County, it was said, unless the defendants asked for changes of venue.

"If it is possible to get a grand jury that will indict," Middlekauf said, "it will be possible to get petit juries that will convict."

The penalty for malfeasance in office with which Mollman is charged, is a fine of from $1 to $1000, and upon conviction the incumbent is automatically ousted from office.

The report in recommending the resignation of Mollman says: "The law-abiding citizens and great industries and the respectable laboring men of East St. Louis should unite and demand the resignation of the mayor as the greatest good he can do his city."

East St. Louisans who are conversant with the city's political affairs said this recommendation evidently was an attempt to remove from city politics certain of the mayor's political advisers.

Mollman Out of Town.

Following the riots a committee of 100, composed of business and professional men of East St. Louis, was formed in an effort to bring order out of the muddled governmental affairs of the city. The Board of Fire and Police Commissioners resigned and Dr. J. F. Reid, Fred Giessing, a merchant, and Edward J. Coffey, local representative of the Southern Railway, were appointed on the new board. Funds were raised to increase the membership and the efficiency of the Police Department and to further the indictment and prosecution of the rioters.

It was said that the prosecutions would be under the direction of the attorney general's office.

Mollman's bond, it was said, would be fixed at $2000 and Ahearn's probably at $1000. Mollman, who is on a fishing trip at the Piney Lodge Club, near Moab Mo., could not be reached for a statement. Ahearn refused to make a statement until he had seen the charges against him.

The Grand Jury's Report.

The grand jury's report follows:

May it please the court:

We herewith present our final report to the court of our investigation of the East St. Louis riot.

From the evidence presented to us we have found it necessary under our oaths to present additional indictments against thirty-nine persons for participation in the riot of July 2, 1917. We also herewith present an indictment against Fred W. Mollman, mayor of East St. Louis, for malfeasance in office.

We present an indictment against his private secretary, Maurice Ahern, for being a conspirator in the riot, in that he ordered the police force of East St. Louis and the militia to destroy the cameras of persons attempting to take photographs of the rioting and preventing moving-picture machines from taking pictures of the rioting mobs, thus destroying the evidence which would have been so valuable to the grand jury in ascertaining more of the real offenders.

No man gave greater aid to the rioters and assured them more safety from prosecution than did Maurice Ahearn when he ordered that the photographers be denied their free rights to take pictures of the scenes of the rioting and ordered that their cameras be destroyed.

New Commissioners Praised.

Mayor Mollman must be judged by his actions as proven by the evidence. If his failure to give directions to the militia, and his failure to call upon the sheriff's office, and his failure to deputize citizens who offered their services were the result of lack of ability or of fright, his office should be taken away from him and given to an efficient person. If his failure to act was because his sympathies were with those who sought to drive the negro out of East St. Louis, he should make room for a chief executive who is in favor of enforcing 100 per cent of the laws. The law-abiding citizens and great industries and the respectable laboring men of East St. Louis should unite and demand the resignation of the mayor as the greatest good he can do his city.

We have hopes that out of the results of our efforts, East St. Louis will be a safe city to live in; that the property owners will be safe from the fire-brand of the incendiary, and that the great industries of East St. Louis, which are contributing so largely of necessary articles to conduct the great war in which we are now engaged, will be able to proceed with safety and efficiency.

About a month and a half after the riot of July 2, 1917, a new Police and Fire Commission took charge of the police force and fire department. It is composed of three of the strongest and most upright men in East St. Louis. They have both courage and ability.

Our evidence shows us that the coterie of corrupt politicians who have been the undoing of the mayor, and who have contributed to the former inefficiency and corruptness of the Police Department, are continuously at work, and will be able to hamper the Fire and Police Commission as long as Mr. Mollman retains the office of mayor.

158 Indictments Returned.

We have not been able, from lack of time, to apprehend, and return indictments against all who committed crimes in the recent riots in East St. Louis. The grand jury of the September term of the Circuit Court meets September 17, and we recommend that they continue this investigation and return indictments against others who are guilty of having committed crimes.

To bring about permanent safety and stability, the State of Illinois should do its share by establishing a nonpartisan state constabulary, to be used on extraordinary occasions, as suggested in our former report to your honor.

Hon. George A. Crow, judge Circuit Court, we the grand jury beg to report to you as follows: Since being called on the 9th day of July, 1917, we have been in session thirty-two days and have examined 640 witnesses and have returned 158 true bills and 17 not true bills.

Signed:

Warren Hamill, foreman; R. B. McDonald, J. H. Batdorff, Chas. Hoehn, J. C. Bocquet, A. E. Schaefer, Wm. Tsefzil, Joseph E. Biebel, Fred Groh, Fred A. Schwinn, George Bollmeier, John Donovan, Louis Schaubert, E. A. Muskopf, Adolph Knobeloch, John G. Hoff, John A. Beichert, George Niess, F. M. Shepard, Dan A. Schaefer, H. Galen Schmidt, Martin H. Eckert, Joseph Vannohme.

DR. DUBOIS HERE TO ASSIST THE N.A.A.C.P. BRANCH

Plans Laid to Gather Evidence and Prosecute Cases in East St. Louis Riot. Local Branch Asks For $2,000. Three Hundred and Ninety-Nine Dollars and Sixty Cents Already Raised

Argus 7/13/17

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of "The Crisis" and one of the general officers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People arrived in St. Louis Tuesday and is assisting the local branch in its investigation of the riot in East St. Louis. A well-organized plan has been started to see that the rights of the Negroes are protected in the affair. A request has been sent out that all persons who know about the rioting call at the Pythian Hall, 3137 Pine St., from 2 p. m. to 9 p. m. daily. Dr. Du Bois and Mr. C. A. Pitman will be in charge.

At a meeting of the Finance Committee Thursday afternoon, the plans of operation were laid before the committee by Dr. Du Bois and it was decided that $2,000 would be needed to obtain the desired results; accordingly the following statement was issued:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announces that it has raised so far a total of $394.60 for the relief of the victims of the East St. Louis riot. A list of the contributors is appended. The Association appeals earnestly for further funds. These funds are needed for the following objects:

1. A larger relief fund for the purpose of helping suffering and bereaved persons.

2. A legal evidence fund for the purpose of collecting evidence against the conspirators and instigators of the riot.

3. A legal action fund for the purpose of bringing cases into court.

The local Association estimates that $2,000 in all will be needed for the above purposes. The New York office stands ready to supplement the legal action and legal evidence fund with liberal contributions.

Headquarters for collecting the stories of the victims and for general publicity have been opened at the Pythian Building, 3137 Pine Street. It is earnestly requested that all persons having actual knowledge of what went on before and during the riots in East St. Louis shall come to the Pythian Building this week and relate their experience to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and his assistant.

Contributions toward the funds mentioned above may be sent to Aaron E. Malone, 3100 Pine Street.

DONATIONS.

Eureka Court of Calanthe No. 89.	$15.01
Emil Nathan & Co., 2018 Market	10.00
Boyd B. Imes, 4149-W Belle Pl..	5.00
John Hardin	1.00
Arthur Garth	1.00
Emmett Price	1.00
Judge Harry W. McChesney...	5.00
Wm. Young, 5539 Page Blvd...	5.00
Mrs. J. S. Nesbit, 4581 Garfield.	1.00
Col. Nicholas M. Bell.....	10.00
T. P. Chapman Paper Co.....	20.00
Syracuse Lodge, K. P.....	10.00
Carlton Drygoodsmen (Colored)	15.00
Mr. & Mrs. Woodson E. Abernathy, 1819 Goode.....	5.00
St. James A. M. E. Church....	30.00
Chas. Harper, 2930 Lawton.....	1.00
St. Louis Malleable Casting Co.	20.00
Rev. A. R. Dobbins.....	4.00
Allen Chapel. Kansas City, Mo..	50.00
A. H. Bailey	3.00
Wm. Yale.....	10.00
Mass Meeting	38.00
Nelson C. Crews, Kansas City Sun	41.03
No name given, city.....	.50
Chas. Turpin, Booker Washington Theater Benefit	58.94
Pride of West, Lodge No. 1, K. P.	15.00
Thessalonian Bapt. Church.....	2.42
Allen Christian Ey., Taylorville, Illinois	3.65
Mrs. Mary E. Carter, Taylorville, Illinois	5.00
Schneider Bros., 2815 Wash	5.00
Rev. J. L. Brooks, Webster Groves, Mo.	3.05
Elleardsville Social Settlement Club	5.00
Total	$399.60
Cost of Telegrams to Allen Chapel	1.60
Balance	$398.00

Report of Finance Committee National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, from July 6, 1917 to July 12, 1917. Rev. W. H. Peck, Chairman, Aaron E. Malone, Treasurer-Secretary.

Dr. DuBois To Speak On Riot

Argus 7-13-17

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of The Crisis, who is in the city investigating the East St. Louis riot, will deliver a lecture at the Berea Presbyterian Church, on [illegible], Sunday afternoon at 4 p. m. [illegible]e is invited.

Death List In Riots Placed At Total 29

LEADVILLE COLO. DEMOCRAT
JULY 3. 1917

(Associated Press.)

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLS., July 3.—Thirteen companies of national guardsmen tonight patrolled the streets of East St. Louis in an effort to prevent a recurrence of the race riots here which since yesterday morning have resulted in a death list of 29 persons, the injury of 75 or more and the destruction by fire of 310 negro homes covering 16 1-2 acres.

The community of 80,000 persons is terrorized by the events of the last two days, and fear the inability of the guardsmen to cope with the situation was intimated today when the chamber of commerce demanded to know from Adjutant General Dickson why the troopers had not displayed more energetic activity last night. Adjutant General Dickson explained that his force was handicapped by the small number of troops available.

The police force, which numbers sixty, also was charged with negligence.

No systematic search of the ruins was made today, but fear that scores of dead might lie beneath gradually disappeared. Last night brought rumors that many bodies had been thrown into the rivers, but the waters gave up no dead today and by night it was doubted whether the death list would much exceed the list in the mortuaries.

Michael Whalen, president of the Central Trades and Labor council here and likewise city clerk, gave one explanation of conditions which he thought led to the rioting.

"Last summer," said Whalem, "4,500 white men went on strike in the packing plants of Armour and Company Morris and Company and Swift and Company. Eight hundred negroes from the South came into the plants as strikebreakers. When the strike ended the negroes remained at work and an equivalent number of white men failed to get their jobs back. Since then there has been a stream of negroes arriving. At least 2,500 negroes have come from the South in the last year. Many of them failed to obtain work, or to hold jobs once obtained. Burglaries, highway robberies and petty crimes began. The people became exasperated and determined to drive them out of town."

Mr. Whalen said that the chief objection to the negroes was that they would not unionize and would not strike. Managers of plants mentioned by Mr. Whalen asserted that not a white man had been deprived of work because of the negroes. Even with the negroes it was difficult to get enough labor they said. They explained that rosy letters written back home by the first arrivals accounted for the continued influx from the South.

One hundred of 193 persons arrested last night were released this afternoon. Some others were fined for carrying concealed weapons and the remainder will be arraigned tomorrow. The grand jury meets July 9. The leaders of the mobs are said to be known and the grand jury will deal with them.

Governor Lowden and the troops from Springfield arrived at 9 o'clock. The governor conferred with General Dickson and Mayor Mollman. Later he attended a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce. Governor Lowden was said to be angered at criticism of the militia by members of the Chamber of Commerce.

Thirty-five small fires occurred tonight in small shacks. All were said to be incendiary. There were no other disorders. Bridges were closed to the public.

Detective Frank Wogley, who was shot Sunday night, died this evening.

N Y CITY RECORD
JULY 6, 1917

SAYS IMPORTATION OF NEGRO LABOR MAY CAUSE MORE TROUBLE.

Riots like that of East St. Louis will occur in the big cities of the North if they fail to solve intelligently the problems created by the influx of negroes from the South, according to Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, who has just returned from East St. Louis.

More than 350,000 negroes have come North since April, 1916, and that number will be trebled in another year, according to Mr. Jones.

Sees Reign of Terror.

"Aided principally by the influx of negro labor," he said, "there soon will be enough non-union labor to affect the situation here more seriously. Unions will not be able to maintain their positions as dictators of hours and prices of labor. The unions will strike, the thousands of negroes in the North will automatically become strike breakers, race prejudices will be intensified, and then will come a reign of terror which will make Jim Crowism and lynchings Northern institutions."

N Y C MAIL
JULY 5, 1917

Gov. Lowden Denounces East St. Louis Riots

Carrollton, Ill., July 5.—Gov. Lowden, in an address here yesterday at the unveiling of a monument to Thomas Carlin, seventh governor of Illinois, deplored the rioting of Monday and Tuesday in East St. Louis, where many negroes were killed and their homes burned by mobs. He said:

"I know of no outrage perpetrated in the South that has equaled that at East St. Louis We cannot wipe out the stain, but if the people of Illinois will get together unitedly for law enforcement such a thing will never be possible again.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

'Mr. President, Why Not Make America Safe for Democracy?"

THOUSANDS LEAVE EAST ST. LOUIS

St. Louis Aroused

CARED FOR HERE

7/6/17

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, LEADS IN GIVING RELIEF TO THE SUFFERERS.

Red Cross, City Officials, Y. W. C. A., Y. M. C. A. and Hundreds of Noble Citizens of St. Louis Lend Aid, Food, Clothing and Lodging being Provided.

Negroes Begged to Return. Plants Must Close if They Cannot Get Colored Help. Very Few Are Going South.

Thousands of refugees have been fleeing from East St. Louis since Sunday night. The majority have crossed the river into St. Louis and hundreds went immediately to Union Station where they took trains to other cities, in most instances turning a deaf ear to the call from the south. The Big Four Railroad is taking many east to work on the company lines and several large establishments in St. Louis are offering employment.

Agents of the freight houses on the East Side came over Thursday and begged the men to return, guaranteeing protection, but there was no inclination on the part of the men to risk the return at present.

As fast as the refugees have arrived in St. Louis they have been taken in automobiles to the Municipal Lodging House, 110-112 S. 12th, where they are registered and vaccinated and given food and lodging.

Many of them presented a most pitiful sight and their tales of suffering are heart-rending. Only a few families are intact. In most cases some member was missing and a wailing plea is constantly heard: "Will you please try to find my relative." They have lost all they possessed and many are without clothes enough to cover their bodies.

Work of the N. A. A. C. P.

The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took the initiative in arranging to care for the unfortunate East St. Louisans. As soon as the condition was known, the Executive Committee, through their chairman, Chas. A. Pittman, called a meeting at Pythian Hall in which a couple of hundred citizens from St. Louis and East St. Louis attended. The following committees with names of chairmen given, were appointed and immediately started to work:

Information, Prof. F. L. Williams; Housing, David C. Jones; Finding and Directing, B. Lavine; Finance, Rev. W. H. Peck; Employment, Paul Moseley; Press, Herbert T. Meadows. These chairmen were given the assistance of capable and experienced men, who have never ceased in their work. So great was the undertaking that all committees were lending aid to each other without reserve. The first move was to get a central headquarters. Dr. W. P. Curtis was authorized to see Chas. Nagel, who conferred with Acting Mayor Aloe, who directed John Schmoll, director of public welfare, to open the Municipal Lodging House for the refugees. A fund was given to secure food and the management was given to the Red Cross Society.

Right here, if it were possible, we would mention the names of all the noble citizens who have sacrificed everything to comfort the unfortunates, but in justice to many whose names have not been enrolled we can only hope that this list can be secured in full for the next issue. Men and women have worked day and night, forgetting sleep and meals. All have been kind and indulgent. Director Schmoll has stayed on the scene almost constantly, offering every assistance. Chief of Police Young has been instructing his force in exercising the greatest care in handling the big crowd. Aside from the police patrols and ambulances, a large number of citizens furnished their automobiles to bring the refugees from the bridges. Some few started in to charge the unfortunates but these were soon disposed of. Among those who have donated their machines are: Chas. H. and Tom Turpin, Richard Kent, Gus Scott, Jake McAfee, Langston Harrison, Bismark Lavin, Chas. McDonald, Ernest L. Harris, J. H. Harris, Prof. and Mrs. Malone, Chas. McDonald, Miss Emma Nash, and others whose names were not obtained.

George Wright also has rendered valuable assistance with his auto-bus.

The ministers opened all the churches for an overflow from the lodging house, but as many of the citizens have kindly taken hundreds to their homes the churches have not been needed.

The Young Women's Christian Association, under Miss Belcher, and the Y. M. C. A., led by Mr. Jones, have done noble work.

Mrs. Malone and a corps of workers have been on duty at the Union Station. The Booker Washington Theater has been held in readiness to accommodate all who needed sleeping quarters and through the kindness of Jerry Renfro, and the assistance of Chief Young and Mr. Schmoll, a rest room for men has been opened at 2218 Market St., with benches from the park department.

WHAT THE SOUTHERN PRESS SAYS OF THE EAST ST. LOUIS MURDERS.

Below we are printing a few of the many scathing rebukes from southern white papers on the East St. Louis affair. To say that the East St. Louis barbarities outherod Herod would be but a feeble expression. The crimes of the outlaws we trust will be fully investigated and punishment meted out to the perpetrators is our ardent wish and desire.

Wholesale, Brutal Murder.

The mobbing of Negroes in East St. Louis on a wholesale scale is a blot upon the name of Illinois greater than any which that state has received from such occurrences since the Negro immigration started.

The heartless burning of the Negro districts, the shooting down of the helpless inhabitants of the flaming houses when they attempted to escape, stand more culpable than any lynching ever held. The cremation and shooting of living beings by the score in East St. Louis was terrible in magnitude as well as in execution.

Having been warned by lesser outbreaks in that very spot before, the

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

authorities charged with the enforcement of the law have the blood of the murdered men and women upon their hands. They should have provided protection if the mob spirit could not otherwise be put down.

This Illinois mob was not endeavoring to punish offenders. Anybody that was black was their prey. Three Negroes were trying to escape from a building which had been fired with the hope of cremating them alive. The mob saw them trying to get away, hanged one to a telegraph pole and shot the two others, leaving their bodies to the flames; and the crime for which they died was trying to get out of the blazing building. Scores of dead and millions of dollars in property destroyed are the net results of this mob madness.

Under the Springfield decision by the Illinois supreme court, the county in which East St. Louis is situated will have to pay the monetary damages, but there can be no adequate damages paid for the hundred lives lost, the hundreds of injuries inflicted, or for the irremovable stain on the good name of a state which has had a glorious part in our later history. Lincoln's birthday is observed in Illinois by parades and much oratory, but on any one of the other 364 days of the year Lincoln is liable to be forgotten, while mobs rage through the streets of Illinois cities and slay and impoverish the descendants of the race that honors Lincoln as their liberator.

The south has been blamed by northern papers for isolated lynchings, but never has there been the wholesale murder of innocent blacks as witnessed in Illinois. The Chicago Tribune, which has been so rancid in its editorials upon the lynchings of individuals in the south, after heinous crimes, will find itself peculiarly situated in commenting upon the riotous mobbing of innocent Negroes in its own state.

From the south there will go out only pity and sorrow for the helpless Negroes who left their homes here to go up against such treatment as this in their search for better employment. That they were deluded even from the beginning by those who persuaded them to leave the south is only too true, but now to this is added murder on the wholesale. From the bottom of our hearts we are sorry for you, poor children of the south.

Perhaps, also, the certain northern "brothers" of the Negro who petitioned President Wilson to act on the lynching of the Negro at Memphis will also petition him to act on the carnage in Illinois.

Perhaps!—Tennessean and American.

* * *

East St. Louis Massacre.

The East St. Louis Negro massacre is the worst manifestation of race conflict ever known in America. It was bloody and barbarous, a disgrace to the country's civilization. It could not possibly have occurred in the South.

A paragraph taken from the Associated Press report of the horrible occurrence says:

Hundreds of whites stood around the edges of the burning districts and fired at the Negroes as they fled from their homes.

That was indiscribably horrible, merciless, inhuman, discounting any stories of atrocities that have come from the European war zone. The country should blush that such an occurrence was possible on its soil. It is unaccountable in a land boastful of its enlightenment and its liberty.

There is no proof or record that these Negroes, pitilessly shot down as they fled from their burning homes, had done harm to anyone. Their chief offense was that they had fixed their habitation in the community and asked for work.

That was the beginning of the race trouble in East St. Louis. The Negroes were goaded to resentment, they were apprehensive of further assaults, and some of them foolishly and criminally began an offensive movement. Officers who sought to disperse them were shot down, and then the fury of the white mob broke and it visited its vengeance on the innocent as well as the evildoers.

In considering this East St. Louis massacre—it can hardly be described by a milder term—the fact must not be lost sight of that the whites were the original aggressors and that the most serious offense given by the Negroes was their presence in the community.

The extreme ferocity of this East St. Louis outbreak has illustration in the following statement:

Two young white girls tonight boarded a street car and dragged a Negro woman to the street. The Negro woman attempted to break away, but one of the young girls took off her shoe and pounded her over the head. National guardsmen rescued her.

The whole nation will feel the disgrace of this Illnois atrocity, and it is not worth the while to consider it from the point of sectional contrast, but it is inevitable that the South, so much criticized for its alleged bad treatment of the blacks, so long resident within its borders, should not recognize and remark upon the difference between race feeling in this section and that where such an outbreak as that at East St. Louis was possible.

To point out this difference would be superfluous. It is too obvious to need elucidation.

There is no place in the world and no record in history where two such diametrically opposed races as Negroes and Anglo-Saxons have dewlt so long together in such harmony as has been preserved in the South. There is an understanding and mutual regard between the blacks and whites in the South that does not exist, and it seems can't be attained, elsewhere.—Nashville Banner.

* * *

The Illinois Riot.

Illinois is the scene of what will probably go down as the most deadly riot between the races ever recorded in this country. Certainly it is greater than any riot that ever occurred between the races in the South. The nearest approach to it in the South was the Atlanta riot in 1906, when less than twenty persons were killed.

There is another and still more striking difference between the Illinois riot and the Georgia riot. That difference lies in the causes of the riots.

In Atlanta a series of assaults upon white women by vicious Negroes crazed by a vile grade of whiskey and cocaine, led to a series of lynchings. Then the race riots occurred.

But what had the Negroes done in the Illinois town? They had left the comparatively peaceful atmosphere of Southern farms and Southern cities to go knocking at Illinois doors to announce their arrival to take the high-wage jobs which they had been told were waiting for them. They were fallen upon by the whites who did not want Negro competition. Several persons were killed in the first clash a few days ago. That was the match which touched off the powder charge.

Today nearly thirty persons are known to be dead, about three hundred wounded, and scores of houses are in ashes in the Illinois town as the result of a revengeful plot on the part of the distracted and bedeviled Negroes. Illinois white men are responsible for this tragedy. Had they been as tolerant of Negro labor as the white people of the South usually are, not a Negro would have been killed, not a house burned, and no stain have fallen upon the fairly good name of Illinois. The Illinois National Guardsmen finally quelled the riot, but they did not fall into the grim work with that sincerity and determination, which, if felt, might have halted the fiends before they ghastly work had proceeded so far.

The authorities are striving to prevent photographers from taking pictures of the rioting district. East St. Louis does not want "that kind of advertising." Indeed, not! The best citizens of East St. Louis do not want that kind of advertising, but the criminal element, which appears to be such an influential factor in East St. Louis, does not shrink from that kind of advertisng. It stands ready, presumably, to repeat the tragic events of Monday, on the first excuses, ready to do any murder and burn any home because it cannot tolerate competition by the Negro in the open market fields of the world. —Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser.

* * *

In Lincoln's State.

Between 75 and 250 Negroes, men, women and children, were killed by mobs in Illinois in one day's saturnalia of outlawry, and property valued at between three and four millions of dollars—almost as great as Atlanta's loss in our recent conflagration—was burned, all because of resentment of the colored man's desire to earn his living "in the north!"

Disdainful of law or decency, disregardful of police or military authority, all day long and for half the night the blood-crazed mobs howled and fought and destroyed—employing stones, bludgeons, knives, fire-arms and the torch! The number of dead Negroes as a result of the day's rioting cannot be approximately estimated until a search of the charred ruins can be made.

And this all happened in the home state of Abraham Lincoln, who guaranteed the black man freedom from bondage, and equality before the law!

Yet our friends of the north continually are harping that we of the south are unable to cope with the "Negro problem!" It is their habit to tell us that we do not know how to deal with the "Negro problem," but that they do!

Is this East St. Louis atrocity a demonstration of the way? Is this an illustration of the north's method of solving the "problem?"

If it is, then we must confess that our northern advisers are right and that we are all wrong, for certainly we of the south never have tried that method—and, please God, we never shall!

They tell us in one breath that the Negroes are leaving the south and going north "to escape bondage"—that they go where their "constitutional rights" are safeguarded!

Then, after luring the Negroes north by such platitudes, they proceed to kill them in wholesale lots and burn their homes, for wanting to work when they get there!

Thus do they "protect" the Negro from "bondage!" Thus do they safeguard him in his "constitutional rights!" Thus do they show the south how to cope with the "race problem!"

We hear much of the so-called "constitutional rights" of the colored man, from the northern viewpoint, but the constitutional guarantee to every man white or black, of the fundamental right to earn his living in the sweat of his brow—as it is and always has been vouchsafed to the Negro in the south—seems to have been entirely overlooked.—Atlanta Constitution.

* * *

The Mob.

To say that the public mind is horror-stricken expresses inadequately the feeling in contemplating the work of the insensate and irresponsible mob in East St. Louis. Wicked injustice has been done the Negro race in many instances in the south and all over the country, but for enormity and fiendishness no example of murder and incendiarism is comparable to that enacted in Illinois. Apart from the wholesale murdering, maiming and firing, the stories of brutality and cruelty exhibited towards helpless victims, almost stagger belief. The height of barbarism was evident in the participation of white women and girls in ignoble and revolting acts.

Since the entrance of the United States in the European war we have carefully observed the press to note whether that fact has not had its sobering effect in decreasing acts of lawlessness of all kinds. This examination had about it a degree of encouragement and satisfaction. It is certain that the newspaper columns have carried less news of the kind. Whether the more absorbing interest in the world-war may have pushed back and overshadowed the criminal catalogue we do not know definitely. However, it seemed a matter of felicitation that the periodic epidemics of crime that often afflict our country had diminished in a market way.

The violence of the mob, it is seen, still remains in the cancer spot upon the body politic. We may well ask, with serious misgivings, if we have that profound respect for the dignity and majesty of the law which is worthy of American institutions and ideals. With such horrifying outbreaks, is there such an appreciation of orderly government as to throw around the humblest citizen, white or black, any sense of security? Are the scales of justice so delicately poised as to guarantee to every man the safeguarding of his life, rights and property? Our institutions, our lives, our liberties are safe in proportion as the laws under which we live are respected, observed and enforced.

Among barbarians it is the reign of will that prevails. Brute force that knows no restraint in the weapon of the untutored tyrant and dictator. Civilized nations live under the reign of law. As new conditions arise, laws are framed to meet the demands of justice. Where wrongs intrude, their righting depends upon courts, legislatures and executives.

Mob law is always an insufficient excuse and means for avoiding the evils it presumes to correct. Selfishness and revenge, above everything else, are its springs of action. It proceeds from the darkest side of human nature. The effect, without just punishment, is to cultivate a weakened regard for all the orderly processes of law in the community and state. The criminally disposed are certain to take advantage of the fact.

As a rule, the acts of a few enraged and outraged persons are not to be interpreted as the deliberate expression of the attitude of communities toward law observance and enforcement. When, on the other hand, it sweeps over a community like a conflagration from the number of participants, it shows the sense of moral duty and public obligation to be at its lowest ebb. In East St. Louis reason will become enthroned and the ways of furious passion will subside. In the event of no severe legal penalties, there must ensue deep pangs of remorse for all time in reflecting upon the enormity of the crimes committed against society.—Knoxville Journal and Tribune.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots – 1917

Defender

Labor Unions 7/21/17

TO SAY THAT THE LABOR UNIONS are directly responsible for the carnival of crime recently held in East St. Louis would not be wholly true, and yet investigation shows their part is not an enviable one. Col. Roosevelt has been very outspoken in the matter, and in a tilt with the head of the labor organizations intimated that Race friction to a large extent could be avoided if an understanding and a working agreement was had between the Colored and white workmen. If the Colored workman proves a hinderance to the advancement of the white workman, if he acts as a strike breaker, if he steps in and seemingly joins hands with capital in its effort to crush labor, it is because he must work to live, to care for himself and those depending upon him. It is because organized labor has shut the door of opportunity in his face and forced him to eat the crumbs that fall from their loaded table.

As an economic factor the Colored man of this country must always be reckoned with. The south has ever depended upon his labor; the north, by virtue of a scarcity of labor caused by the war, first tried him as an experiment, and now welcomes him with open arms, for he has made good and is a permanent fixture in the labor world, north, south, east and west. To admit him to every union organization to which he applies is to make him an asset to that organization. To deny him admission is to make him a liability. It resolves itself right down to a straight business proposition, and when dollars and cents are in the balance, color prejudice should fade, but, strange to say, it does not always do so.

The large employer of labor has some rights that must be respected, and one of those rights is to employ the workman most competent and reliable, at a fair wage. It is his right also to discharge any employe he sees fit, and especially if that employe is not capable of doing the work. In East St. Louis some Colored men, who were not members of the union, went out with the strikers—some through fear, others through sympathy. Those who remained in the munition plants and factories were advanced to the best positions and retained in those positions after the strike was settled. Should this not bring the question of whether the Colored workman is an asset or a liability squarely up before the unions? Let it not be forgotten that it is just as essential for the Colored man to work in order to keep the wolf from the door as it is for the white man, though it would appear the latter have given the subject little thought. Unionism will be a failure in this country so long as they exclude a fourth of the workers. A trust succeeds only after they have cornered the market. If by making friends with a dog you are assured he will not bite you, better make friends. Even though the unions are not partial to black, they must admit it wears well, and is always in style and will always be with them.

THE EAST ST. LOUIS MASSACRE

Recorder 7/12/17

East St. Louis

The utter hypocrisy of America in declaring that she contends for the rights of humanity, and for making democracy safe for the world, is almost daily evident; but must be apparent to every civilized nation on the globe, if the news of the East St. Louis massacre of July 2nd gets to them. On this night the white people of East St. Louis attempted to kill every Negro in that city. They applied torches to several hundred homes, where Negroes lived; they beat up and shot scores of Negroes; they dragged women about the streets and beat up old men. This work of brutal cowardice, of murder and arson, was not the performance of brutal men alone, but white women, when they saw themselves amply protected by their men, laid aside their womanly dignity, took upon themselves the form of fiends, and did their best in murderous onslaught upon inoffensive Negro women. And even children of East St. Louis did their part in this holiday of murder and arson.

For what? Because Negroes sought an honest living, and had shown the ability to make it. They had proved they could do the work and were likely to keep their jobs, and that made low browed white men angry. For the low browed white man does not want to see the Negro rise above the level of a menial, or even in menial service to do as well as a white man.

Were these Negroes protected? No. The very soldiers brought to protect them only "grinned" and gave silent approval to the mob's work. We shall see if this kind of soldier can fight for the rights of humanity or for keeping democracy safe for the world—a soldier when called upon to protect, only grins and avoids danger—a soldier that not only does nothing himself, but allows the mob to take his gun away from him, and possibly use the very gun which should uphold the rights of humanity to work, to kill the humans who attempt to exercise th[e] right—and to brutalize and terrorize their women and children. What will the world think of such a "brave," "patriotic" soldier? No wonder President Wilson calls for an inquiry. In spite of his do-nothing policy heretofore, his self-respect could not permit him to do less than call an inquiry. We sincerely hope it will not be a fake inquiry; but that the President will see that the facts are gotten, and the guilty are punished.

MERIDIAN MISS STAR
[illegible] 9, 1917

Every Train Brings Negroes From North

Every train from St. Louis and other points brings home negroes who went north and are making just as rapid strides back home since the outbreak at East St. Louis, Ill. They tell terrifying tales of how the negroes are treated and declare that the south is the negroes home and the southern white man his best friend.

Letters have been received from points in Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and other states where the negroes from East St. Louis went following the riot. Relatives are still anxiously seeking information from kin folks known to have been in East St. Louis at the time of the riot but so far have been unsuccessful.

The returning negroes say that while they receive better wages, in some instances, they find everything higher, and such thing as credit unknown.

ST LOUIS MO REPUBLIC
JULY 4 1917

FIX THE RESPONSIBILITY.

Responsibility for the horrifying extremes to which the East St. Louis riots were carried should be fixed without delay.

Any community is liable to have riots, especially where the minds of a large portion of the community have been inflamed for weeks by incendiary talk on both sides, and it is usually a measure of the community's capacity for self-government how quickly it masters the situation, resumes its poise and restores law and order.

East St. Louis showed a disappointing lack of this American capacity for readjustment when its city government, and especially its Police Department, allowed the rioting to go on Monday evening.

Scenes too horrible for recital and almost without a parallel in the history of modern civilization were enacted under the eyes of and apparently without serious interference from the police.

But if it be urged that the police were so wrought up by the murder of their popular Sergt. Coppedge by the negroes Sunday night, that they were inclined to look with complacency upon the work of the lawless "avengers," what can be said of the militia?

Six companies of the Illinois National Guard, numbering about 400 men, were in East St. Louis when the rioting broke out. These were men from outside the city. They could not be supposed to have local sympathies or leanings. They were there to preserve order, and for no other purpose.

What were these national guardsmen doing while negroes—just any negroes—were being dragged from their homes and shot down or lynched, stoned and otherwise mistreated? Did they lack capable leadership? Were they stationed at the wrong place? Did they actually take part in the rioting on the side of the whites, as has been hinted in rumors? Or were they simply paralyzed into inaction and unable to use or assert the power placed in their hands by the State?

These are pertinent questions which the Governor of Illinois owes it to the people of the State to sift to the bottom.

That the militia could easily have coped with the situation, had it been properly handled, is abundantly shown by the ease with which it stopped the rioting when a capable officer took command. The arrest of a few ringleaders served notice upon the others that a firm hand was at the wheel, and the orgy of rioting, arson and bloodshed came to an end.

But the damage had been done. The good name of East St. Louis had been defiled and its government and police shown to be inefficient. The State of Illinois, Lincoln's State, had suffered another dark blot and the whole nation is compelled to hang its head in shame.

Nothing less than a sweeping investigation by the Government of the United States of the entire affair, from the time the first negroes were imported to East St. Louis and through the subsequent outbreaks, up to and including the developments of Sunday and Monday nights, will satisfy the public.

Fix the responsibility and punish or remove every official guilty of negligence or incompetence in connection with it.

Memorial Presented to Governor Frank O. Lowden by Chicago Select Citizens' Committee

To His Excellency Frank O. Lowden, Governor of Illinois:

This memorial is presented to your Excellency in behalf of two hundred thousand citizens of your state who belong to the Colored race—or citizens of African descent.

The recent mob violence directed against our people in East St. Louis proves conclusively that something is radically wrong, either in our system of government or in the conceptions of justice and Christianity of the American people, is at the foundation of the trouble.

The government of the United States was founded for liberty and justice to all people. Its soldiers are now on the battle-front in Europe ready to fight for a universal democracy; the Colored citizens are called upon to tender their quota, both by volunteers and by conscription, for the maintenance of the high ideal of our country and the protection of its institutions, and in no emergency have we failed to respond to our country's call.

If the Constitution of our native land affords protection to all citizens, naturalized and native born, except the citizen of African descent, we should know it.

If the fight for a world democracy means that all people should share in its benefits, except the American Negro, the world should be made to understand the limitations of its fight for freedom and opportunity.

We are in no position to exercise force. We would be reckless and foolhardy indeed to do other than appeal to the best conscience of the American people and ask that the Constitution be respected as to all citizens alike.

In the struggle for advancement and the betterment of the conditions of the masses the Negro is animated by the same impulses that influence all other human beings. We shall not willingly submit to be serfs in a land of freemen.

We shall demand, with all the energy at our command, that the rights of citizens be accorded us, and that our government protect us against all lawbreakers when those rights are invaded.

The member of the mob who bands with others to trample upon the Constitution and the laws is just as much a traitor to his country as the slacker and the spy in time of war.

Such men should be dealt with as traitors and the heavy hand of the law should come down upon them; and every loyal American should rally to the maintenance of the law and insist upon the swift and sure punishment of the lawless.

We wish to voice our vigorous protest against all influence which tends to justify the deprivation or curtailment of the rights of the citizens.

We protest against the conclusions of the State Council of Defense to the effect that citizens should not freely travel from one section of our country to another in their effort to better their condition and prepare for the future of their children. If foreigners may freely come and find a peaceful domicile in any part of the United States, we insist that no provision of our Constitution justifies the limiting the rights of the native born Colored citizen in the enjoyment of such privileges.

We protest against those organizations which, under the pretext of bettering the condition of the laboring man, would violate the sacred principles of the Constitution of the land by depriving other citizens, through threats, intimidation and violence, of the rights that they themselves enjoy.

The time has come when all the world should know whether our country stands for freedom and justice and equality for all citizens, under the law, or whether any part or class of its citizenship is to be deprived of those privileges with the sanction of the Government—local or national.

Twelve million Negroes await anxiously the settlement of this momentous question.

We are but a "drop in the ocean" as compared to one hundred million citizens of America. We can do naught but appeal to the best conscience and Christian spirit of that vast body of American citizens who believe in law—who believe in God—who believe in the destiny of America—to point the way to a greater freedom and a wider liberty to all the peoples of the earth.

If the answer should be, that to us alone these blessings shall be denied, and for us must be slavery and serfdom or annihilation, we are ready for the sacrifice—for never will we, of choice, accept anything but justice.

But should that day come (and God grant it may not!), freedom will have perished from the face of the earth and Christianity will be but a mockery.

EDWARD H. WRIGHT,
Asst. Corporation Counsel, Chicago.
LOUIS B. ANDERSON,
Alderman, Second Ward, Chicago.
ROBERT R. JACKSON,
Representative, Third District, 50th General Assembly.
ROBERT S. ABBOTT,
Editor, Chicago Defender, Chicago.
BENJAMIN H. LUCAS,
Representative, Third District, 50th General Assembly.
ARCHIBALD J. CAREY,
Pastor and Warden, Institutional Church and Social Settlement, Chicago.
SHEADRICK B. TURNER,
Editor, Illinois Idea.

DYER OFFERS A BILL TO STOP ALL LYNCHINGS

CALLS ON UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO ENACT LAWS TO PREVENT RECURRENCE OF OUTRAGES SIMILAR TO THE EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS

Argus 7/13/17

Washington, D. C.—The following joint resolution has been introduced by Congressman L. C. Dyer, of St Louis, Mo.

Creating a joint committee from the membership of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and the House Committee on the Judiciary to investigate the causes that led to the murdering, the lynching, the burning, and the drowning of innocent citizens of the United States at East St. Louis, Illinois, on July second, nineteen hundred and seventeen; whether the constitution and laws of the United States were violated; and what legislation, if any, is needed to prevent like outrages in the State of Illinois and other states and territories of the United States.

Whereas, on the night of July second, and at the City of East St. Louis, Ill., a number of citizens of the United States were beaten, burned, shot, drowned and hanged resulting in the murdering of many of them, as well as the destruction of much property, by the mob of murderers; and

Whereas it is evident that the constituted authorities of the State of Illinois, the county of Saint Clair, Illinois, and the city of East Saint Louis, Illinois, were either unable or miserably failed to protect life and property as aforesaid; and

Whereas other like instances of murdering and lynching have occurred in the State of Illinois and other states of the United States, due either to the lack of law and order or the failure of its officials to do their sworn duty in the protection of life and property as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Judiciary Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, through a joint subcommittee to consist of five Senators and five Representatives, who shall be selected by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, respectively, be, and they hereby are, appointed to investigate the causes that led to said lynchings, the names of the parties who instigated and incited the mob, the names of the mob that committed the crimes aforesaid, whether the state county and city authorities did their duty in endeavoring to protect life and property as aforesaid, whether any laws of the United States were violated, and what further laws, if any, are needed to prevent like lynchings in the State of Illinois and other states of the United States, with authority to sit during the recess of Congress and with power to summon witnesses, to administer oaths, and to require the various departments, officials, and other government agencies, as well, as state county, and city officials, to furnish such information and render such assistance as may, in the judgment of the joint subcommittee, be deemed desirable; to appoint necessary expects, clerks, and stenographers, and to do whatever is necessary for a full and comprehensive investigation, study, and inquiry of the subject, and report to Congress on or before the second Monday in January, nineteen hundred and eighteen; that the sum of $50,000, or so much thereof as is necessary to carry out the purposes of this resolution and to pay the necessary expenses of the subcommittee and its members, is hereby appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated. Said appropriation shall be immediately available, and shall be paid out on the audit and order of the chairman or acting chairman of said subcommittee, which audit and order shall be conclusive and binding upon all departments as to the correctness of the accounts of such subcommittee.

Mr. Dyer has also asked the Postmaster General to change the name of East St. Louis, so that it will not be identified in any way or mistaken for St. Louis, Missouri, on the west side of the river.

9/14/17

HOUSE NAMES COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE RIOTS

St. Louis Argus

Washington, Sept. 11.—Representatives Johnson, Kentucky; Baker, California; Foster, Illinois; Cooper, Wisconsin, and Foss, Illinois, were named by Speaker Clark today as a special committee to investigate whether interstate commerce or travel was interfered with in East St. Louis during the recent race riots.

The resolution was introduced by Representative L. C. Dyer of St. Louis, Mo. A Senate resolution for investigation also has favorably been acted upon in committee.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

Democracy Disgraced

July 19, 1917

(An Editorial in The Christian Advocate, New York City, July 12, 1917, Dr. James R. Joy, Editor)

South-Western Christian Advocate

THE massacre of Negroes in East St. Louis last week presents but one redeeming feature—that it occurred in a Northern State. Otherwise some would have confused the issue by classifying this atrocity as one more Southern outrage upon the black man, and Northern editors would have taken the familiar and self-righteous line of lecturing the offending section upon its light respect for human life, and especially for the rights of the colored man. But this time it is Illinois, the State of Abraham Lincoln, and the circumstances bring us face to face with a horror of oppression, injustice, arson and slaughter, beyond anything this country has seen in a lifetime, a tragedy belonging in the same bloody category with the merciless acts of which we have thought only the Turk and the Hun were capable.

"We bow our foreheads in the dust" in the presence of this frenzied outburst of American men—yes, and women!—against the laws of God and man. We feel the hot breath of those infernal fires which ever smoulder within the human breast, ready to be fanned into fury of devastating flame... No city, no state, no nation, is proof against such an eruption so long as individuals harbor these passionate feelings, the un-Christian spirit whose natural fruits are hatred, rioting, insurrections and war, with all its train of evils.

What can be done to avert the repitition of such outbreaks as have given the name of East Saint Louis a horrid eminence?

First, there must be no palliation or explanation of the iniquity. Public opinion, expressed through every organ within its reach, must everywhere condemn such lawlessness against whomsoever displayed. The only sentiment which any true American can entertain or utter against such inhuman deeds is one of abhorrence, and any attempt to justify them should be met with the same instant and burning denunciation which Theodore Roosevelt hurled at Samuel Gompers in the Russian meeting last Friday night. To apologize for them is to make lawlessness popular. In so far as Mr. Gompers intended such an apology, he invited a repetition of such disorders, and betrayed the interests of the great body of laboring men whose leader he is.

And in the second, but not less important, place, it is incumbent upon us who are teachers and preachers, whether our forum be the home, the school, the press, the lodge, the labor union, or the church, to spare no effort to secure respect for common human rights. Line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little, there a little, in season and out of season, it must be impressed upon young and old that the principles of Christian brotherhood are the foundation of the only democracy worth having or preserving. If men and women are to be driven from our cities with torch and gun because of the color of their skin, or because their presence complicates the labor market, our boast of democratic equality will be the laughing stock of the world. If such things can go on unrebuked and unpunished, let us recall our troops from Europe and prate no more about "making the world safe" for a democracy which tolerates so foul a wrong.

CHICAGO D. EYE
JULY 13, 1917

Didn't Senator Sherman Say It?

CHICAGO, July 11.—To the Editor of THE POST. Sir: Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, a man of great ability and honesty, Samuel Gompers, who possesses ability and sincerity in his way, together with many other citizens prominent and otherwise, most strenuously and rightfully denounced the race riot and murders of East St. Louis, Ill.

But no one yet seems to want to speak of or consider the fact that in that City of East St. Louis were a gathering of ignorant foreigners and negroes, a large percentage of whom were booze fighters, finally reaped the trouble that has been planted and cultivated for years. Would such a condition be possible if we had a bone-dry Illinois?

St. Louis Argus 7-6-17

THE RACE WAR.

We have heard and read so much about the recent race riot at E. St. Louis during the past week until we feel like he who has drank of the cup of bitterness and is intoxicated from its effects. Page after page of newspaper accounts, augmented by the echos of the streets have pregnated the very air with the horrors that he innocent people of East St. Louis had to suffer at the hands of the mob.

Just how the people the world over will see and judge this horrible spectacle largely depends upon the press reports and editorial comments of the St. Louis daily papers. Of course, an Aagus reporter was on the scene, took his chances of being sniped by the snipper, or hit by the many bullets, and mingled with the crowds. He saw it all. Of the press reports, the ***Globe-Democrat*** of Tuesday morning gave the fairest account of the acts of the police and the military men.

St. Louis Argus

The editorials in the St. Louis daily papers, for the most part were broad, and characterize with justice and fairness. In speaking of the riot the ***Globe-Democrat*** said:

The Shame of Illinois.

"The events in East St. Louis Monday night were a disgrace to that city, a disgrace to Illinois, a disgrace to America, a disgrace to humanity. We can recall no event in the history of this country so utterly and unrelievably shameful. There have been mobs, many of them, there have been riots not a few, to stain our civilization, but never a one that carried to such an extent the unreasoning brutality of mobocracy, never a one that so tortured and killed and burned without discrimination of innocence or guilt, that spared neither sex nor age in its violence.

"No attempt was there made to punish crime by striking at the criminal. Scores were tortured or killed against whom no charge of wrong was made, whose only offense was their color. Men, women, children went down before the insatiate blood lust of this worst and most cruel of mobs.

"And this is the state of Abraham Lincoln! This in the great state whose sons poured out their blood on many battlefields that all men within the Union should be free. At the heart of the country which prides itself upon its liberty and humanity, within a hundred miles of the home and tomb of the great liberator, men of the race he saved from slavery are massacred by a lawless mob unrestrained by any authority. At a time when we are entering a tremendous war to make, as we say, the world safe for democracy, our own people have given democracy a blow that well may stagger it. For if democracy is not the right of every individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, then in ***heaven's name*** what is it? How can we decently and honestly proclaim the superiority of American government and American principles when such a crime against ***liberty*** as that of Monday night in East St. Louis is permitted.

"Yes, permitted! It was a preventable crime. There had been ample warning. There was a large and complete force on hand to maintain order. Yet the rioters were permitted to gather and go on their way of destruction. Eight companies of the state militia

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

were there, but apparently no serious effort was made either to prevent the formation of the mob or to stop its work after it was formed. Reports of eyewitnesses agree as to the inaction of the militia. Some feeble attempts were made to protect the objects of the mob's fury, but there seems to have been no attempt whatever to maintain order. We do not know who is responsible for this most disgraceful and lamentable failure of authority and power. But we do know that some one is, or some ones are, responsible and the State of Illinois cannot rest until that responsibility is fixed. Punisment of rioters alone will not wipe away the shame. The blunder that permitted the riot must be accounted for. And, finally the Federal Government should refuse to take into its service any officer or private who is found to have been derelict in his duty in this crisis. The people of Illinois must insist, and the people of America will insist that this thing be probed to the bottom, for it is not only state honor but national honor that is involved."

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH.

The East St. Louis Murders—"Law, order and governmental authority were trampled under the feet of a murderous mob in East St. Louis Monday, to the shameful disgrace of the city and State.

"Scores of Negro men, women and children were killed or beaten and hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of property was destroyed without apparent effort to check the violence of the mob on the part of the police force and companies of the national guard sent to the city to maintain order and enforce the laws of the State.

"Either from terror or sympathy with the mob, the police did nothing to check the mobs violence, but why were the forces of the national guard inactive until the mob had done its bloody work? Why was there not a bullet nor bayonet used against the mob which freely used torch, club and bullet against Negroes, regardless of age or sex or character?

"If the word of Adjutant-General Dickson, who arrived after the mob had finished its work, is to be taken as evidence of the intent of the national guard officers the guardsmen lacked proper orders. Gen. Dickson is quoted as saying that the guard accomplished the purpose for which it was sent by arresting several hundred of the mob without the use of bullets or bayonets and if the guardsmen had used bullets and bayonets there would have been wholesale killings.

"But there was wholesale killings and wholesale burning of property. The mob did the killing in defiance of the law, when, if any killing was done, it should have been done in enforcement of law by the soldiers and police.

"Why was the mob permitted to collect and begin its work? The critical time to stop the disorder was in the beginning. Having failed to check the gathering of the mob, why were not its members shot down when they began to kill Negroes? Better that a thousand lawless murders be killed in support of law and orderly government than that one citizen be killed by a lawless mob. The failure of the soldiers sent to sustain law and order and to use force for that purpose did not prevent bloodshed. It merely encouraged murder and arson.

"It is hardly worth while to question the authorities of East St. Louis. They have failed utterly in their duty, for well-known causes. They have known of the gathering storm without taking effective steps to check it. Thev have never, except in spasmodic temporary efforts, enforced the laws. The bloody mob work of the disorderly elements of the city is the culmination of a long reign of lawlessness. Lawlessness and discrimination in law enforcement, have been the foundation of political power in East St. Louis for years. The lawless element has long been the masters of governmental authority and used their license without fear of restraint.

"The State of Illinois, however, is responsible for consequences of Monday's outbreak. It assumed responsibility when Illinois guardsmen were sent to East St. Louis to maintain law and order. The State should inquire into the conduct of the officers in charge of the State's forces and hold every man guilty of failure to do his duty to strict accountability. This much, with the prosecution of the mob leaders, must be done for the future of civilization and law in the State.

"Meanwhile we indulge the hope that Monday's lesson will be effective to prevent further mob violence. Hereafter. at least, neither false humanity nor political weakness should restrain soldiers sent to sustain law and order from using bullets and bayonets on murderous mobs or individuals."

DESECRATING THE AMERICAN FLAG.

According to press reports, during a race riot at Flat River St. Francois County, Mo., a few days ago, when ***white*** men were arrayed against foreign born men regardless of whether they were citizens or aliens; the leader of the mob carried a large American flag; and as the rioters moved about the town, making every foreigner the target of assaults, the flag was waved continuously as though it indorsed every act committed by those self styled Americans.

This is a clear case for the Department of Justice to take action. The flag has been desecrated, yes more so than when a man refuses to rise or uncover when the flag is being raised to its mast.

Who Is Responsible? Those who made up the immediate mob are not wholly to blame for the occurance at Flat River. It is the natural characteristic of a mob to go to extreme unless checked by the strong arm of the law. But the trouble with this country is that those having the enforceing of the law in their charge have been too lax, because most of the acts of the mob violence have been imposed upon the colored people. The foreigner and the ***whites*** have all joined in mobs to kill, butcher and assault poor innocent colored people, and the officers have stood by and winked.

As we have said in these columns before, they have been ***sowing the wind*** and of course, they must reap the whirl-wind.

The acts of the mob styling themselves as ***"All Americans"*** with a spirit to drive from honest toil all foreigners, sounds the alarm. It is time to wake up. It shows how grave the situation is.

The American flag is an emblem of protection and justice. We wonder what those foreigners think who, under the waving of the stars and stripes, were driven from their jobs and from their homes. They had the right to think that the flag was for their protection; but we suppose they have changed their mind now. They have seen the lie written upon its face by a mob.

We have been taught that the United States Government backed up the flag, and if any one insulted it, tore or desecrated it, all powers of the Government would be invoked to punish the guilty ones. But so far as we have heard, no efforts are being made to punish those responsible for heading a mob with an American flag.

NEW BRITAIN CONN HERALD
JULY 13, 1917

TWO ARE GUILTY.

East St. Louis, after the coroner's inquest held concerning the recent race riots, labor disputes, or whatever the people there choose to call them, comes in for another censuring. This inquest proves conclusively that the local government of the Missouri city is absolutely nil and void. It might as well not exist.

Only one white person who actually fired a shot, in the present riots, has been brought forward by the coroner. This person is a newsboy. From this it is ascertained that but one white person fired a shot at the negroes and this white person is a boy. It therefore follows that no white man had a hand in the trouble. Yet, the evidence as just gathered from the newspaper reports is just the opposite. There must have been white men mixed up in this deplorable affair. We have contended all along, and do maintain, that the riots of East St. Louis were not related to social warfare. They appear out of labors' disputes. The workingmen of that city demanded of their employers a certain wage scale. This scale of wages was not met, and the employers, which was natural, imported other laborers to take the place of those who went on strike. As it happened, these strike-breakers were negroes from the South. Immediately there was trouble. The same trouble might have happened, and probably would have happened, had these strike breakers been cheap laborers from the North, and men of white skin. At least such trouble would have taken place in East St. Louis under the present local government.

The verdict of the coroner's jury, then, in giving a clean bill of health to the white populace of East St. Louis is without warrant. There were some white men, and there are some white men, then guilty of waging warfare against the colored laborers who came North to satisfy a shortage in the labor market. Whether they fought as laboring men or as white men against negroes, the facts are the same. There was bloodshed, and there are two guilty principles,—the white men and the local government of East St. Louis. The white men are guilty because they did the shooting, the local government of East St. Louis is guilty for allowing such lawlessness.

ST LOUIS MO TIMES
JULY 19, 1917

Riots and Riots.

In order to arrive at the relative importance of Russian riots, let us look at some figures:

The latest disturbances in St. Petersburg resulted in the loss of six lives, with a large number of injured.

The East St. Louis riots of recent history cost about 40 lives and scores of injured.

Yet the Governments at St. Petersburg and Washington still live.

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

NEW YORK CITY INDEPENDENT
...Y 14, 1917

The Pogrom in East St. Louis

From the first to the third of July East St. Louis, Illinois, was in the hands of a mob and the scene of a race war between whites and blacks. By the time the authorities of the city and state had the situation once more under control twenty-nine persons, of whom twenty-five were negroes, had been killed, many scores were seriously injured and more than three hundred houses burned to the ground. The fighting began with an attack by a mob of armed negroes upon an automobile containing several policemen. In retaliation the white men of the city slums resolved to wipe out the negro quarter

After a number of buildings had been fired the mob shot down the black men who tried to escape from the flames. Women as well as men attacked the street cars and dragged negroes from them to be beaten or killed in the streets. Many instances were reported of the cold-blooded murder of refugees by individuals who hung about the outskirts of the crowd or even kept aloof from the rioting altogether.

The massacre in East St. Louis was but the last and greatest of a long string of riots and disorders which have marked the relations between the two races for several months. In origin these troubles were due more to economic jealousy than to race hatred. The high wages in northern towns, due to war conditions, have drawn several hundred thousand negroes from the southern plantations to improve their fortunes by migration. East St. Louis received more than its share of the new supply of cheap labor. Labor union agitators spread the report, which was eagerly believed, that the manufacturers intended to displace white men by southern negroes who would work for lower wages and put up with less favorable conditions and to attain that end had sent agents into the South to persuade the negroes to come to East St. Louis. Almost as much resentment would have been shown under these circumstances if the immigrant laborers had been Chinese, European aliens or even native American "scabs." The evident intent of the mob was to establish a reign of terror which would frighten away the negroes who had come in search of work and prevent others from coming in their place. It is still a mystery why such an outburst of lawlessness was permitted to gather head in view of the many warnings of trouble which the authorities had received from previous troubles of the same character, tho on a smaller scale

THE EAST ST. LOUIS ORGY.

...TENN. APPEAL
...4, 1917

It will not do in considering the East St. Louis tragedy for the southern people to cry tu quoque to their northern neighbors.

We cannot justify the commission of crime in the south by pointing to the fact that the same crime is committed in the north.

The tragedy of East St. Louis not only beshames that city and the state of Illinois, but is a disgrace to the whole country.

It shows how thin is the veneer of our civilization.

The forces of the law all over this country have become attenuated.

Respect for the law is less than it has ever been in the history of America.

The ground sill of our governmental fabric was the rule of the law. The law written in our constitution was the expression of the people as to their rights, their liberty and their hopes.

The horror of the East St. Louis situation is not in the death of 21 or 22 people, either white or black, but in the anarchy that prevailed in that city for more than 36 hours.

The humiliating thing was the inability of the police and the militia to take care of even themselves.

Internationally such outbreaks as that at East St. Louis **are as bad for the United States now as the loss of a battle.**

It will immediately be told to the liberty intoxicated people of Russia, who are trying to find themselves, that in the vaunted free country of America inoffensive people are massacred.

The incident will be colored so as to please the individual prejudice of every class.

The reactionaries will be told that America herself cannot enforce her own laws.

The Socialists will be told that the proletariat in this country has no chance.

The rioters of Petrograd and Moscow will justify further rioting by pointing to the rioting that is going on in America.

This incident will be a big peg on which a thousand different lies can be hanged for the delectation of the uniformed, not only in Russia, but in the other countries that are now struggling to do away with autocracy and have democratic rule.

Yea, verily, it will be seized upon as a proof of the failure of democracy.

If there ever was a time when people should go about their business in these United States in an orderly way, THAT TIME IS NOW. Murder and rapine not only strike at the individual victims, **but each act just now is a stab at the central government.**

Southern people see no justification for the general race war that has been on in East St. Louis.

And this brings us to the statement that racial prejudices are more violent in the north than in the south.

The southern man recognizes the right of the negro to life, liberty and property. In the matter of property the southern white man recognizes the right of the negro to labor in whatsoever calling he wishes. The southern man may not patronize the negro in certain callings, but he does not object to the negro exercising that calling among his own people. All that any man can expect is a right to earn his bread in the sweat of his face.

In the north when the negro begins to be a competitor in labor, he is fought through the instrument of racial hatred, and when this hatred is aroused it is blind as to individuals.

There has been an exodus of negroes to the north for two years. Many were attracted by temporary high wages. Others went north because they fancied there were certain privileges they would enjoy in the north that they did not enjoy in the south. But when they got north they found out that the enjoyment of these privileges gave no substantial comfort. The negro is permitted to enter the white man's saloon in the north and drink his liquor, but as soon as his last nickel is gone he is ousted. He is permitted to ride in the same street car seat with the white men in the north, and in the same coach, but the white man in the north who rides in the same seat with him will not give him a job.

The southern white man will insist upon a separate coach, but if he happens to know the negro and the negro needs the wherewithal to make his journey, he will buy his ticket. Or at the end of the journey if the negro is penniless and happens to know a white man, that white man will furnish him with the money to get a meal and will assist in getting him a job.

The negro belongs in the south, and for his own good he ought to stay here. The southerner will not stand for him being shot to pieces just because he happens to be black.

If the negro behaves himself his days in the south will not be marred by much trouble.

The problem for the negro in the south has been difficult during the last two years. The cost of living has been exceedingly high, and in some cases the wages of the negroes have not been advanced as they should have been. And in other places in the south the negro has not had the benefit of an even break in the division of returns on the cotton crop.

The negroes in the north should come back home, and when they are back and obey the law it should be the duty of the white men to see that they are not defrauded, that they are decently paid for well done work and that life be made safe for those who try to do right, seek to obey the law and try to make themselves useful and productive citizens.

What was done in East St. Louis and what was done following the lynching of Ell Persons near Memphis clearly illustrate the difference of the attitude of the northern men and the southern people towards the black people.

Ell Persons admitted that he had chopped off the head of the little girl, and had otherwise mutilated her. There was no doubt as to his guilt, but just before he was executed he accused two other negroes.

The leaders of the mob who lynched Persons investigated the charges. They knew from certain physical facts, and the statements of most reputable white people, that the two accused negroes were at their places when the crime was committed.

The mob leaders said: "We stated that the same men who lynched Ell Persons would see to it that the other two men were protected." And these men were protected.

In East St. Louis the riot seems to have begun after a fight, and the shooting of police officers by two or three negroes. Then every white person began to maltreat every black person. And negro women were finally slugged and beaten by white women.

In the south even lawless punishment runs against the individual. In the north it runs against the entire membership of the race that is in sight.

And Roosevelt Is "Not Debatable," Either

N Y C CALL
JULY 21, 1917

"MURDER is not debatable," again says Theodore Roosevelt in a letter to a labor leader, Olander of Chicago, on the East St. Louis riots. What does Theodore mean? That there must be no inquiry into murder, beyond the fact that the commission of murder has been established? That any inquiry into the cause of murder, any attempt to give reasons for it, must be barred

It seems that way. But Roosevelt would, assuredly, deny that. He has the type of mind that sees absolutely nothing in debate, inquiry or investigation of this sort, but, as he says, "a warrant" for murder; a "justification." The way to put an end to murder is not to inquire into the causes, but deal directly with the effects: punish the murderer; but if you inquire into how he came to murder—that is, "warranting" him in committing murder—"justifying" him.

Isn't that a queer mental twist? Does it not seem very strange to intelligent Socialists, who would never dream of thinking that the explanation of a phenomenon was the justification of it? But let us quote Roosevelt's own words, lest we be accused of doing him injustice:

> I refuse to treat any industrial conditions as *warranting* murder and riot, and I condemn all persons whether representatives of labor or not who attempt to palliate or excuse such crimes, or who fail to condemn them in clear-cut language. . . . I was not informed in any way as to these economic conditions which, it is alleged, led up to the riot. . . . I supposed the underlying cause to be racial.

There you have it. And when informed by Gompers that the underlying cause was economic, he instantly accused that party of "justifying" and "warranting" murder. He does so yet. He says flatly that he refuses to accept "industrial conditions"—and here comes the Rooseveltian twist—not as an explanation or cause of murder, but as warranting it. And when he says he wasn't informed of the underlying economic cause, he merely reiterates that, when he was informed, he would not hear of it at all. In his crooked mind, it could be nothing but a justification.

Years ago, when Roosevelt—then governor of New York—sent armed men to the Croton dam to "pacify" Italian laborers, and riot and murder resulted, perhaps he thought, too, that it was a "racial" instead of an economic phenomenon. But, then, what resulted he could easily contend was not "murder and riot."

Let us illustrate. Last year shoals of sharks invaded the local seaside resorts and killed some people. There were many theories as to why they left the southern waters. Just imagine a person of thoughtful disposition publicly remarking that he was of the opinion that the normal food supply of the sharks had failed through some obscure cause that, in turn, might be investigated, and the animals, being hungry, had naturally turned north hunting for food. Along comes Roosevelt, swinging his big stick and yelling: "You blank-blank, etc. You are warranting murder; you are justifying these man-eating monsters; you are palliating their crimes; you haven't said a single word in condemnation of their horrible atrocities! Don't hold me back, good people! Let me at him! The villain! Justifying the murderous sharks because of their economic conditions! Because a shark is hungry, does that warrant him tearing a human being to pieces? Just let me at that wretch, and I'll show him! When I get through with him there won't be enough of him left to feed a minnow, let alone a shark! Wow!" The offender, sighting those gleaming teeth, flees for his miserable life, and Theodore takes advantage of the audience to deliver a fiercely moral oration, which ns received with resounding cheers. Meanwhile the sharks calmly continue dining, just the same.

The sum and substance of it all is that "murder isn't debatable," because Roosevelt won't let it be debatable. He just says it isn't, and, thumping the table menacingly with his big stick, declares that "this discussion is now closed." And it is so ordered.

NO LONGER SECTIONAL

The recent race riots in Chester, Pa., give further and terrible confirmation to the warnings of this paper and others that race rioting, mob rule and lynching were no longer sectional but were spreading and increasing with the colored man's efforts to obtain a decent livelihood.

The organizers of the "Silent Protest" Parade also issued the warning that::

"Lynching is no longer sectional. It is becoming universal in the United States. Its detestable form is seen in the most unlooked-for places. It is strangling humanity and establishing the reign of Satan in these fair lands."

Prof. Du Bois, the fearless, militant leader, fully emphasized, in his address Wednesday night at St. Philip's, the growing menace of mob rule and the pressing need for counter action on the part of the colored American, if he would survive.

The "Silent Protest" Parade was aimed at this alarming spread of mob rule.

More than ever colored people are coming to realize that their only chance for safety lies in unity and a fight-back spirit. Wherever mob law his lifted its hydra-head one thing has been evident above the smoke and murder of race conflict: **Mobs are out for "fun," not for fight. Colored men willing to sell their lives dearly have usually preserved their lives. Only the coward or the helpless and defenceless are done to death.** Fifty armed colored men stopped a mob of 500 whites at East St. Louis. The same thing happened at Muskogee a few years ago. In fact, it is the usual outcome wherever the intended victims **stand and fight.**

SPRINGFIELD, MASS. UNION
JULY 4, 1917

CAUSES OF THE EAST ST. LOUIS RACE RIOTS.

The race riots in East St. Louis are the worst in the history of the country, as measured by the morality resulting and the large number participating in the assaults, and the affair has occurred in a Northern State. As the first tragic development from the northward migration of the Negroes these riots will be a source of serious concern to our Northern public, for it is more than ever apparent that the Negro question has ceased to be a merely Southern problem. As the trouble first developed in East St. Louis, it appeared to be primarily a question of housing the Negroes. When the blacks made their advent in the town in large numbers they obtained living quarters in districts that hitherto had been exclusively devoted to white residents, and in consequence a strenuous demand went up for the segregation of the Negroes. But it now appears that a labor trouble has been the main factor in fomenting passion. The new-comers are especially an object of attack because they are looked upon as strike breakers. Appeals were made to the city council, and the latter promised to inquire into the problem and undertake a solution, but matters have moved from bad to worse.

As one of the gateways to the North, East St. Louis is in a particularly disadvantageous position relative to Negro migration, but the State authorities have had ample time to view the rising tide of passion and lawlessness and they should have exerted firmer measures to curb the trouble. Reports tell of many thousands of armed men and women surging through the streets and of young boys and girls engaged in shooting and clubbing the blacks. Not content with having fired the homes of many Negroes and bringing the flames perilously near to the main business section, the crowd was mad for blood and defied the militia and police. It is needless to dwell upon the demoralizing effect such a situation exerts upon the community, or upon the evil example it affords in a general way, by promoting vengeful feelings among members of both races. The moral gravity of the affair renders insignificant the heavy property loss that has fallen upon the community.

Serious-minded Americans, realizing more than ever before that the Negro question is a national problem, will be moved to a draw lessons from the revolting orgy which has stained the good name of the city and State directly involved. A great mistake was made in the failure to make it understood in the early stages of this trouble that the law must be respected. Appearances indicate that the mob was actuated by a belief that the militia and police were really in sympathy with its actions, and a tolerant and passive attitude while the spirit of riot and murder was kindling rendered the authorities virtually powerless to arrest the storm when its most furious stages were in evidence. The results should arouse the vigilance of every community that, for political or other reasons, may be unmindful of the consequences of permitting mob hatred to gather force.

EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTER SENTENCED

(Associated Press.)

BELLEVILE, ILL., Aug. [illegible].—S. L. Schultze, who was one of the 105 persons indicted in connection with the East St. Louis riots, walked into the circuit court here this afternoon and pleaded guilty to a charge of rioting. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

Race Hatred

THE EVENING POST of Tuesday has the following lecture to read to the Socialist party, and, incidentally, to The Call, since this newspaper first m[illegible] the point regarding race hatred that the Post objects to:

N Y C CALL
JULY 12, 1917

> Right feeling and common sense characterized the protest made by certain delegates at this week's city convention of the Socialist party against the attempt to lay responsibility for the horrors of East St. Louis at the door of our iniquitous capitalist system, and thus indirectly to excuse an unspeakable outrage. Putting aside considerations of humanity, it is for the interests of the trade unions and the Socialist party to stigmatize race hatred whenever it makes itself manifest. Any other course would obviously be playing into the hands of the capitalists. It would be providing them with a weapon in future labor warfare for creating dissension in labor ranks. If hatred against the Negro can be used by unscrupulous employers as a lightning rod for animosity against themselves, labor is only lending itself to the game of its opponents by tolerating even the appearance of justification for anti-Negro riots. The pogrom methods of Russian autocracy were based on these very tactics of diverting popular resentment against itself into mob murder.

It may be written down as an axiom that whenever a capitalist newspaper, or any capitalist agency, speaks of the "right feeling" and the "common sense" of certain parts of the Socialists it is a delicate way of kicking all Socialists in the face.

It makes no difference that the Post does not understand what happened at the convention. A certain resolution was rejected because of its form, and not because of its content. Another was written, and promptly adopted.

The Post would have us believe the fairy tale that there are good people and bad people, and that the bad people, acting, as it were, in a vacuum, and without any relation to their surroundings, butcher Negroes. And that, if those bad people were not bad, they would not butcher Negroes.

That is Roosevelt's position, and it is also the position of the Post.

As a matter of fact, the Post stumbles upon the truth by mistake when its editor makes the point that race antipathies are used by unscrupulous people to array groups that should be homogeneous into hostile camps. And that is just our position.

There is a Negro problem that is a social problem, which arose remotely from economic conditions. But the keeping alive of the race problem, and the fanning of the flames, is an economic question, without any trimmings. The capitalist imports scabs to break a strike. But scabs are not murdered and burned alive. When the Negro problem enters, however, the social problem steps in, and the question that at first had nothing to do with jobs becomes a fierce and intense fight for jobs.

It really does not make a great deal of difference if the Post understands it or not. But probably the Post would believe that a landlord who refuses to repair a leaky roof does so, not out of class interest, but out of fiendishness of character. Well, let them. One cannot create understanding where none is.

But, for the benefit of our own souls, we will repeat: Socialists who emphasize the economic character of the race riots are not "justifying" them; we merely explain them, and by calling attention to the horrors and the brutality of them we explain that *this* is a fruit of our system; if you like it, all right. But, if you do not like it, there is but one way out.

And that is, not to make "bad" men "good," but to remove the economic causes.

Come again, Evening Post.

MORE LABOR FEUDS LINCOLN, NEB., START.

JULY 5, 1917

In declaring that the negro laborer will not unionize and will not strike, Michael Whalen, president of the trades and labor council at East St. Louis, not only explained the disgraceful and bloody rioting in that city, but gave the negro laborer a certificate of character that seems to promise additional disturbances in northern cities.

Men who conduct large industrial enterprises are always partial to employes who will not unionize and will not strike. When a company is formed to establish and set up that sort of an enterprise it goes out and hunts a city as a location for it in which labor unionism is not strong in order that they may be more perfectly assured that they can find labor that will not strike.

Evidence available conflicts as to the effect of the influx of negro labor into East St. Louis. Labor leaders declare that 800 negroes coming to that city while 2,500 men were on strike last summer crowded a large number of white laborers out of their jobs when the strike terminated.

Employers deny this, insisting that even with the negroes added to the white industrial forces there was not enough labor available.

Enough is told in the news reports of the awful eruption, however, to discover that it was not so much a race war as an industrial fued, which waxes ever bitterer than race hatreds, and is often even more bloodthirsty and ruthless.

From Chicago emanates a hint of a similar disturbance there, a negro leader being quoted as having advised men of his race to arm themselves against the developments of a similar fued in the metropolis on the lakes.

Just now, when there is presumed to be abundant work for every man, certainly such disturbances as that at St. Louis seem to be wholly unnecessary. It inspires no pride in the man with a white skin to contemplate the East St. Louis horror. Surely white men ought to be able to meet the competition of negroes in some more humane way than by killing them. Meantime the negro in search of employment has a wide field of effort just now from which to choose if he would avoid such experiences as overtook him in East St. Louis. He can go where unionism is not a potential force. Of if he goes where union labor holds tyrannical dominance, he must, to avoid rancor and bloodshed, consent to ally himself with the dominant element. The conclusion to be drawn from the utterances of President Whalen of the trades and labor council at East St. Louis is that if the negro had been willing to unionize and strike there would probably have been no race war there.

A negro can hardly expect immunity from disorder under such circumstances. White men cannot expect it. In the passions of an industrial conflict white men slaughter each other as if endowed with an appetite for blood. Labor wars are no respecters of persons or colors.

And no government has ever yet solved the problem of how to prevent men from quitting work in order to go into the business of killing each other.

SACRAMENTO CAL UNION
JULY 5, 1917

Crime of East St. Louis.

THE events of Sunday and Monday at East St. Louis would have done credit to Russia in the dark days of the czar. From the rather hysterical accounts of the rioting, it would seem that helpless men were shot and burned without mercy. The cause of the trouble seems to have been the importation of negro labor to make good what was called a labor shortage.

It is unfair to lay blame for the outrages on either white men or black, in the absence of any detailed information as to the actual facts. The act which precipitated the general disturbance of Monday and Monday night seems to have been the shooting by negroes of some officers who were trying to preserve order.

But back of that incident there was a series of minor disturbances extending over some weeks.

But whatever the cause, no possible excuse or justification can be offered for the crimes of the people of East St. Louis when they deliberately applied the torch to a whole section of the city and then shot down in cold blood negroes as they fled from the flames.

As is usually the case in race wars, although the blame for the outbreaks is laid on the black men, the casualty lists tell a different story.

If the negroes are the assailants, it is difficult to explain the fact that scores of the black men were killed or wounded, while the number of white men killed seems to be very small.

The troops have been charged with cowardice for their failure to protect the negroes. We believe it would be more nearly accurate to charge them with being sympathetic with the white mobs which were hunting the negroes to death.

The whole incident is disgusting. It simply shows that when race issues are involved, there is not a great difference between the American and the Russian.

OUR DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL.

THERE was something peculiarly ferocious and brutal in the East St. Louis riots, and there was something peculiarly un-American and revolting in the mobbing of the pacifist parade in Boston on July 1.

What impression will these episodes make on Europe?

N Y C ISSUES & EVENTS
JULY 14, 1917

We have gone into the war to spread the doctrines of democracy, and if these events are samples of our democracy we must expect to be told that we have still much to learn from the Russian revolutionists.

Democracy means equality, liberty of movement and free speech, the right of petition, the right of peaceful assemblage for the redress of grievances.

In Boston a soldier mob looted the Socialist headquarters and burned its contents. How will the Russian Socialist government accept Mr. Root's pretense of democracy when the Soldiers and Workmen Delegates hear of the treatment meted out to American workmen marching in peaceful parade with their women, babies in arms, and carrying the flag of their country?

What significance will be attached to the race riots in East St. Louis, so like the anti-Italian riots at New Orleans of a decade ago?

Issues and Events condemns all acts of violence. Nothing but harm is accomplished. Frank, open and objective discussions of all problems should be encouraged, as this must naturally tend to improve the quality of administration in any government, especially in a republic; but all preaching of anarchistic, hyper-socialistic and destructive doctrines should be discouraged. Let us reason with these men and make them advocates of some constructive work in which they can use their surplus energy to good advantage.

At the bottom of it all is the morbid war hysteria that has been engendered by the intemperate preachings of race hatred by men like H. P. Davison, Rev. Dwight Hillis, Roosevelt, James M. Beck and George Haven Putnam. The public mind has been lashed into a frenzy; the mob spirit has been unleashed, and it will be a subject of congratulations if these outbreaks of popular fury are not followed by further outrages of the same kind.

It will be inevitable unless the administration emphatically expresses its displeasure with the continuous agitation of irresponsible stump orators who are haranguing mobs in all parts of the country to excite race hatred.

EAST ST. LOUIS RIOT.

It is astonishing that a considerable number of East St. Louis workingmen could have been misled into such a manifestation of race hatred as disgraced the fair name of the city Monday night. Mayor Mollman and the sheriff of St. Clair County acted properly in promptly asking Gov. Lowden for troops to preserve order, although it is not improbable that most of the participants are now ashamed of their excesses and rejoice that comparatively so little damage was done.

The inciting causes were progressive, but baseless, when examined in the light of cool reason. The theory that the large number of negroes who have come there to work have been "imported for use as strikebreakers" is idle. The exodus of negroes from the South has been in progress ever since "war prosperity" struck the country and created a demand for labor at wages that were very attractive to the Southern negroes. We have frequently called attention to Southern disquietude over the situation, as it has caused a great labor shortage in the South. Brief reflection on our peculiar conditions should convince anybody that no employers are looking for strikebreakers. All are confronted with the prospect of increasing labor shortage and considerations of business and of patriotism will make the settlement of every reasonable labor difficulty prompt and satisfactory. The story that negroes were buying weapons at pawnshops was doubtless a gross exaggeration. It is not in keeping with their reputation, anywhere in the world. The robbery of two white men by a negro was a serious offense, but it was hysterical brutality to inflict punishment on orderly residents of East St. Louis, solely because they were of the same color as the offender. White highwaymen have been very active in St. Louis, but there has been no effort to drive out all the whites on that account.

It was a blind, cruel, unreasonable thing the mob did, but that is characteristic of mobs. There is something about the contagious hysteria of a mob that makes its members for the time being forget their common sense and self-respect.

N Y C WORLD
JULY 31, 1917

RACE RIOTS AND ORDINARY RIOTS.

We cannot agree with the Evening Post in the opinion that race riots are regrettable chiefly because negroes suffer from them. We deplore race riots, as all other riots, because they are riots.

It is a matter of record that violence at East St. Louis, Ill., and Chester, Pa., began on the part of the blacks. We have the same story to-day as to the more recent disorders in Waco, Tex., in which United States soldiers were involved. To recognize the truth in these matters is not, as the Evening Post says, to apologize for race hatred. It is to do everything possible to prevent the growth of race hatred.

Samuel Gompers was right when he said the outbreaks at East St. Louis in their origin were economic rather than racial, and the Evening Post and Mr. Roosevelt are wrong when they contradict him. Whatever may have been the case years ago when political questions were uppermost, fights between blacks and whites nowadays are like fights reported all the time in various parts of the country between white men alone. Color may accentuate the quarrel, but it is not the cause.

The World therefore repeats its remark of yesterday to which the Evening Post takes so much exception, which is that the principal injustice to the negro in these affairs lies in holding the race responsible for the conduct of individuals.

BRIDGEPORT CONN TELEGR
JULY 11, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS AND GERMANY.

It was to be expected that our pro-German and pacifist friends would pounce upon the deplorable and un-American race riot of East St. Louis as an example of that thing existing in America which we denounce in Germany.

It ought to be clear to any one not blinded by the strange intricacies of German logic, that to compare the surreptitious race riots and lynchings in certain undeveloped sections of our country, with the methodical and imperially authorized atrocities of the German government, is to compare white with black.

Every true American is horror stricken at the riot in Illinois. Newspapers in both South and North have denounced the people and the authorities of that city in no uncertain terms. America's treatment of the black man,—yes and of the yellow man and the red man,—where it has been unfair, has been done without the consent and knowledge of the whole people. Our very progress along these lines proves that as the conditions have become known, public sentiment rose up to better them, and make them more representative of American principle.

No one asserts that our treatment of the helpless peoples within our borders has always been just. But to compare this occasional oppression, confined to certain sections of our nation where the level of public enlightenment is none too high, with the studied fiendishness of the German government is too absurd.

Not surreptitious and occasional are these German atrocities, but authorized by military necessity, and their own writers and speakers confess it so. The nation which declared a holiday when the Lusitania was sunk, which struck medals with that frightful scene embossed upon them, the nation which ordered the shooting of Nurse Cavell, which officially raped Belgium as a lesson to a too free people, which raids unfortified centers of population for moral effect, such a nation can be compared to but one other people who have ever breathed the air of heaven, and that one is the Hun of the darkest ages.

N Y C FINANCIAL AMERICA
JULY 17, 1917

ST. LOUIS RIOT INQUIRY ASKED.

Washington, July 16.—An investigation of the East St. Louis, Ill., riot by a joint Congressional committee or by a United States Circuit judge and jury drawn "at large," was asked by Senator Sherman in the Senate today. He declared that under existing circumstances it would be impossible to fix the blame on the individuals responsible for the rioting.

"The people of East St. Louis," he said, "are living in a crater which may explode any minute unless the strong arm of the Federal government steps in and controls the situation."

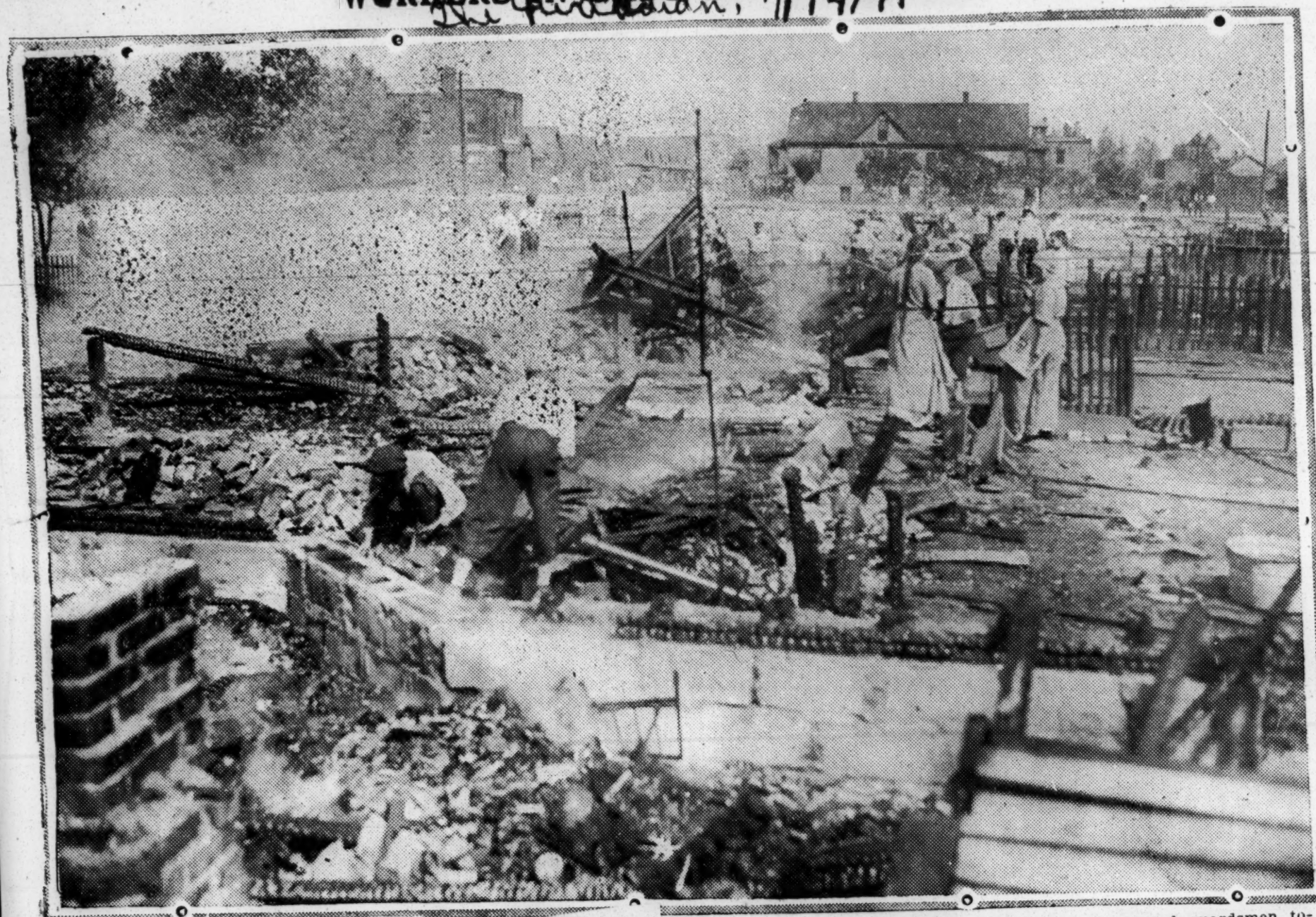
From telegrams he received Senator Sherman stated that conditions were hourly growing worse and that State authorities were powerless to prevent a recurrence, of the riot.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF WORK OF LABOR UNION MOB IN MURDERING COLORED WORKERS IN EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

The Guardian, 7/14/17



(Cut courtesy of the Boston American)

Murder-[illegible]rson Orgy Over in E[illegible]st St. Louis; Blacks A[illegible] in Flight

02 M N WORK
USKEGEE INST AL
RSD

28 Negroes Known to Have Been Killed, 75 Others Injured and 310 Homes Burned by the Mobs.

CITY BEING PATROLLED BY ILLINOIS GUARDSMEN

Thirteen Companies on Duty to Prevent Recurrence of Rioting—Brutality Shown by the White Women and Girls Passes Belief.

East St. Louis, July 3.—Thirteen companies of national guardsmen tonight patrolled the streets of East St. Louis in an effort to prevent a recurrence of the race riots here which since yesterday morning have resulted in a death list of 28 persons, the injury of 75 or more and the destruction by fire of 310 negro homes, covering 16½ acres.

The community of 80,000 persons is terrorized by the events of the last two days and fear of the inability of the guardsmen to cope with the situation was intimated today when the chamber of commerce demanded to know from Adjutant General Dickson why the troopers had not displayed more energetic activity last night. Adjutant General Dickson explained that his force was handicapped by the small number of troops available.

The police force, which numbers sixty, also was charged with negligence.

Today many negroes walked out of town on the railroad tracks, more crossed to the Missouri side where all was quiet, and still others, assured of protection by the augmented force of soldiers, returned to their homes. Some, whose homes were burned, were cared for in a camp hastily arranged by the chamber of commerce.

No systematic search of the ruins was made today, but fear that scores of dead might lie beneath gradually disappeared. Last night brought rumors that many bodies had been thrown into the rivers, but the waters gave up no dead today and by night it was doubted whether the death list would much exceed the list in the mortuaries.

One negro, badly injured, was discovered in a sewer man-hole where he was thrown after being badly beaten.

Labor Leader Explains Riot.

Michael Whalen, president of the Central Trades and Labor Council here and likewise city clerk, gave one explanation of conditions which he thought led to the rioting.

"Last summer," said Whalen, "4,500 white men went on strike in the packing plants of Armour & Co., Morris & Co. and Swift & Co. Eight hundred negroes from the south came into the plant as strikebreakers. When the strike was over the negro remained at work and an equivalent number of white men failed to get their jobs back. Since then there has been a stream of negroes arriving. At least 2,500 negroes have come from the south in the last year. Many of them failed to obtain work, or to hold jobs once obtained. Burglaries, highway robberies and petty crimes began. The people became exasperated and determined to drive them out of town."

Mr. Whalen said that the chief objection to the negroes was that they would not unionize and would not strike. Managers of plants mentioned by Mr. Whalen asserted that not a white man had been deprived of work because of the negroes. Even with the negroes it was difficult to get enough labor they said. They explained that rosy letters written back home by the first arrivals accounted for the continued influx from the south.

Governor Lowden Arrives.

News that Governor Lowden was coming, as well as ten additional companies of guardsmen, tended to restore confidence tonight, despite a few new incendiary fires. One hundred of 193 persons arrested last night were released this afternoon and some others were fined for carrying concealed weapons. Of the 93 cases in which inciting to riot was charged, all but three were dismissed for lack of evidence. Three others accused by witnesses of dragging a negro through the streets with a rope around his neck were held to the grand jury.

Governor Lowden and the troops from Springfield arrived at 9 o'clock. The governor conferred with General Dickson and Mayor Mollman. Later he attended a meeting of the chamber of commerce.

Thomas H. Walker, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor and a member of the Illinois council of defense, also arrived and conferred with labor leaders.

Governor Lowden was said to be angered at criticism of the militia by members of the chamber of commerce.

Thirty-five small fires occurred tonight in small shacks. All were said to be incendiary. There were no other

REEL 7

disorders. Bridges were closed to the public.

Wounded Negro Butchered.

Bits of clothing taken from dead negroes were shown today by souvenir hunters. One brutal incident of the night was related today. On Fourth street, near Broadway, three men saw a negro, apparently dead, lying in a gutter. One flashed a pocket light in his face and saw that he still breathed.

"Well, what do you know about that!" he exclaimed; "not dead yet." He and one of his comrades then drew their pistols and fired a bullet into the negro's head.

Policemen today tried to prevent the taking of photographs of fire ruins and black bodies still lying in the streets.

"It's the chief's orders," said one bluecoat. "East St. Louis doesn't want that kind of advertising."

An incident of the night indicated the temper of the mobs. One crowd went about the streets shouting against the mayor. "Let's get Mollman!" they shouted. "He's the man what brought 'em in."

The cry was raised because of a false rumor that Mayor Mollman went south and advertised that negro labor would be paid well in East St. Louis. As a matter of fact, the mayor visited New Orleans and conferred with the railroad heads and others to discourage the negroes from coming.

Ferocity of White Women.

Another of the innumerable brutal incidents of the night was the attack on a young negress. White men and women were among the assailants.

"Let the women have her," was the cry among the men, and white women began tearing the garments from their victim.

The negress' cry, "Please, please, I ain't done nothing," was stopped by a blow in the mouth with the club which a woman swung like a baseball bat. Another white woman seized the victim's hands and the blow was repeated. Fingers tore at her hair and her waist was stripped from her.

"Now, let's see how fast she can run," suggested a woman as the negress broke loose. The women were loath to leave her alone, but after following her with their blows for a short distance they stopped and she ran crying down the street.

The women next tried to get an aged negress who was guarded by three militiamen. One of them wrestled with the soldier for his rifle and others succeeded in getting in a few blows.

NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS MAKE BITTER PROTEST.

Boston, July 3.—Telegrams to President Wilson, Governor Lowden, of Illinois, and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, were dispatched tonight by officers of three negro associations having headquarters here, appealing to them to use their influence to prevent a recurrence of the race riots in East St. Louis, Ill.

The New England League for Afro-American Suffrage asked Governor Lowden to use his influence "to maintain justice for colored native American citizens." The message said press reports of the riots "indicate, in our judgment, great danger of an uprising of 12,000,000 colored citizens, who will not much longer submit to injustice and outrage by white Americans and to indifference of the national government."

The Boston branch of the National Equal Rights league declared in its telegram to Samuel Gompers that the "bloodiest, most murderous massacre of colored Americans in the country's history, at East St. Louis, Ill., was committed by labor unionists," and called on him to declare his position.

The National Colored Liberty conference addressed its plea to President Wilson, imploring him to use all the powers of his office "to bring the guilty parties to justice and to prevent a recurrence" of the riots and beseeching him to express himself in "no uncertain terms in condemnation."

All the telegrams refer to the effect which such disturbances may have upon the prosecution of the war.

"SQUARE DEAL" URGED BY TUSKEGEE HEAD.

Tuskegee, Ala., July 3.—In response to a telegraphic request for his views on the East St. Louis rioting, Major R. R. Moton, head of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial institute, Booker T. Washington's successor, sent the following to The Advertiser tonight:

"Replying to your telegram asking my opinion on the East St. Louis riots, I beg to express my personal pain and chagrin, as well as the discouragement and chagrin of millions of my people throughout the country, that these riots, on the eve of the celebration of the Declaration of Independence, should occur to bring shame to our country, especially at a time like this, when we are calling upon negroes, as well as white men, to defend democracy, and to stand for a 'square deal' for weaker nations and weaker peoples.

"There is room in America for the various racial groups to work out their salvation. Killing and maiming men because they are seeking economic salvation is not, in my opinion, a credit to our civilization or to our boasted doctrine of 'fair play.'

"With all her faults, the south at least cannot be criticised for killing men seeking employment and a better economic status.

(Signed) "R. R. MOTON,
"Principal, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute."

TWO OF MEN ON TRIAL IDENTIFIED AS RIOTERS

ST. LOUIS MO POST-DISP [illegible]
NOVEMBER 8, 1917

Negresses Say That They Saw Mike Evanhoff and Ed Otto Entering Homes.

Two negresses, testifying in the Belleville Circuit Court today, identified two of six white men, charged with conspiracy in the East St. Louis race riot of July 2, as having invaded their homes at the time of the riot.

Mrs. Ada White said Mike Evanhoff was one of two men who entered her house at 1417 Gross avenue and that while she hid in a closet, they broke dishes and carried away a suit of clothes belonging to her husband. She heard one of the men say, "Let's get all these niggers," she testified.

Mrs. Rosie Augustus of 1309 Nectar avenue said that she, while hiding in a neighbor's house, saw Ed Otto, another of the defendants, break the door of her house with an ax.

Evanhoff is a coal and ice dealer; Otto is a steamfitter. Others on trial for conspiracy are: John Rogers, a stock yard employe, and Daniel Walsh, a railroad yard clerk. Judge Heard of Freeport, Ill., is presiding.

The State rested its case at noon. The charges against two defendants, George Zeman, a saloonkeeper, and Charles Ortgier, a carpenter, were nolle prossed, because of lack of evidence against them.

LOS ANGELES CAL. TIMES
JULY 10, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS AND CIVILIZATION.

The race riots started by white labor unionites in East St. Louis against the colored workers came at an embarrassing juncture in this country's history. We had just plunged into the war for the express purpose of saving civilization from barbarism, of registering our lofty disapproval of selfish aggression, of upholding the rights of all people to live in peace and the pursuit of happiness. But we had beholden the mote that was in our brother's eye, and perceived not the beam in our own eye.

Perhaps it is meet and right that we should be reminded of our own very human imperfections, for in this crisis this country is apt to suffer from that pride that goes before a fall. The allied nations that are out to save civilization will do well to proceed in all humility and attend to our own beams even while so earnestly concerned about our brother's motes. It is good that our President should address lofty and idealistic perorations to the world, but such little reminders as East St. Louis has vouchsafed should go far to bring home to us the necessity of living up to them.

We have not failed to pour our ridicule upon the British Empire that calls the Indian citizen, but denies him the freedom of the empire. We waxed sarcastic on the subject of the Komagata Maru which brought Indians to Canada who could not be admitted to that country under its exclusion laws. But East St. Louis has done worse.

But perhaps this set-back to our national pride will not be without its satisfactions. Even the phlegmatic English, scornful of the Hymn of Hate, superciliously disdainful of personal venom, were guilty of violent attacks upon defenseless German citizens in London in the early days of the war—useless petty revenge on individuals wholly guiltless of direct responsibility for the sins of their government. England has been properly ashamed of all that—and it has made her more reluctant to deal out Zeppelin reprisals to Germany, reminded her that one who retaliates horror for horror becomes equally horrible.

And it has remained for East St. Louis to remind us that we, too, are very unpleasantly human. That while theoretically we are superior, in practice of our national virtues we are weak.

If the incident does nothing but recall our own personal interest in the maintenance of civilization, it will not have occurred in vain. In short, if we remember henceforth that civilization should begin at home, East St. Louis will have done the country a painful service.

CHICAGO ILL. HERALD
JULY 5, 1917

IT MUST NOT STOP THERE!

The first act of the orgy of crime and outrage and riot in East St. Louis is doubtless ended. There are troops on the scene that will do their duty. There are officers in command who mean business. There is a governor who declares that the "last man and the last dollar" of Illinois will be spent, if necessary, to restore order. The frenzy of the mob is no longer the supreme law in an Illinois community.

But the remedy must not stop there. If the situation is supposed to be disposed of with a mere restoration of order for the time being—if the men with the guilt of blood on their hands are to go unwhipped of justice—if officials who failed to discharge their duty in a courageous manner are not to be brought somehow to book—then law will have been dealt a blow in Illinois from which it will not soon recover.

Let there be a thorough investigation. Now that the riot has subsided under the cold glitter of the bayonets of the recent detachments of the National Guard, let the law-abiding citizens bestir themselves to help give the law such a vindication that never again will so hideous a stain be put on Illinois. Guilt of commission and of omission walks the street today in fancied security.

Let every agency of law and order in East St. Louis, in the county, in the state government itself, be used to the uttermost to give it an unforgettable lesson. Let it be made plain once for all that local government does not mean immunity for local murder and riot. Wherever the guilt lights—whether it be on civilians, city or county officials or even on officers and men of the militia, charged by certain persons with inaction and tolerance of mob violence—Illinois should see that it gets its just deserts.

East St. Louis, Illinois, the law itself, are all on trial until this grim and terrible business is settled and settled rightly. Failure of justice means a vicious precedent that will plague the commonwealth for years to come. When the issue of law or anarchy is presented as plainly as in the orgy at East St. Louis there should be but one answer.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

The East St. Louis Pogrom.

—SAN FRANCISCO CALL BULLETIN
JULY 4, 1917

WHEN ONE READS the awful details of the murder and carnage in East St. Louis our vaunted democratic civilization does not show up very well. The security of life and property guaranteed by our government, without distinction as to race, color, or religion, becomes a gruesome farce. On the face of it, the pogrom against the negroes seems merely the result of race prejudice, of color antipathy.

The reason for this barbarous affair, however, is deeper than the difference of the pigment in the skin; the real reason is an economic one. The European war suddenly stopped the inflow of immigration, that immigration upon which we depended for the great supply of unskilled labor. The despised negro began to find himself in demand to make up the shortage, and many thousands migrated northward in response to the demand. His economic position at once improved. The South protested, fearing that an exodus of their cheap black labor would cripple King Cotton. In many industrial centers, like East St. Louis, white labor, holding the whip hand and resenting any dilution of the labor market, sought to enforce their self-assumed dictatorship by force and violence, regardless of the rights of American citizens. In most cases they themselve were aliens. The horrible events of Monday night were only the culmination of a series of outrages. If such blots on our civilization are to be avoided in the future, the problems of the economic adjustment of labor must not be left to the cave-man method of settlement, but must be worked out in a sane and enlightened manner with due regard to human rights.

The facts of the East St. Louis battle are bad enough, but when sensational and exaggerated reports of it are read in Europe, a painful impression will be caused. What will the new Russia say? What will they think of our protestations of sympathy toward their ideals? Perhaps the Russian people will sign thousands of petitions protesting against our pogroms; they would be justified in doing so.

From the Frying Pan to the Fire

N Y C CALL
JULY 4, 1917

EVERY now and then some phase of what is called the "Negro problem" intrudes itself on our otherwise complacent society, and nearly always as tragedy, but in every case with a distinct economic basis. For the last two or three years there has been a constant and increasing hegira of Negroes from South to North, and it is calculated that no less than 400,000 already have shifted. In some Southern districts entire communities of Negroes have trekked north, leaving behind them a "labor problem" that the white men of the regions find insoluble. As the hewer of wood and drawer of water in the South, the Negro, like every other laboring class, was at once despised and absolutely necessary. Negro clergymen have preached sermons asserting that the social conditions for the Negro in the South were becoming ever more intolerable, and that his flight northward is an attempt to escape from them; that he left behind or forfeited considerable amounts of property rather than stay in the hateful environment; that he came north to seek liberty—or at least greater liberty.

No doubt this is true enough; though, perhaps, not quite the whole truth. The shortage of labor and the higher wages in the North also acted as an attraction, and there is, also, the persuasion of the Northern capitalist seeking labor. But it is reasonable to believe, of course, that were the social conditions under which the Negro lived in the South not so unbearable the Negro drift to the North would be much less than what it is.

Socialists always have held that what is called the "Negro problem" is at bottom economic—part of the great labor problem—and the latest developments bear out this view completely. The Negro has left a "labor problem" behind him in the South, only to bring one with him to the North, and its working out there is as tragical in another way as the one he left behind him.

Our readers will have noticed the accounts of the hideous conditions now existing in East St. Louis, where the white men, suspicious that the Negroes had been deliberately brought to the place for strike-breaking purposes, set upon these unfortunate people and shot and burned an unknown number of them—running from 75 to 200—also setting the city on fire in several quarters, and as the press reports, with a touch of unconscious irony, have it, "the flames reached the very edge of the business district." That no very strenuous efforts were at first made to call a halt on the butchery may be seen by the reports that "men seized guns from the national guardsmen patrolling the district and turned the muzzles on the blacks." Hundreds of Negroes fled in terror across the river to St. Louis, and the damage by fire is at present computed at about a million dollars.

This paper does not indulge in useless denunciation. It leaves that to the capitalist press, which for generations has covered the actual basic facts with volumes of futile scolding and regretting, and misleading allusions to "race rioting." Races are involved, to be sure, but the fundamental cause is not racial, but economic, and until that is understood white men and black men will continue to murder each other, with the latter contributing most to the slaughter, as, being the weaker party, they always must.

We admit regretfully that few white men understand this, and still fewer Negroes. But until it is understood, and action deduced from it, these hideous scenes will continue. There is no such thing as a solution of the so-called "Negro problem" without a solution of the immeasurably greater labor problem, of which it is but a part. There is no escape for the Negro in flying from South to North or from East to West, or in any direction whatever. He can, en masse, no more get away from his "problem" than a man can abandon his shadow, and that is quite as true of the white workingman also. An individual Negro may go, say, to a country like England and find better social conditions, but the mass of Negroes cannot. They would simply bring the "problem" with them. And, curiously enough, the same papers that recite the East St. Louis terrorism tell us of a small demonstration against a group of Negroes living together in a single house in London. The fact that in this case the grievance against them was connected with white women makes no difference; it would be a casus belli in any part of this country also. The root of the "problem" is always economic, and it never can be settled until it is dealt with from that basis.

courtesy of the Boston American)

MEMPHIS TENN SCIMITAR
JULY 5, 1917

THE COLOR LINE IN TIE NORTH

It is exceedingly unfortunate at so many thousands of Southern negroes have been misled, ing the last few months, into migrating north, under the del n that by changing their residence they would improve their cial and economic status.

Recent events have proven how oneous is any impression that the North holds welcoming a to the negro, and that his condition is bettered merely by a nge to the other side of geographical lines.

The South has its lynchings. T ews Scimitar is not trying to dodge any issue of that cha ; but it is to be noted that when mob rule holds sway in th uth it always is directed against a specific individual for a cific crime. Ell Persons was lynched near Memphis a few weeks ago; lynched not because his skin was black, but because he had perpetrated a hideous crime. Negroes mingled with the mob which burned Persons, and not a white man even attempted to molest them.

East St. Louis has written a terrible chapter in American history by its race riots. The cause of the outburst was pure race antipathy, and not because negroes have been taking the places of white men. Reliable reports have it that every white man in East St. Louis who wants to work has employment.

But it is not only East St. Louis which shows the attitude of the North toward the negro. In the same state, Illinois, one of the worst race riots in the country's annals was staged not so many years ago, in Springfield, the capital city. News dispatches indicate a threatening aspect of affairs in Chicago.

New York City, twice within as many months, has been the scene of race trouble leading to bloodshed.

The Southern people understand the negro. There are individual cases of oppression and injustice down here, but as a class the negroes are much better off in the South. They are understood by their white neighbors; their faults are known and forgiven in advance, and their burdens are borne cheerfully. No trouble comes to any negro in the South if he behaves himself.

The leaders of the race—and there are many of them doing a good work—should strive very hard to show these facts to the negroes down here. There is a place for the negro in the South. If members of the race continue to migrate where they are not wanted, the time may come when the Southern employer, in self-defense, will turn to other fields for labor, and then when the disillusioned negro returns he may find that the place he left is his no more.

CHICAGO ILL HERALD
JULY 4, 1917

LOOK FOR THE POLITICIAN!

Back of the orgy of murder and riot which has disgraced East St. Louis and Illinois is the great migration of negroes to this section. And back of that is not only the industrial explanation but the argument which self-seeking politicians have furnished to those trying to induce the negroes to come North.

The industrial argument might not be sufficient—particularly in these days when employment is to be had in any part of the country. But when to it is added the appeal to come North and play a big part in politics—to be coddled by this or that brand of politician or political faction—to get jobs and become tax-eaters just like the white people—what wonder that the simple negroes allow themselves to be herded into cars and hurried here?

This is no idle supposition. In the repertory of the agent trying to promote migrations this appeal is certainly not omitted. All the facts that can be gathered up and that self-seeking politicians in their desire to exploit the negro vote have furnished are unquestionably used. This part of the country is represented as a political paradise for the negro, where he will compensate himself fully for the lack of political importance which he has known in the South.

Thus in this case as in all other ills from which we suffer in this country we find crooked politics and the unscrupulous politician playing a distinct and dangerous role. "Look for the politician!" is as good a rule as "Look for the woman!" in cases of individual crime. His bad influence acts pervasively and often directly to bring about conditions that tax the ability of the rest of the community to deal with. His is a great responsibility for murder and death, but what does he care for that as long as his own hide remains untouched?

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS
JULY 14, 1917

SYMPATHIZES WITH NEGROES

Cardinal Gibbons Expresses Sorrow at East St. Louis Rioting.

Expressions of sympathy for the sufferings endured by the colored race in the recent riots of East St. Louis, Ill., and elsewhere, are contained in a letter received today from Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, Md., by L. C. Valle, 4011 South State street, real estate dealer and prominent in colored Catholic circles of the city.

"Cardinal Gibbons has long and practically sympathized with the sufferings of the negro, and regrets the sufferings lately borne by that race," reads the letter signed by the bishop's secretary, L. O'Donovan.

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

East St. Louis and Labor

What really was behind the East St. Louis riots, resulting in wholesale murder?

TOCOMA WASH TIMES
JULY 6, 1917

The theory that Germans stirred it up is scouted. That it was precipitated by labor unrest appears to be a more acceptable view of the case. It is charged by some that southern influences, alarmed by the migration of negroes to the north, where they got better wages, stirred up the race question and fanned it into destructive flames. It is charged by others that negroes worked for less wages than the white men in East St. Louis, throwing many of the latter out of employment.

If the labor situation was really the cause of the bloody affair at St. Louis, the nation may well pause for serious reflection. It may well consider the patriotic words spoken by Secretary of War Baker and by Theodore Roosevelt in Fourth of July addresses.

Said Baker at New York:

"We must fight for democracy at home as our armies will fight for democracy abroad. We must not allow the hours and conditions of men who work in factories and workshops to be upset and interfered with."

And Roosevelt, speaking at Long Island, referring directly to the East St. Louis case, said:

"The causes, social and INDUSTRIAL, should be fearlessly and thoroly investigated, so that the primitive remedy may be found, and the investigation should blink no fact, however ugly."

It may be well, also, to study the words of Ernest P. Marsh, president of the State Federation of Labor of Washington, a member of the state council of defense, who joined with the other members in asking for federal troops to protect the harvest in the Yakima and other sections of the state.

According to Marsh, he voted for this measure, not as an act of repression against labor, but as a precautionary measure. Marsh declares that the strength of the I. W. W. in some places is due to a few shortsighted employers who refuse decent conditions to the men.

"I told the council," said Marsh, "that the employers should consider the men who are honestly striving for better conditions, and make legitimate concessions."

"Right now it is a patriotic duty," he added. And it is!

In these days of high tension, it is particularly well to study labor affairs with an eye to real human conditions.

SYRACUSE N Y POST-STANDARD
JULY 18, 1917

To Keep the Negro at Home.

The Negro has not left the cotton field for the Northern factory solely because he is paid higher wages. He has not gone because the song of the industrial agent has charmed away his reason. He will not return because Southerners tell him that his natural home is in the South and that East St. Louis is typical of what he will get in the North. He likes the South better than the North, but if he is to continue to make his home in the South he must be permitted a fraction of the comforts and privileges which his brother in the North has.

This is the message to the South from a Southern paper. The Houston Post advises its people to look into the causes of dissatisfaction of the Negro with his environment, and to consider if they are not valid. The Negro wants more money for his work, he wants to be paid regularly, he wants the cities and towns to show some consideration for sanitary and moral conditions in his neighborhood, he wants the opportunity which the Negroes in the North have.

Our town landlords throughout the state (declares The Post) have the idea that "anything is good enough for a nigger," and thousands are huddled in miserable shacks standing upon untrained ground, without sewerage, without water service, and without ordinary comforts and conveniences which are really essential to community health. Even worse conditions obtain on many of the plantations, while the rural schools for Negro children where they exist at all are a joke.

This is plain speaking, and plain speaking is needed. The Southern whites will never admit the Negroes to social equality, but—what's the use of pretense and pale attempts at self-deception—neither will the Northern white. But the Northern whites will admit him to equality in labor opportunity—in unskilled labor at least—they will give him a chance to educate his children, and they will clean up his slums as ruthlessly as white ones. These things the South must do to hold its labor, out of respect for competition if not out of a sense of justice.

N. Y. C. TIMES
JULY 5, 1917

ST. LUIS RIOTS

BRIDGEPORT CONN FARMER
JULY 3, 1917

A MOB OF half mad Americans has been raging in the negro quarter of S Louis for hours. Many negroes have been murdered. Negro homes have been burned, and negroes hunted through the streets as if they were wild animals.

The occasion for the riot was a conflict between negroes and police, during which a policeman was killed by a negro. The offense was committed by individuals, who alone are guilty. But mob punishment was directed against the whole negro quarter.

Here under the stars and stripes is the same spirit that slaughtered Jews in Russia, and Americans in Turkey.

The negro came not to the United States of his own will. He was brought here by the sin of the white man. He is the white man's ward, and is doubly entitled to the protection of the laws.

The guilty leaders of the St Louis mob should be apprehended and punished. Here was no case of lynching a negro for a specific offense. The St. Louis affair was a deliberate and lawless assault upon innocent men and women.

The irritation at the bottom of the difficulty probably was economic in its origin. The negroes compete with certain classes of whites in the lower forms of labor, work cheaper, and so make it more difficult for whites to live. The healing of the economic feud, which so generally exists between whites and blacks, can only come when industry is better organized than now.

URGES NEGROES TO GET ARMS.

Liberty League President Advises His Race to "Defend Their Lives."

Negroes who fear mob violence, whether in the South or elsewhere, were advised last night by Herbert H. Harrison, President of the Liberty League of Negro Americans, to supply themselves with rifles and fight, if necssary, to defend their lives and property. Mr. Harrison spoke at a meeting held to protest against the East St. Louis riots in the Metropolitan Baptist Church, on One Hundred and Thirty-eighth Street, between Lenox and Seventh Avenues. About a thousand negro men and women were present and enthusiastically applauded the speakers, all negroes also. Every speaker denounced the rioters in East St. Louis as guilty of "ruthless murder" and condemned the authorities for not having ample protection ready in time to prevent the rioting. Edgar M. Grey, who presided, said the league had sent a message to Congress appealing for a thorough and impartial investigation not only of the St. Louis riots, but of the subject of negro lynchings in general and of the treatment of negroes throughout the country.

"They are saying a great deal about democracy in Washington now," he said, "but while they are talking about fighting for freedom and the Stars and Stripes, here at home the whites apply the torch to the black men's homes, and bullets, clubs, and stones to their bodies."

Harrison won great applause when he declared the time had come for the negroes to do what white men who were threatened did, look out for themselves, and kill rather than submit to be killed.

"We intend to fight, if fight we must," he said, "for the things dearest to us, for our hearths and homes. Certainly I would encourage the negroes in the South, or in East St. Louis, or anywhere else who do not enjoy the protection of the law, to arm for their own defense, to hide those arms, and to learn how to use them, and I would gladly encourage the collection of funds to buy rifles for those who cannot obtain them for themselves. We negroes in New York cannot lie down in the face of this proposition. This thing in East St. Louis touches us too nearly. We must demand justice, and we must make our voices heard."

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 25, 1917

Riots.

To the Editor of the Post-Dispatch.

It is said that the riot in East St. Louis was caused by the $6 a day wage. Do fair wages produce riots in Detroit? Industrial disturbances are caused by penury. A $5 a day wage for all useful toil would make the wings of peace hover over this land.

SIDNEY AVERILL.

CLEVELAND O. PLAIN DEALER
JULY 4, 1917

Terrorism Inspired by Terror

The outbreaks of lawlessness in East St. Louis are directly attributable to the resentment of the white population against this year's unprecedented influx of southern negroes. Their coming has been noted in every industrial city of the north, and in some places serious problems are presented for the solution of the authorities. Only in East St. Louis has there been a resort to terrorism.

Most outbreaks of racial hatred are attributable to anger stirred by the crime of some negro against a white man or woman. The East St. Louis rioting is unique, or nearly so. The only discernible cause is the general terror of the whites lest the community be overrun by the blacks. Like all mobs inspired by sheer unreasoning terror this one has been cruel, relentless and unreasoning. It has surpassed in brutality the rioters of other cities who have set forth at times to punish the whole negro race for the crime of an individual. The motive of terror is more ferocious than that of mere vengeance.

There is no possibility that the northern movement of the negroes will be checked by manifestations like those of the people of East St. Louis. The movement merely follows the law of supply and demand. There is demand in the north for labor, and the negroes, perhaps mistakenly, see an opportunity to better their condition of life. The south can ill spare these emigrants, and is highly perturbed at the prospect of a shortage of all kinds of labor. The cities of the north are not eager to receive the newcomers. Yet nothing short of a general nationwide regulation can check the movement. Orgies of murder and arson have no effect beyond besmirching the name of the community which indulges in them.

The state of Illinois has been sufficiently warned of the temper of East St. Louis. Any further outbreak will bring disgrace to the entire commonwealth. It may be hoped that the state, with a militia in readiness for service in war, will no longer permit one small city to give itself over to outlawry and mob rule.

CHICAGO ILL. HERALD
JULY 6, 1917

Herald's East St. Louis Story.

Chicago, July 4.—To the Editor: I cannot refrain from offering the HERALD sincere congratulations on the telegraphic report of the East St. Louis race war, published in this morning's issue.

The Shame of Illinois.

Chicago, July 4.—To the Editor: I have taken the HERALD and its predecessors more or less for thirty-five years, and I generally like its policy and tone, or I would not take it. But I am surprised and disappointed at its editorial on the East St. Louis crime and blunder. I have no doubt that politicians are partly responsible, and no doubt that, as Jack Lait said, trouble is soon to come from a large influx of negroes into almost any northern community. But, whatever the causes or the explanation, the sad, shameful, disgraceful fact is that any civilized, not to say Christian, community should be guilty of such cowardly, inhuman, brutal outrages on a helpless, inferior race.

I am ashamed of Illinois, the state of Lincoln, of Grant, of Logan. I heard today quotations from the Declaration of Independence, and I thought of the irony of it all in view of what has so lately happened. We all have been horrified at the butchery of the Armenians by the "unspeakable" Turk, by the deportation of Belgians by the Germans, by the murder of women and children by torpedoes and Zeppelins. But our mouths are stopped if, without the excitement of war, we tolerate more barbarities than these. I hope Governor Lowden will cashier the officers and disband the militia, and in some way punish the city and county officials for their disgraceful neglect of their plain duty. L. M. BELDEN.

Of course, when Mr. Belden wrote the above he had not seen the HERALD'S editorial of July 5, "It Must Not Stop There!" The editorial of July 4 covers one aspect only.

What Rev. J. W. Lee Told St. Louis Congregation About Illinois Negro Massacre

Constitution 7/15/17

(From The St. Louis Globe-Democrat.)

Never again can one section of the country select and set apart any other section as barbarians to a greater extent than other places. We have been having lynchings in the south, and lynchings in the north, but no part of our country can say to any other part, 'Physician, heal thyself.' All parts are guilty under the stress of mob hate of giving way to the vilest passions of which human nature is capable.

"The sad thing about this spirit of lawlessness and lynching, and murder, is found in the fact that it is usually practiced against the negro, who, without his consent, was brought to this country, who lived in a state of slavery until 1865, and who has made a contribution to the agricultural wealth of the country perhaps greater than any other race of American people, and yet he is selected as the object upon which to vent American hate, and upon whom to practice American lewlessness.

"There never was an anarchist among the negroes. They believe in observing the law, and yet anarchists like Emma Goldman can stir up sedition, urge insurrection against the government, and go practically unmolested, while the poor negroes in East St. Louis, for no other crime than that they wanted to work, were pounced upon, many of them beaten to death, their houses burned, and they themselves driven from their homes by hyenas and tigers in human form.

Father a Slaveholder.

"My father was a slaveholder. I was brought up on a plantation near Atlanta, Ga. When my father joined the confederate army he left my mother and his children on the plantation with no other protection than such as the negroes could give. This was true with the families of slaveholders all over the south. And yet, while the soldiers of the northern armies were fighting to free the negroes and the negroes knew it, there has never been a case reported where the negroes failed to be loyal and true to the family of southern soldiers. The fidelity of the negroes to the defenseless women and children in the south during a war, waged to determine whether they should be kept in slavery, has no parallel in history. All the meanness the negroes practice today, they have learned from mean white folks.

"The best people of East St. Louis are not to blame, as the best people in the south were never to blame, for the lynching in that section. The whole situation, north and south, is due to the fact that politicians, without conscience, have been permitted to occupy places of authority and they have deliberately excused dives and places of immoral resort, if they have not even fostered them, and through the influence of such places there have grown up among us a class of people that are a menace to orderly government and to American civilization itself.

Need New Civilization.

"In view of all this, it must be clear that what we need in the United States today is a new civilization, in which there must be the silent reassertion of the principle of authority—of an authority purged and purified by the rejection of all unworthy elements, an authority based on the reality of eternal laws. We must bring back into human life that recognition of the value and sacredness of life, that we have more or less lost in the past fifty years.

"The mark of western civilization has been working in one direction as individualism, in another as scepticism and in another as materialism. All this has resulted in the questioning of authority in every department of life. The idea has been the liberty of the individual in contradistinction from the freedom of the whole. There must come to us the realization that there is, after all, a moral, and unless this does come there can never be accomplished the re-establishment, within the social order of our nation, that authority necessary to preserve us from anarchy and chaos.

Best People Must Unite.

"We must establish a class made up of the best people, who shall assume the responsibility of elections to office, and keeping in office only such persons as will themselves observe the law and force others to observe it. We must come to the recognition of the oneness of our lives, the dependence of every man upon every other man, and with the realization of this universal unity of our people, the cruelties of our civilization will disappear, for the simple reason that they will be no longer tolerable.

"The indifference to the lot of others, which we recognize in the lawless outbreak of hate in East St. Louis, must give place to a growing sensibility and a growing feeling of the vital unity of all the people who make up the social order. So much of our civilization is based upon sheer negligence and inconsiderateness that it is often oblivious to sheer cruelty. All this must be doomed by the quickened conscience of the people.

"The vision of the best and the noblest must, in the ages to come, be a universal fact. In the civilization of the future all optimists must believe in a world that is becoming ever more thoroughly purified of cruelty, one linked up in all its parts by an ever widening sympathy, and informed by an ever purer spirit of kindliness. This war is preparing the way for such a new order of life. All who believe this have on their side the machinery of the universe and inevitably what is best must prevail."

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 8, 1917

THE ROOSEVELT-GOMPERS THRUST.

Perhaps in the tilt between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Gompers at Carnegie Hall in New York, Mr. Gompers was done an injustice. Perhaps such an incident had no place in a meeting called to welcome the members of the Russian delegation to America. But it resulted in giving very wide publicity to an accurate characterization of happenings in East St. Louis during the past week. Mr. Roosevelt said:

> Before we do justice to others it behooves us to do justice within our borders. I refer to the race riots in East St. Louis for which, as far as we can see, there was no provocation and which resulted in such appalling brutality as to leave a stain on the American name. It is our duty to demand that the Governmental authorities shall use with ruthless severity every power at their command to punish those guilty of murder, whether committed by whites against blacks or whether by blacks against whites. It is our duty to insist first of all on the restoration of order and the reign of law. Upon the foundation of law and order we must build the structure of justice.

The Russian delegates will not carry back to their own new republic an impression that such disgraceful outrages against public security are the usual thing in this country or that there is any general disposition to condone them or minimize their gravity.

MOTON SAYS SOUTH DOES NOT KILL MEN ASKING EMPLOYMENT

Advertiser 7/14/17

(Special to The Advertiser.)

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALA., July 3.—In response to a telegraphic request from New York for his views on the East St. Louis rioting, Maj. R. R. Moton, head of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Booker T. Washington's successor, sent the following telegram:

"Replying to your telegram asking my opinion on the East St. Louis riots, I beg to express my personal pain and chagrin, as well as the discouragement and chagrin of millions of my people throughout the country, that these riots on the eve of the celebration of the Declaration of Independence should occur to bring shame to our country, especially at a time like this when we are calling upon negroes, as well as white men, to defend democracy, and to stand for a 'square deal' for weaker nations and weaker peoples.

"There is room in America for the various racial groups to work out their salvation. Killing and maiming men because they are seeking economic salvation is not, in my opinion, a credit to our civilivation or to our boasted doctrine of 'fair play.'

"With all her faults, the South at least can not be criticised for killing men seeking employment and a better economic status.

(Signed) "R. R. MOTON,
'Principal, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots—1917 East St Louis

KILLED AND BURNED BY THE MOB AT EAST ST. LOUIS.

Copyright, International Film Service.

The remains of a Negro burned by the mob in the East St. Louis, Ill., riots.

N Y C AMERICAN
JULY 5, 1917

30 Negroes Fleeing Mob Died in Theatre

East St. Louis, Ill., July 4.—Work to-night of clearing the wreck of the burned Broadway Opera House, where many negroes ran for refuge at the height of the riots, revealed that bodies of both sexes were in the debris heaped to the number of not less than thirty. Fire, suffocation and burial by the collapsing walls were the causes of death.

A Federal investigation of race riots here, in which thirty-three negroes and four whites were killed and approximately 310 negroes homes were burned Monday, was begun today by Colonel George H. Hunter. Colonel Hunter is under instructions to make a full report of the trouble to Major-General Thomas H. Barry at Chicago, commandant of the Central Department.

The city was absolutely quiet today.

DESECRATING THE AMERICAN FLAG.

According to press reports, during a race riot at Flat River, St. Francois County, Mo., a few days ago, when ***white*** men were arrayed against foreign born men regardless of whether they were citizens or aliens; the leader of the mob carried a large American flag; and as the rioters moved about the town, making every foreigner the target of assaults, the flag was waved continuously as though it indorsed ever[illegible] committed by those self styled Americans.

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 20, 1917

This is a clear case for the Department of Justice to take action. The flag has been desecrated, yes more so than when a man refuses to rise or uncover when the flag is being raised to its mast.

Who Is Responsible? Those who made up the immediate mob are not wholly to blame for the occurance at Flat River. It is the natural characteristic of a mob to go to extreme unless checked by the strong arm of the law. But the trouble with this country is that those having the enforceing of the law in their charge have been too lax, because most of the acts of the mob violence have been imposed upon the colored people. The foreigner and the ***whites*** have all joined in mobs to kill, butcher and assault poor innocent colored people, and the officers have stood by and winked.

As we have said in these columns before, they have been ***sowing the wind*** and of course, they must reap the whirl-wind.

The acts of the mob styling themselves as ***"All Americans"*** with a spirit to drive from honest toil all foreigners, sounds the alarm. It is time to wake up. It shows how grave the situation is.

The American flag is an emblem of protection and justice. We wonder what those foreigners think who, under the waving of the stars and stripes, were driven from their jobs and from their homes. They had the right to think that the flag was for their protection; but we suppose they have changed their mind now. They have seen the lie written upon its face by a mob.

We have been taught that the United States Government backed up the flag, and if any one insulted it, tore or desecrated it, all powers of the Government would be invoked to punish the guilty ones. But so far as we have heard, no efforts are being made to punish those responsible for heading a mob with an American flag,

PHILADELPHIA PA. [illegible]
JULY 5, 1917

Anarchy at East St. Louis

EAST ST. LOUIS has done nothing to help make the world safe for democracy. It has, instead, brought shame and reproach on the United States and the principles of law, order and tolerance of which we like to think our flag is an emblem.

Of what provocation the race rioters had for their indulgence in the bestial orgy of Monday night the country is poorly informed, but of justification there can be none. The mob violated the letter and spirit of American institutions.

We are told that an army of Southern negroes have lately "invaded" East St. Louis, accepting work in its industries at a lower wage than that formerly paid to the resident workers. That may be true, but it is no crime. Had they worked for nothing, to do so was their right, and they should have been protected by all the force of the State in their exercise of it.

The absence of such protection leads straight to anarchy, and because it was not given, the State of Illinois shares with the bloodiest fanatics among its citizens in responsibility for Monday's horror.

WOMEN RIOTERS SURPASSED MEN, WRITES HOPKINS

Syracuse Man, Eye Witness of Negro Hunt, Describes Scenes.

Six Hunted Persons Killed Within Hour—Two-year-old Child Is Shot.

SYRACUSE N Y HERALD
JULY 6, 1917

Peter H. Hopkins of this city, who is in East St. Louis, Ill., buying horses for the United States government, has written to friends here a vivid account of the massacre of negroes which occurred this week and which he says, was more horrible than anyone could imagine. Mr. Hopkins wrote.

There were 310 houses burned by the mob covering an area of over sixteen city blocks. The firemen estimate the damage roughly at more than $300,000. The fires continued for more than thirteen hours. On Monday afternoon and night groups of men were out for no other purpose than that of slaughtering every negro that they could overtake.

One little colored girl, not more than 2 years old, was shot through the heart when a house was "shot up." Six negroes were killed within an hour of each other Monday night, one of them being lynched. Four were killed as they ran out of their homes which were burning and in the mob which stoned and shot them down were several young girls, none of them more than 20 years old, all carrying revolvers.

The whole thing didn't seem so much like riot as it did like a man hunt. The hunters were in small groups, generally without a leader. A good many of the men looked like respectable working men, although some of them were loafers. I, myself, saw one negro covered with blood—a horrible sight—try to raise himself on his elbow and look around about him and a young man in the crowd picked up a big flat stone in both hands—it was so heavy he couldn't lift it with one—and hurl it down on the injured man's head. No one made any effort to stop him.

Sheds Were Set on Fire.

The sheds in the rear of the negroes' houses, which were themselves in the rear of other buildings, were set on fire to drive out the colored people, while the whites lay in wait for them. They had to stay in and be roasted or come out and be butchered. The first man that came out was about 21, I should say. I just got to the corner when I heard the shots and yells of "They got him!" And they did have him sure enough. He lay there on the pavement with a bullet through his head and his skull bare in two places. Every time he moved, someone would give him a kick in the jaw or the nose or heave a big stone at him. I guess he was dead by the time I got away, which was just as soon as I could manage it.

The butchering went on so fast that at one time one man was lying dead in the alley on the west side of Fourth street and another on the east side.

The women were worse than the men. A pack of them grabbed a colored girl who was running down the street. One of them struck her a blow in the mouth with a broom stick, swinging it around like a baseball bat. Her hair was pulled out by the roots in great handfuls till the blood came with the hair. Half a dozen women at once clawed the poor wretch's face with their fingernails and tore her clothes off, but she finally got away with her life.

Maybe the soldiers couldn't have done anything to stop the trouble, but it didn't seem to me that they tried. I hope that the riots are over, for I never dreamed of anything so frightful.

day campaign and was numbered among the "trail hitters."

He lived the greater part of his life in Hawley avenue and Green street. Within the past year he took up his residence at No. 140 Forest avenue. He was a member of the Syracuse lodge, No. 501, F. and A. M., and the Tuscarora Scouts, a group of local men, who held annual outings at Shackelton's Point, on Oneida lake.

Besides the son Sergeant Larrabee leaves his widow, Mrs. Nettie Smith Larrabee, and another son, Raymond E. Larrabee. Arrangements for the funeral have not been completed.

E. SIDE NEGROES ARE VACCINATED

ST LOUIS MO REPUBLIC
JULY 4, 1917

Discovery of Smallpox Cases Leads to Inoculation of Mob Refugees.

Vaccination of the several hundred negro refugees who are being cared for in the East St. Louis City Hall was decided upon last night by Health Commissioner Henry Allston, following the discovery that three blacks were suffering from smallpox.

Although the three did not mingle with the refugees, Allston said the vaccination was merely a precautionary measure. He and an assistant vaccinated more than 100 negro men, women and children during the evening.

Most of the negroes quartered at the City Hall are homeless and penniless. Virtually all lived in the districts devastated by Monday night's fires. They are eager to leave the city as soon as possible, and efforts are being made to obtain railroad transportation to Southern points for them.

Many of the negroes are from Mississippi, from which State thousands of negroes have been imported into East St. Louis in the last few months. This importation was the cause for the race riots which broke out in East St. Louis late in May.

Many of the negro women, several of them bent with age, who are at the City Hall, told of narrow escapes which they had from the mobs Monday night. Three barely escaped with their lives, numerous bruises and abrasions on their bodies verifying their stories of the merciless manner in which they were mistreated.

PASTOR URGES NEGROES NOT TO GO ARMED

Rev. S. B. Jones Says Justice Will be Done for East St. Louis Riots.

SPRINGFIELD ILL. TRANSCRIPT
JULY 9, 1917

GRAFTER AS A MENACE

Placing the negro political grafter as the greatest menace to the advancement of the negro race, Rev. S. B. Jones of the Ward chapel of the A. M. E. church discussed various phases of the recent race riots in East St. Louis last night.

He prefaced his sermon with the announcement that the conclusions he would draw were gathered from his five years' experience in that city and not from the accounts which he had read or heard.

The industrial phase of the question was first discussed. He said that in this connection the industrial conditions in the south were bad and that in endeavoring to better their conditions many of the southern negroes appealed to the labor agencies, and that as a result many of these laborers had been brot to East St. Louis, and that after accomplishing the purpose intended a boat was ready to take them back down the river without cost of transportation.

Polititcs was the next phase touched on, and in this he placed the principal blame on the political grafter who stood on the street corners with a motto over his head, "Get the Votes." Don't ask questions, get the votes. This he blamed as being in a large way responsible for the trouble, which he predicted some time before it actually came.

Saloons, Too.

The saloon question was another. He declared that the big St. Louis breweries stood ready and willing at all times to back anyone who made a sufficient front about being able to get the money. This led to the setting up of a lot of groggeries of the lowest type and also let in their attendant "dens of iniquity."

Race leadership was another point touched on. He admitted that occasionally those who did not represent the great mass of the negroes set themselves up as leaders, and by so doing did great harm to the race.

"As long as there is hatred in the mind of either side, there cannot be an equitable settlement of the race question" he declared.

He called the attention of his hearers to the fact that they were American citizens and to always remember the fact that from Bunker Hill to today the negroes had always participated and shown their loyalty to their country, and in this dark hour their greatest duty was to obey the law. "Use reason and sense" and "don't go about armed." He said that Governor Lowden would deal with the question fairly and they could rest assured that justice would be done to those guilty of the crime which stained the fair name of the state of Abraham Lincoln, John A. Logan and men of that character.

Outbreak in St. Louis To Aid the Germans, Says Colored Pastor

Constitution 7/ 1917

"I hope no negro will allow himself to be discouraged or embittered by outbreaks of race hatred such as has recently disgraced Illinois and stirred to its depths the moral sense of the entire nation," said Dr. James Bond, pastor of the Rush Memorial Congregational church, yesterday morning, in the prelude on "The East St. Louis Incident and the Negro."

"There is," said he, "no reasonable ground for either discouragement or bitterness in this awful expression of race hatred. We are, with all good citizens, shocked and horrified that such a thing could happen at this time anywhere in our beloved country.

We have a sense of shame and humiliation not as negroes, but as citizens, that while we are fighting for democracy across the seas, dedicating to the task our best treasure and our most splendid men, here in the greatest democracy on the globe such undemocratic, such inhuman deeds should be perpetrated. They minister not to the needs of Russia, but they aid and abet Germany.

As an American citizen I am ashamed. As a negro I am hurt. As a Christian I am grieved. But I am neither discouraged or embittered. My heart is still full of faith and warm with the milk of human kindness. First I believe in God. God omnipotent still reigneth. Justice and judgment are the habitation of His throne. Second, I still believe in the strength of our institutions and in the inherent sense of justice in the great American heart, which, when the passions and prejudices of my fellow-citizens have subsided, will assert itself. It must be so, or else all the treasure given and blood shed to establish and maintain this democracy of ours, and all the blood and treasure now as freely offered to establish democracies across the seas, will prove an awful waste and human nature the offspring of the devil and not of God."

Third, I am animated and sustained by hope and love because I believe in the negro race. Its history, its present attainments, its spirit, convinces me that within it are the elements of indestructibility. Out of the fires of persecution it will emerge, bigger, and truer, and finer, to add its contribution to the life of the nation of which it is a part and from which it has received so much."

WAYCROSS GA HERALD
JULY 6, 1917

The negro has been warned, warned, we fear, too often, of the dangers of the north. He has been misled, misinformed, and now is finding that the old saying "All that glitters is not gold" is true. Promise of higher wages and better living conditions has been the main reason for the exodus of the negro to the north. If the negro can find employment elsewhere at higher wages, that is his business. Every man seeks advancement. But it is wrong for the northern labor agents to lie outright to the negro to get him away from the sotuh. Such things always have their final settlement, and East St. Louis is the first to make payment. Whether the payment has been sufficien to put an end to the tactics that have been employed, whether the negro will heed the handwriting on the wall, are matters time will determine. Experience is the best teacher of all, we have been informed often, and it may be that what the negro needs is some experience in the north. The East St. Louis experience cost the lives of at least thirty negroes and four whites. How many more were killed or burned to death in their homes when the mob not satisfied with wholesale murder, took up arson as a side line, may never be known. Shamed by its attacks on the south, perhaps the Chicago Tribune will get busy in its own backyard and endeavor to do some of that cleaning up they have urged was so badly needed in the south. In the meantime, if the negro wants to go north, that's his business. His labor is needed here—it is probably as badly needed elsewhere. If he wants to stay, where the negro situation is at least in the hands of a people not quite as barbaric as the Chicago Tribune has said—he will no doubt be glad of it.

Riots—1917 East St. Louis

IONS OF SAMUEL GOMPERS' IDEA OF "REAL DEMOCRACY 'N AMERICA" AT E. ST. LOUIS

The Guardian, 8/4/17

BURNED NEARLY TO DEATH IN FIRES SET TO HOMES.
(Courtesy of Boston Journal)

FIRES FOLLOW EAST ST. LOUIS RACE RIOTS

THREE LARGE AREAS OF ILLINOIS CITY ARE BURNED.

N Y C JRNL OF COMMERCE
JULY 3, 1917

One Estimate Puts Number of Dead Negroes at 250—Military Rule Proclaimed at 8 P. M., by Which Time 300 White Men Were Under Arrest—Flames Near Big Railroad Yards.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 2.—At least fifteen negroes were shot and killed by mobs here to-night as they fled from their burning homes which had been set on fire by mobs, and three large areas of the city were burned by the spreading flames.

The exact number of negroes who perished in the burning houses is unknown and will not be ascertained until morning when the ruins are searched.

Estimates ran as high as 100, but there was nothing authentic on which to base these estimates, except that hundreds of whites stood around the edges of the burning districts and fired at the negroes as they fled from their homes.

State Attorney Schaumloeffel, of St. Clair County, drove through the riot-swept district to-night with Police Inspector Walsh, of St. Louis, Mo. The State's attorney estimated that the dead negroes would number 250. All estimates, however, are conjectural.

Military rule was proclaimed at 8 o'clock to-night, and at the same time 300 white men were arrested and locked up at police headquarters. Negro quarters in various parts of the city then were on fire, and the flames reached the very edge of the business district.

At nine o'clock the Mayor of East St. Louis sent for Fire Chief Swingley of St. Louis, Mo., to assist in fighting the flames, which had threatened to destroy a large part of the city. A company of the St. Louis Fire Department started to East St. Louis, but was ordered back by Chief Swingley.

At 8:30 o'clock fire broke out in the district known as the "Valley." This fire came perilously near to the big railroad yards of East St. Louis. At 9 o'clock four more negroes were shot by snipers. At 10 o'clock it appeared as if the "Valley" district was doomed to destruction. This is the third large area to be burned. The property damage will reach many thousands.

Vast clouds of smoke rolled across the sky to-night from the burning district, flames made some of the downtown streets as light as day, and now and then a yelling mob rushed down a street in pursuit of a negro or in search of new excitement. National Guardsmen loaded in automobile trucks dashed after the mob. The shouting died down occasionally as bewildered people walked up and down the streets wondering where the last outbreak occurred.

The fires started about 6 o'clock this evening and spread rapidly. Soon flames visible for miles were shooting into the sky. Hundreds of negro women, most of them carrying bundles that held all their belongings, and leading small children, fled across the bridge to shelter and safety with friends on the Missouri side.

Telephone wires were cut early in the evening. As telegraph and telephone poles caught fire other wires went down.

The mobs fought in nearly every section of East St. Louis since midnight. The rioting is a recrudescence of race troubles that occurred here a month ago following the importation of large numbers of negro laborers from the South.

At sundown the rioting still continued in some quarters of the town. Women and girls, joining with the men, dragged negro women from the street cars in the downtown district.

At 6 o'clock white mobs began to set fire to the homes in the negro quarters, and before 8 o'clock approximately twenty houses of negroes were burning.

Troopers themselves were disarmed by the mobs in many instances, and, together with the police, seemed powerless before the rioters.

The disorder which began when a mob of 200 negroes fired on an automobile load of policemen last night, killing one, reached a climax in the broad daylight this afternoon. In this outbreak three negro men and one white man were killed, two white men and two negroes were shot and wounded and twenty-three others so badly beaten and stoned that they were taken to hospitals.

To-night, with the saloons closed and street car service stopped by order of the authorities, national guardsmen began escorting truckloads of negroes across the river to Missouri.

The negroes seemed helpless in the face of to-day's outbreak. Two white men who were shot and one who was killed were victims of stray bullets.

At 11 o'clock to-night estimates of the dead in to-day's race riot and fire ranged from fifteen to seventy-five, of whom two were white men.

Buildings were still burning at four different points in the city at that hour. The property loss was estimated by City Attorney Fekete at $3,000,000.

BOSTON, MASS. HERALD
JULY 14, 1917

JUSTICE TO THE COLORED MAN.

To the Editor of the Herald:

In the Herald of the 5th inst. appears a letter in the Public Letter Box headed "Has Massachusetts a Negro Problem?" in which the writer seems to me to have a veiled purpose, and not so very thickly veiled either—of endeavoring to connect the colored citizens of this country with the Bravas on Cape Cod. He says "the black men and women mobbed in East St. Louis were of the same race as the Bravas whom some whites on Cape Cod regard with loathing"—and he might have added they were both of the same race—the human race. In the letter just above Mr. Vallandigham's in the same column, we are told that the Bravas came over in a ship "packed like sardines"—that "they have no code of right and wrong"—that "they sleep 20 or 30 in a house, on floors, side by side," etc. What connection is there between these 200 ignorant Bravas brought over to be cranberry pickers on Cape Cod, and the 12,000,000 colored American citizens of our country—the former come from the Cape de Verde islands, west of Africa, a Portuguese possession, and do not even speak our language.

On the other hand, the 12,000,000 colored people in this country were born here, are protected by the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to our constitution, enacted especially for them—many of them graduates of our colleges, ministers, doctors, lawyers, editors. Mr. Vallandigham wonders what will happen if there are in the state of Massachusetts, 10 years from now, 150,000 colored citizens instead of 40,000 as in the census of 1910. Well, when that problem arises, we will meet it. He fears that "blacks" as he calls them will be competing with whites for employment, and many instead of few black faces appear in our schools. What of it? It isn't the color of a man's skin, but the use he makes of the skin he has, that determines his value. He brings in the Bravas once more to say that many of those who come to us from the South will stir the antipathies of the white people as they have been stirred by the Bravas.

The article referred to states: "Some persons of superior education in Massachusetts have a warm sentimental regard for the Negro." Yes, we have all that and a good deal more too—namely, sentimental regard translated into esteem and respect for all of them and love for many of them—to have them on our hearts and minds—to try and rouse the slumbering conscience of New England and the country by attending committee meetings, having hearings before the Governor, sending telegrams of protest to the President and Governor of Illinois, as in the recent Memphis lynching where a colored man was burned alive, and in the East St. Louis massacre where 33 colored citizens were killed—and to try to secure a law making lynching a federal crime.

The presence of colored people in East St. Louis was not so much accounted for by the "natural and proper movement of population" as by the injustice, lynching and segregation of the South. A Louisville colored paper, received yesterday, gives this incident: "When a car in which were 30 colored people reached that city, the passengers were told by the conductor to leave the car, as it was necessary to make some change, and as soon as the colored passengers were on the platform the car was filled with white pas-

HISTORY OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 1

sengers and started. It was 3 o'clock Sunday A. M., and the colored passengers, who had first-class tickets (among them the wife of a colored minister, who narrated the incident), were told to wait for the next train, which left at 8 A. M. Such instances rankle in the hearts of all who love fair play.

One characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race has always been thought to be a love of justice. Justice is an attribute of God, and we ought to be glad to be on God's side in our effort to help those whose chief fault seems to be that He made them with a different tint of skin from ours. On our way to carry democracy beyond the Rhine, let us carry a little of it down the Mississippi.

WILLIAM D. BRIGHAM.

RIOTERS KILL 350 NEGROES IN E. ST. LOUIS

100 SHOT OR HANGED, AND 250 DIE IN FLAMES—OUTBREAK FOLLOWS DETECTIVE'S MURDER.

N Y C CALL
JULY 3, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS, July 2.—Negroes are being shot down like rabbits and strung up to telegraph poles.

The official police estimate at 9 o'clock put the number of dead at 100. They reach this total partly through reports that many victims have been pursued into creeks and shot, burned in buildings or murdered and thrown into the Mississippi. The exact number of dead probably will never be known.

Six negroes were hanged to telegraph poles in the south end of town. A reliable white man reports having counted 19 Negro corpses on a side street.

Mayor Mollman, accompanying a squad of soldiers to the lynching, came upon a mob that was dragging a Negro at the end of a rope. He was screaming and praying. Mollman ordered the troops to arrest every one in sight. A cordon was thrown around the crowd, most of whom were bystanders, and 200 of them were marched to the City Hall under arrest.

Martial law has been declared, and Commander O. S. Tripp, adjutant general of Illinois, is in charge. He announced that no prisoners arrested by the militia will be turned over to the police.

Seventy-five armed whites who were caught by a company of militiamen in the act of stringing up a Negro were taken prisoner by the soldiers.

250 Dead in Flames.

The Globe-Democrat says:

"There probably are 250 dead in the East St. Louis fire zone, according to State's Attorney Schaumeffel of St Clair county, who was driven through the district tonight in company with Inspector Lawrence Walsh of the St Louis police department.

"Traffic on the roads and the free bridges has been ordered stopped."

Late tonight it appeared that the entire Negro settlement on the Black Valley, covering about two square miles, was doomed by flames. Four white men were killed by Negro snipers at 9th street and Missouri avenue about 9 o'clock.

Fire is now attacking the International Harvester company and other valuable property.

Negro Kicked and Then Shot.

All the afternoon crowds of whites defied the soldiers patrolling the streets. Negroes were dragged from street cars and interurbans and beaten. One Negro was kicked into helplessness in the street near the national guardsmen, who were powerless to protect him. A man rushed up and fired six shots at the fallen Negro. Two struck him and he died.

At a meeting this afternoon, the Chamber of Commerce asked Colonel S. O. Tripp, representing Governor Lowden, to declare martial law.

Colonel Tripp agreed to bring enough troops to the city to restore order. Eight companies are now here, including the two companies of the 6th infantry stationed here on guard duty. Six more companies are on the way.

Flight of Negroes Begins.

There are many signs, however, that no matter what is done by the troops the trouble will not be ended permanently. It is deep-rooted.

Flight and deportation of Negroes, of whom there are 10,000 in East St. Louis, already is on. Motor trucks, crammed with blacks and guarded by soldiers, have been crossing the Mississippi to the Missouri side all day. Some went of their own accord. Others were removed by Col. Tripp. Armour & Co. lent a fleet of motor trucks for the exodus.

An example of what the guardsmen are encountering is the beating of Negresses by young girls. That sort of thing has become common. Late this afternoon it resulted in the death of a Negro. Six girls had been pursuing a Negress around the main railway station, termed locally the "relay depot." A mob formed behind the girls, who were screaming frantic epithets at the terrified black girl.

"Send them back to Africa!" "Kill them all!" "Lynch them!" shouted the young women. Suddenly the crowd swept from the trail of the Negress.

A yell arose. "There's one!"

A Negro was walking on the railroad tracks. Before he realized his peril, he was killed. Half a dozen pistols cracked, and the man dropped without a chance to run.

Two white girls, neither more than 17 years old, were cheered when they dragged a Negro girl from a street car, removed her slippers and beat her senseless with the sharp wooden heels.

Mayor Closes All Saloons.

Following the conference between Colonel Tripp and the chamber of commerce, Mayor Mollman ordered all saloons closed at 2 o'clock.

The mayor also ordered all places of business, including theaters and candy stores, to close their doors at 6 o'clock. By executive direction, the street cars ceased to operate at 7 o'clock.

The fire department was busy fighting flames in the Negro quarter and every few minutes reports were arriving that dead Negroes were lying in alleys or in black belt dwellings.

While the firemen fought the first big blaze, at Main and Railroad streets, with 200 soldiers holding the mob back, a second fire broke out two blocks away. Additional apparatus arrived, but it had no sooner unlimbered than the mob made a dash and began slashing the hose.

Mobs Defy the Police.

The mobs are bold and show no fear of the police or the soldiers. Half of today's killings took place downtown.

The present condition is a continuation of the situation that developed May 28 and 29, when several Negroes and whites were wounded in riots consequent upon the efforts of white workmen to drive out Negroes who, they said, had been imported from the South.

The excuse for today's savagery is the murder last night of Detective Coppedge. Three other policemen and two citizens were shot at the same time. Coppedge and his squad, seeing themselves hopelessly outnumbered, were trying to back away peacefully from 200 armed Negroes, who had assembled for some mysterious purpose at the midnight tolling of a church bell, when the Negroes shot them down.

Roy Alberton, a newspaper reporter, was the only one of the group to escape a bullet. He crouched on the running board of the police automobile and out of range of the fusillade.

Innocent Bystander Killed.

The second white man to be killed was William Kaiser, 50, a hardware merchant. He was standing in front of his store in Collinsville avenue, the main business thoroughfare of East St. Louis, when the mob was shooting at a Negro. A stray bullet penetrated his breast.

Ignoring the presence of national guard patrols and squads of fixed posts, several to a block, mobs formed in Collinsville avenue several times during the day. Colonel Tripp found himself in the midst of a riot at Collinsville and Illinois avenues at 1:30 o'clock. He ordered two motor trucks to gather up members of the 6th regiment, and 60 men broke up the mob, but not before it had finished its work by killing two Negroes.

Col. E. P. Clayton of the 3d infantry is in direct command of the troops, working under Colonel Tripp, who is an assistant adjutant general. The mobs are taking all white prisoners from the police.

THE EAST ST. LOUIS RIOT.

The riots that are taking place in East St. Louis seem to be the culmination of industrial disturbances, but possibly the deepest and most potent factor in that riot as in all race riots is prejudice, racial prejudice, a prejudice that has its cause and only defense in the color of a man's skin. But it is not the riot itself, or the cause of the riot that this little editorial hopes to deal with, it is conditions suggested by a close study of what took place at the time of the riot. It appears that soldiers were called out. If reports are to be credited one of the first duties of the soldiers was to disarm all Negroes. The second duty seems to have been to stand by and quietly give assurances to all white rioters that they would not be disturbed as long as they were killing, busing and bleeding Negroes, and burning and looting their property, and if the Gazette is to be credited, and we are sure it must be, the soldiers when asked why they did not stop the rioters simply gave for an answer, a grin. The crowds seem to have cheered when Negro women were assaulted and pulled from the street cars, and set upon by white women, backed up by white men. No soldier, police or civil authority interfered. This possibly is the saddest feature of the entire affair, for when authority, the proper authority, whether state or municipal, wink at crime, at open crime, that permits crime under their very eye to be performed, simply because the crime against whom it is being performed is a Negro, it demonstrates the weakness of government and the ultimate overthrow of government, for the same rioter who acts under the protection of authority today will turn on that authority tomorrow, hence the government of state or of city that permits crime to be committed under its very eye against a weaker class of people will find itself in the arms of anarchy, and will create or breed for itself, a condition that will ultimately destroy it.

Another sad feature of that riot is that the persons committing the crime against the Negroes were largely aliens, and in many instances German aliens at that, aliens whose ancestors are today attempting to blow up every American vessel and destroy every American enterprise. These strangers and aliens under the guard of the militia are permitted to commit the most outrageous crimes againsa the Negro who is a full-fledged, true and tried citizen of the American government. The fact is or seems to be that racial prejudice is so strong against the Negro until even authority itself had rather see the enemies of the government triumph and destroy its Negro citizens than to see the Negro protected and given his civil and political rights; they had rather be consumed in the house of heir enemies than to give a square and honorable deal to the black man. If the public press is to be credited, farce. In some instance, rioters grew the state militia of Illinois is a mere so bold as to disarm soldiers. Think of it, soldiers sent to protect life, keep the peace, having their loaded guns taken from them by a bare-handed rioter. What is the world to think of such conditions? What opinion does civilized humanity get? Are we to fight against the enemy abroad while our own citizens are slain without protection at home? It appears to us that if we are to present a strong front abroad that we ought at least to have peace at home and the feeling of brotherhood should pervade in all the races. At any rate, the voice of the government ought to be heard. No riot or rioter ought to be permitted to proceed when the government, the proper authority said stop, otherwise the authorities grow in contempt, and the rioters grow bold. We guess possibly that is one of the reasons why that the Negroes are not allowed to from state militias is because in times of disturbances, he might not make a good protector of rioters, and anarchists and incendiarists and bloodshedders.

—The People's Defender.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

Denunciation Vs. Explanation

N Y C CALL
JULY 9, 1917

THERE are millions of people so constituted that the explanation of any phenomenon always seems to them to be nothing more or less than a "justification" for it, and this is the reason for the "disgraceful" row between Roosevelt and Gompers at the meeting in Carnegie hall last Friday to welcome the Russian commission.

It was not "disgraceful" on the part of Gompers. Whatever disgrace there was attached to it lies on Roosevelt.

He started to "denounce" what he called the "race riots" and the killing of black men at East St. Louis. Gompers, very properly, determined not to let him get away with mere denunciation, and started to explain the cause, attributing it correctly to the struggle between labor and capital, to the determination of the employers to use the Negroes' cheap labor as a substitute for the more expensive labor of the whites. He declared that the labor men of Illinois had warned them that this very thing would happen; that the injustice of social and economic conditions brought around this thing as an inevitable result.

But Roosevelt would have none of this. He turned his verbal batteries at once upon Gompers. He would, he said, stand for no "explanation that apologized for murder." Murder is murder (a favorite Rooseveltian platitude), and was not debatable. It did not need any explanation. All one could do was to denounce it. He gradually worked himself into such a passion that, forgetting the possibilities of murder, he furiously yelled, "I wish I could get my hands on him! I can scarcely keep my hands off him!"

Doubtless nothing would have pleased Theodore better than if he had had the opportunity to throttle Gompers. And, if he had done so, he would instantly begin to put up "explanations" to "justify" the killing; for that would hardly have been murder, according to the Roosevelt code.

But, most certainly, Gompers justified nothing; he simply tried to explain, to go to the fundamental cause and root of the matter. But Roosevelt would have none of it and at once howled him down, bullied him, and expressed a wish that he might get his hands on him, just as hundreds of the East St. Louis whites did regarding the Negroes in their midst.

But the experience should be profitable to Mr. Gompers. He is something of a "denouncer" himself, and has often shut off opponents by the same method. But in this case he is right. The East St. Louis phenomenon is explainable, and he has the explanation—an explanation that explains, and does not in the least "justify." If he could not get it over with the "temperamental" fire-eater from Oyster Bay, it is nothing more than what he himself has done on innumerable occasions to other opponents, most particularly Socialists.

But the cold fact is that men like Theodore Roosevelt are far more responsible for these murderous episodes than are Gompers and the labor men. The latter, at any rate, seek to point out the underlying cause of these hideous things. The Roosevelts will have none of it. Prating of "social justice," they will not see the social injustice of the present economic system in this respect, and desire to strangle those with temerity enough to attempt to show them. While men like Roosevelt are listened to, Negroes will be killed indefinitely. Gompers and men of his kind at least try to point out the social and economic causes that underlie these horrors, and thus endeavor to remove the effects. And the Roosevelts, judging from Theodore's exhibition, would go almost to the point of murdering them to shut them up, on the idiotic assertion that "explanation" is "justification."

The incident should have a beneficial effect both upon Gompers and labor in general. There will be some profit in it, if it leads them to "denounce" less and "explain" more. The capitalist and autocrat care little for denunciation; it is explanation they fear, as is well demonstrated by Roosevelt's insensate rage at Gompers.

ANOTHER APPEAL

Well, Why *Not* Make the World Safe for Democracy

N.Y.C. CALL
JULY 7. 1917

ON the early edition of the Evening Mail of July 5, the one entitled the "Afternoon Edition," there was a cartoon that was intended as a sort of sentimental appeal to the people with reference to the East St. Louis massacre.

There was a Negro woman, with two children cowering under her arms, kneeling before the president. The president has a very firm and resolute look, and in his hand is a paper bearing the burning words, "The world must be made safe for democracy." In the background is a blaze, labeled "East St. Louis," and there are shadowy pictures of men shooting other men down.

The caption was, "Mr. President, why not make the world safe for democracy?"

It was a good cartoon, and it hit home. Incidentally, in the later editions, the Wall Street, and the Night, and the Five Star, and the ultimate editions, that cartoon disappeared, and in its place appeared a weak and anæmic picture that had to do with the German spy scare. What pressure was brought to bear to "kill" the cartoon we do not know. But it would be interesting to find out.

Well—why *not* make the world safe? Why should the flag of this country be found on the firing line in France, with the national motto, "The world must be made safe for democracy," while the countrymen of the "Sammees" are engaging in massacres rivaling the now discarded Russian national amusement of the pogrom? Why should not a president of such high personal ideals, of such nobility of character, of such lofty sentiments for other nations as Mr. Wilson, do something?

It may be embarrassing to state the reason. It may not sound well in the nations where we are trying to make an impression. But the facts must be told.

The Negro problem is a social problem, and an economic problem. The East St. Louis massacre is but the flaming up of passions that are constantly present, and that will continue to be present while the causes remain.

Naturally, the Negro problem is a peculiarly Southern question; in the South the mass of the white people have the Negro obsession. They cannot go to bed without dreaming horrid nightmares of Negro insurrections, of Negro assaults, and so on. It was not so long ago that the whole South was convulsed with horror at the story that in the New York schools white girls were compelled to dance with Negro boys—which happened not to be true, anyway.

The masters of the bread, the descendents of the ante-bellum Bourbons, the exploiters, have managed to force their vicious race hatred upon the "pore whites," just as the Black Hundreds made the ignorant Russian peasantry Jew haters and Jew baiters.

Until the economic system of the South is completely changed, until the exploitation of the workers ceases, this race question will continue, and it will flare up in prejudice, in separate schools, in Negro slums, in the foulest persecution, in stupidly ignorant hatred, and in lynchings and massacres.

It is openly boasted by the young bloods of the South that no Negro girl is pure. And the whites make it their business to try to make good on this foul boast. Negroes have no rights, except as menials, except as lickspittle personal servants, except as abject slaves.

And this South has been politically solidified as the "solid South," with a beautiful block of 135 electoral votes that never can be cast for any but a Democratic candidate while present conditions continue. This block of votes is the decisive factor in the election of every Democratic president, and without it Wilson could not have been reelected. And that Southern Bourbon, Negro-lynching, labor-hating, reactionary, intellectually stagnant political element, dominant as it is in the South, is the element that makes it impossible for anything to be done in cases like the East St. Louis battle. That is the element that is represented by Vardaman, and Tom Heflin, and Hoke Smith, and the rest of the bitterest reactionaries in Congress.

Let the president even hint at the fact that there is something to say about the event, or something to be done, and he will raise a storm that will be reminiscent of the savage attacks upon President Roosevelt at the time that he and Dr. Booker T. Washington ate a sandwich or two from the leaf of the president's desk. They did not give votes to Roosevelt; they twice elected Wilson. That is why.

The Bourbon South approves of the massacre. And nothing will be done to make this country safe for the ten million Negroes, to make this country a fit place to live in for one-tenth of our population, to end this outrageous treatment of a whole race, while present conditions continue, and especially while the Democratic party rules.

The world must be made safe for democracy. And it *shall* be made safe for democracy and for humanity. It *shall* be made fit to live in, and a world fit to live for.

But the capitalistic class, and the agents and the governments of the capitalist class, are not going to do it.

It will be done by the workers themselves, by the disinherited, the doomed and the damned.

E. ST. LOUIS PEOPLE HEAR OF GRAFT AS INQUEST IS BEGUN

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 9, 1917

Committee of 100 Is Told Police Were Paid Money by Lawbreakers.

The Coroner's inquest into the deaths of six white men and twenty-seven negroes in the race rioting at East St. Louis last Monday began at 1:30 p. m. today in police head quarters, with Coroner Renner presiding.

Prior to the inquest, a meeting of the committee of 100 citizens was held at Beatty's Hall. C. E. Pope, in an address, said a citizens' investigation committee had been informed there had been grafting among East St. Louis police. He said the committee soon will have names of gamblers and immoral women who paid certain police officials for protection.

John L. Flannigen, an attorney, suggested the following three men for the new Police Board: Rev. George W. Allison, pastor of the Third Baptist Church; J. R. Wiggins, and C. Reeb. The citizens' committee will meet at 4 p. m. tomorrow at the same place and hear a report of an executive committee of nine on how reforms needed shall be executed.

Reeb, who is president of the Illinois Bank, told the meeting that twelve years of lawlessness, with the town ruled by a few men and politicians protecting criminals, was directly responsible for the rioting.

Reeb said the politicians had let the "town go to Halifax." His talk preceded selection of a committee of three to confer with Mayor Mollman about re-enforcing the Police Department, re-organizing it and restoring order in the East Side City. C. E. Pope was named chairman and Walter E. Beckwith and E. P. Keshner, secretary and treasurer, respectively.

Coincident with this meeting, it was announced that the Coroner's inquiry, scheduled to begin work this morning, had been postponed until afternoon, because of Coroner Renner's absence. It will be held in police headquarters.

Daniel McGlynn, an attorney, addressing the mass meeting today, told the citizens that business is demoralized and industries crippled as a result of the rioting, and that muttering is heard in the streets and the flames of race hatred are likely to break out again unless precautions are taken.

Colonel S. O. Tripp's report to Governor Lowden on the rioting was to have been made today, according to dispatches from Springfield. It was said the report will contain 20 pages, and will justify his actions in the early hours of rioting after the arrival of the first state troops. The report will deny, it is said, that guardsmen stood passively by while the riot was at its height.

At the conclusion of the inquest, the testimony will be given to the St. Clair County Grand Jury at Belleville, and Circuit Judge George Crow of East St. Louis will aid in directing the investigation by that body.

United States District Attorney Karch said the move to have Federal Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis of Chicago inquire into the riots

N Y C GLOBE
JULY 11, 1917

Justice for the Black Man.

Editor Globe:—Your editorial on the cruel murder of helpless people in East St. Louis is deeply appreciated by members of my race and all other good citizens.

The colored man in this country does not ask for special privileges, nor does he desire special sympathy, but he does ask for justice before the law. We cherish the lofty sentiments of President Woodrow Wilson, who has declared to the world at large that he has called upon our citizens to enter into this terrible world-war with the thought that they are fighting for the freedom of the peoples of the world. Perhaps the President and our statesmen and leaders are too busy with the work of this international conflict to notice how un-democratic the conditions are here, hence we feel called upon to remind them that the wrongs of helpless black men, women, and children demand a hearing, a rebuke, a correction as much as the sinking of the Lusitania and the oppression of the Belgians. . . .

There is no more beautiful page in the history of our country than the story of the charge of the gallant Tenth Cavalry up San Juan Hill, saving the Rough Riders and one of the country's greatest statesmen, Theodore Roosevelt, and we are thankful that he is alive to-day. His rebuke to Mr. Gompers last evening at Carnegie Hall for condoning the murder of helpless blacks in East St. Louis proves him to be a courageous champion of the defenseless and a defender of justice.

REV. RICHARD MANUEL BOLDEN.
New York, July 7.

Editor Globe:—The one great thing for the United States government to do is to give to its Negro citizen the equal civil rights that are justly his. This, with the legal protection which every citizen of this country should enjoy, is all the Negro asks.

Picture our mothers and fathers with sons within the draft age limit watching the departure of those sons for some bloody battlefield to fight and die for freedom and liberty, when deep down in their sorrowing hearts they know only too well these very blessings are being denied them. Yet these are the abominable conditions as they exist to-day.

Uncle Sam, these mothers and fathers beseech you to change this hideous picture, and by so doing you will also lift a terrible secret load from the hearts of millions of white mothers and fathers in this country. A. FENNAR.
New York, July 7.

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

TRIBUNE: One who upholds or champions popular rights; a champion of the people.—CENTURY DICTIONARY.

LOS ANGELES, JULY 5, 1917.

East St. Louis Race Riots an Outrage

The East St. Louis race war, in which 250 negroes were slain, must stand as a disgrace to the splendid state of Illinois, and a blot upon our boasted civilization. It is not our purpose to go into the revolting details or attempt thus early to fix the full responsibility on the members of either race for an occurrence so entirely out of harmony with all we profess to be and to cherish.

If there be a country whose soil is dedicated to the theory of sacredness of human life, irrespective of creed, race or color, that land is the one over which floats the Stars and Stripes. There is not a state in the union every foot of whose soil is not so consecrated and dedicated. We know no justice under our theory of government from whose protection the lowliest citizen. white, black, brown or yellow, can be excluded.

A few undisputed facts invite comment. One of these facts is that there has been an organized and more or less intelligently directed effort to lure colored men from the south to enter industrial fields in the north. Intelligent, well educated colored men have been paid by northern industrial agents to persuade negroes to leave their homes and employment in the south and migrate to northern industrial centers. The result has been a notable recent influx of colored men to our eastern cities.

The people and a part of the press of the south have opposed this movement as in the interest of neither the industrial life of the south nor of the colored race. The government has had no connection with this migratory movement, although many colored laborers have been brought north to work in private munition plants. A raid by white laborers in resentment against such employment took place in the last days of May, kindling the race antagonism that has culminated in this disgraceful, inexcusable and insufferable outrage.

Now, let our civil, and military authorities if need be, put a stop to this outbreak that there may be no more bloodshed. That human beings should be burned to death in their own homes, with deliberate disregard for their rights as citizens, is a reproach to the community wherein it has occurred, a reproach that it will be difficult to live down.

That white brutes, in defiance of troops and police, were able to drag unoffending colored people from street cars to be persecuted and tortured, while large bodies of negroes were glad to surrender to constituted authority when given the privilege would indicate that brutality is not a matter of pigment.

BOSTON MASS JOURNAL
JULY 9, 1917

BEFORE WE GO

In our war to make the world safe for democracy we have proceeded to the point of setting in motion the machinery for drafting some 700,000 young men into compulsory military service. The first draft will be followed by a second. Before many months the young men of the land, the whole younger generation, with its liberal thoughts and broad theories, will be in camp and on the field, its civic influence left behind. That is, the bulk of the men who have protested against censorship and who have in all ways been most watchful of our dearest traditions, will be separated from the body politic, and the government will have many fewer voters to please in its policies and its laws.

Is it not becoming, then, in the name of government by the people that these young men should exert, perhaps for the last time, their fullest influence toward true democracy now?

* * * * * * *

For many of us there is little time left to accomplish tasks that were close to our hearts; there is little time left for the good deeds which we would do; there is little time left to polish the memories which we shall leave with our friends and families. And there is little time left for rendering such services of citizenship as we may have neglected in the short and easy years behind us.

We have taken "democracy" a little too much for granted. We haven't given quite the attention we should have devoted to the processes of government; think of the times that we haven't voted—or have voted carelessly!

We owe our country a duty before we go—a more sacred duty than any which we shall perform with gun and sword on the battlefield. We owe it to our country to insure justice and truth and protection to the people at home: our parents and friends and sweethearts; and the poor and the sick and the weak.

* * * * * * *

We have just seen people stricken down in the streets of Boston for no worse sin than exercising the freedom of speech granted them by law. We have just seen scores of Negro men and women beaten or killed in East St. Louis for no harsher offense than working in white men's factories. And we see all about us whole families begging for food while a few traitorous speculators are piling up millions as millions were never piled up before in all of history. And we see taxes aimed at the poor while the treasure chests of the rich are left overflowing.

There is a more sacred duty than any which we shall perform with gun and sword on the battlefield.

We must make America safe for democracy.

* * * * * * *

We must see our government repudiate the wrongs done its citizens. We must hear our President lament the East St. Louis massacre, a crime which could be committed nowhere else in what we call the civilized world. We must have a promise that America is safe and sure for men and women of all colors and creeds. We must see in actual practise laws which forbid the further amassing of great wealth at the expense of further suffering by the poor.

The food bill? The revenue bill? Still in debate, still dragging through the thousand corridors of the political labyrinth!

Our citizens burned to death in East St. Louis? Our citizens beaten to their knees by the soldiery in Boston? Still unpunished, still treated with nothing more severe than the customary "investigation" conducted by fat political appointees . . . .

JACKSON MICH PATRIOT
JULY 28, 1917

WARNING TO NEGROES.

Scott Wilson, an educated colored man of Tougaloo College in Mississippi, who recently returned to his native state from East St. Louis, Illinois, in addressing a crowd of negroes at Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, said:

"I will warn any Negro to stay in the South, where the white people understand the colored. Here they are willing to let them live in peace and as much prosperity as they will work for. The appointed place of my people is in the Southern States, where our needs have been studied and we have been given what is best for us. The black man is by nature a tiller of the soil," Wilson continued, "and he should stay where there is room for him."

Mr. Wilson was one of the negroes wounded in the recent labor riots at East St. Louis, and was carried from the raided zone by the militia.

His experience and the results coincide with the views of the editor of the Patriot, which were changed by ten years of observation in the South that the negroes are better off as a class there than they are in the North.

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
NOVEMBER 17, 1917

THE MIRROR AND EAST ST. LOUIS.

The congressional committee which has been investigating the East St. Louis riots is about to suspend the labors on which it engaged soon after the adjournment of Congress. It will hold further sessions at Washington and prepare there its report on the valuable and suggestive material it has collected, but probably the most important part of its task in East St. Louis has been concluded.

We have said that the committee has sustained the best traditions of past congressional inquiries of importance. It has done more than that. It has set new standards for all future inquiries under congressional auspices. In its membership, both political parties and several of the grand divisions of the country were represented. There has been no sign, however, of any political bias in the weighing of evidence. No member from the South has sought to minimize facts because the delicate subject of race prejudice has been under consideration.

An elevated, judicial spirit has marked the committee sessions and it has been amazingly successful in bringing out the truth in a complicated situation. Its exposures of greed in high places and degradation in low places and of lawlessness everywhere, do not, of course, present conditions typical of East St. Louis people as a whole. What it has done has been to bring to public view the operations of a conscienceless set of public and private plunderers who have been enabled to pursue their criminal course because of the neglect of the decent people and a popular helplessness due to lack of organization.

It has held the mirror up to East St. Louis and shown the results of a profligate and law-defying official life and a debasing latitude permitted to vice. The reflection in that mirror has not been a pleasant one for decency to look at. What is East St. Louis going to do about it?

The committee has done its part, done it painstakingly and well. It has shown the facts in

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

deplorable state of affairs and indicated the way to betterments. The restoration of law and order and decency in East St. Louis depends on East St. Louis itself.

THE TEST OF AUTHORITY.

.e of the initial effects of war is the test of ority in nation, state and municipality. Failure of East St. Louis to meet this test resulted in a race riot which disgraced Illinois thruout the nation. Failure of Chicago to meet it, resulted in the holding in that city of the national convention of the People's Council of America for Democracy, a pro-German organization which had been proscripted in three states, one of them being Wisconsin, the putative duchy of Senator La Follette. The reaction in both instances is upon the administration of Governor Lowden, altho the governor has been intensely patriotic and has cooperated promptly and sympathetically with Washington in all its war preparations.

Governor Lowden's own record is clear; the record of his administration is clear, but the East St. Louis riots and the People's Council episode will create the impression among the unthinking that there is something rotten in Illinois. Mayor Thompson was a nationalized pacifist and pro-German before he defied Governor Lowden. The colloquy between Judge Landis and officials of East St. Louis over the failure of that city to enforce the Sunday-closing law was reported in every influential newspaper in the United States.

Its cities make the reputation of a state despite anything a loyal governor may do. In the circumstances, it behooves all loyal Illinoisans to rally around their governor and to hold up his hands in these critical times. Illinois is the melting pot of the nation, yet the state is loyal; Chicago is loyal. A few abrasions will serve only to arouse our fighting spirit and to separate the loyal from the disloyal.

Illinois will stand the test.

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
JULY 4, 1917

THE SHAME OF ILLINOIS.

The events in East St. Louis Monday night were disgrace to that city, a disgrace to Illinois, a disgrace t America, a disgrace to humanity. We can recall no even in the history of this country so utterly and unrelievabl shameful. There have been mobs, many of them, ther have been riots not a few, to stain our civilization, b never a one that carried to such an extent the unreaso ing brutality of mobocracy, never a one that so turtur and killed and burned without discrimination of inn cence or guilt, that spared neither sex nor age in i violence. The often condemned mobs of the South hav always had as their purpose the quick and effective pur ishment of crime. They have been, almost without ex ception, composed of determined men who felt that th law was too slow and too uncertain, and who, havi found the ones they believed to be guilty, executed them and dispersed. Such acts are in violation of the fundamental principles of orderly government and as such should not be tolerated, but in comparison with the unspeakable outrages in East St. Louis they are righteousness itself. No attempt was there made to punish crime by striking at the criminal. Scores were tortured or killed against whom no charge of wrong was made, whose only offense was their color. Men, women, children went down before the insatiate blood lust of this worst and most cruel of mobs.

And this in the state of Abraham Lincoln! This in the great state whose sons poured out their blood on many battlefields that all men within this Union should be free. At the heart of the country which prides itself upon its liberty and humanity, within a hundred miles of the home and tomb of the great liberator, men of the race he saved from slavery are massacred by a lawless mob unrestrained by any authority. At a time when we are entering a tremendous war to make, as we say, the world safe for democracy, our own people have given democracy a blow that well may stagger it. For if democracy is not the right of every individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, then in heaven's name what is it? How can we decently and honestly proclaim the superiority of American government and American principles when such a crime against liberty as that of Monday night in East St. Louis is permitted!

Yes, permitted! It was a preventable crime. There had been ample warning. There was a large and competent force on hand to maintain order. Yet the rioters were permitted to gather and go on their way of destruction. Eight companies of the state militia were there, but apparently no serious effort was made either to prevent the formation of the mob or to stop its work after it was formed. Reports of eyewitnesses agree as to the inaction of the militia. Some feeble attempts were made to protect the objects of the mob's fury, but there seems to have been no attempt whatever to maintain order. We do not know who is responsible for this most disgraceful and lamentable failure of authority and power. But we do know that some one is, or some ones are, responsible, and the State of Illinois cannot rest until that responsibility is fixed. Punishment of rioters alone will not wipe away the shame. The blunder that permitted the riot must be accounted for. And, finally, the Federal Government should refuse to take into its service any officer or private who is found to have been derelict in his duty in this crisis. The people of Illinois must insist, and the people of America will insist, that this thing be probed to the bottom, for it is not only state honor but national honor that is involved.

RACE RIOT AFTERMATH.

In another article of this issue of the Argus we have endeavored to give our readers a statement of the true conditions in East St. Louis, since the recent race riot.

Law and order at this writing seem to have been restored. Working conditions are normal, but the effects upon the industrial situation is hard to be estimated. While the Negroes were the victims of the mob, their sufferings were but temporary; and since peace has bsen restorcd, they have received their former positions and are more deeply rooted in, than ever before.

The aftermath is rather encouraging from the Negroes' standpoint. It has revealed his worth to the manufacturing industries of the north; also the communities in which he lives. This fact is most strikingly brought out by a manager of one of the large concerns of that city, who stated that his firm nor any of the large firms of the country could successfully operate without Negro labor. It was also brought out that the United States Government will take a hand in future trouble, because all large concerns are contributors in some way to the prosecution of the war.

That the communities suffer as well, is interestingly described in an editorial of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Sunday, June 3rd, which reads as follows:

"East St. Louis is beginning to see the immediate consequences of the attacks made on its Negroes by a mob inflamed by race prejudice and inspired by ignorance. About 1000 Negroes have been driven from the city. These were not idlers. They were not parasites. They were honest workers. Many of them were doing a character of work about the packing plants which the average white man refuses to do. But it is necessary work, and until other people can be found to do it the packing plants cannot operate. When the packing plants close, it not only throws hundreds of white men out of employment, with all that means to the business of the community, bnt it interferes with meat growers and meat consumers in a large area. No man nowadays lives to himself industrially, any more than he does morally.

"The Negroes who have been driven from East St. Louis ate their bread in the sweat of their faces. They did not even stop at bread. Whatever fault may have been found with the Negro, he has never been accused of parsimony. Too often his expenditures exactly equal his income. The Negroes are good spenders and they pay cash. The merchants and the landlords estimate that loss of these 1000 Negroes means a weekly shrinking of about $18,000 in business receipts. None of the mob have shown any disposition to make this shrinkage good. None of them have offered to fill the enforced vacancies. They are not even trying to find places for the white men thrown out of employment as a result of lack of men to do disagreeable though necessary labor.

"The city has also suffered in its industrial reputation. It is impossible to measure this loss. It is fortunate that the constituted authorities made an effort to keep the mob under control, for this proves that the foes of law and order are not in full charge. Determined prosecution of participants in the riot will go still further to restore the prestige of East St. Louis in the eyes of the outside world."

Of course most of those who fled from East St. Louis, during the riot have returned to their homes and vocations and are satisfied. According to the best information gathered by a reporter for the St. Louis Argus, none of them have returned to their former homes in the south.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

SHOT DOWN ON THE STREET—THEN PROTECTED FROM MUTILATION.
(Courtesy of Boston Journal)

Freeman 7/14/17

EAST ST. LOUIS.

Many reasons are now being given for the frame of mind of those individuals that made up the East St. Louis mob. Great publications like the Chicago Tribune, which was intensely against the mob the morning after the happening, has seen fit since that time to cry out against the slum-like conditions from a social viewpoint and also against the political muck and mire that have infested the locality for years. This includes all the charges known to similar communities, where there are many Negro voters and the intense desire for political control by white men.

This view, while a factor perhaps, in the sum total of the cause for the outbreak, we think, should only be so considered. If it were the main cause or the whole cause we, indeed, should be at once fearful for the numerous other communities that have similar conditions.

It may be that East St. Louis was exceptionally bad in its morals and in its political methods. An observer on the ground, a Negro, John Brockman, has written this publication a very interesting letter touching on this phase of that city. His first statement that it is not a city, but a condition, is a bit sarcastic, but more than likely could be no more apt in expressing the thought of the writer as he saw it. He follows:

"It is a condition lacking civic pride, an immoral condition, being a resort for the vicious of St. Louis, black and white—a political condition of which you can read between the lines, and an economical condition which I will try to explain and which is the cause of the attempted extermination."

Mr. Brockman's letter coincides at this point with the recent views seen in the publications, of which we spoke, and his letter was written on the spur of the moment, reaching this office the day after the happening. We give these facts as a matter of showing similarity of views, thus emphasizing their probable correctness. But at the same time we will not think that this was the whole case or the only cause of the disorder, because, as we said above, that would be the basis of widespread fear since we have so many similar localities. If white men are equally incensed wherever they are the slightest friction would be big with danger. However, East St. Louis is painted so much worse than other communities that it, perhaps, should not be considered as a fair example of the other communities of which we have spoken. But it can be seen, we hope, that it would be far better to have other elements entering such disturbances than low morals and bad politics.

Mr. Brockman says further:

East St. Louis is a small model of Pittsburgh steel mills, enameling mills, stock yards, slaughter houses, aluminum plants and many other factories being located there, because coal is adjacent in Southern Illinois and at the same time avoiding a bridge arbitrary that operates or would operate against them in St. Louis.

The above mentioned industries employ a great number of laborers, simply brawn is the demand, and here (East St. Louis), as well as elsewhere, the foreign field supplied the demand. Then came the war, resulting in the cessation of immigration. Quite a number returned to their colors, leaving a shortage of that kind of labor, not only in East St. Louis, but all over the United States.

The American white laborer, not being reliable, given to striking, the opportunity came to the negro to take advantage of it and he induced friends and relatives from their various homes (South). And they came not in twos and threes, but by the dozens, and that city, notwithstanding its many industries, is small. It could not assimilate them; the clash was inevitable.

This is the South (Missouri) to all intents and purposes; it is so in fact. The blight of slavery is as much in evidence here as in any state in Dixie. And Southern Illinois, the state of Lincoln, suffers by contact. No Northern Eastern or Western man, white or black, comes here, only the Southerner. St. Louis proper being a fair-sized city, prejudiced is not so observant.

The effect of the mob on St. Louis negroes is plainly to be seen; it has caused them to appear as in a state of complete helplessness. The thing is so near the police and militia who are supposed to protect, but rather assisting your undoing. The law which is supposed to throw its protecting arm around the vilest, conniving calmly, seeing the murder of women and children, systematic relieving you of arms, then letting loose a hell of death amongst you in the shape of envious, jealous, prejudiced poor whites, retaining arms, is enough to make the stoutest heart quail. Maltreating negroes is contagious, and all poor and ignorant whites are alike, therefore the feeling of helplessness. Do you remember the negro exodus to Indianapolis many years ago, quartered in churches, private homes, halls, etc.? The same situation exists here, diminished, of course, by this difference. The former came with a look of hopefulness, these with helplessness, in fear and trembling. The flesh and blood nightmare of the previous day and night has put such terror in the negro's heart that he looks askance at every white man as a possible foe.

I have seen St. Louis negroes actually crying from sheer inward rage and impotency. Not from fears, but from the fact that the authorities relieve the blacks of weapons and the blacks only.

Now the order has gone forth in the city of St. Louis that no arms be sold to blacks, supposedly as a measure of guarding against a recurrence of the man hunt of Monday, as many negroes from this side loaded with arms and ammunition have been stopped at the bridge, also a doctor with an automobile full of defense. It is a contributary cause of his feeling of helplessness because mob spirit is contagious and a poor white man is a poor white man.

It has been left for the state of Lincoln to add the crowning achievement in mobocracy. Speak no more of Belgium, speak no more of Poland, speak no more of persecuted Jews or Armenians, speak no more of making the world safe for humanity and democracy. We carry to the people of Germany, by Wilson unsought, the message we "are fighting to free you." What a pitiable spectacle. Twelve million citizens begging for that same freedom he is willing to spend blood and treasure to obtain for others.

I do not believe in collective aggression for that invites annihilation, but I do believe every negro, every one here, individually, should sell his life for as dear a price as he can obtain.

Mr. Brockman's recital is in part essentially the same that has been seen and heard elsewhere. He grew indignant as his kind in St. Louis grew indignant; choked with impotent rage at the very biased attitude of the officials. A similar feeling pervaded everywhere, striking terror and dismay at the thoughts of what was and what might be.

There has been much talk of resorting to arms, the natural thought of men who are hounded and sore; but East St. Louis is but a jot in the affairs of this country, and which to interrupt owing to premeditated violence would spell calamity in large letters. We must consider the affair merely as an incident in our race progression, whether superinduced by the migration of Southern Negroes, rotten politics or immoral Negroes. Whatever the thing or combination it must be worked out or washed out the national fabric, at least to a degree which assures a continuity of fair prospects. With good intents ever emphasized, working to ease friction, having in mind a fulsome knowledge of racial relationship and moving accordingly the trend will be upwards and onwards, a virtual repudiation of the thought and theory of making way with guns.

WARNS AGAINST RACIAL HATRED

CHICAGO [illegible] HERALD

JULY 9, 1917

Congregational Minister Says Greatest Peril Is Negro Question.

Race hatred within the United States is more dangerous than all Germans outside of this country, according to the Rev. H. E. Peabody, pastor of the South Congregational Church, Drexel boulevard and Fortieth street.

In his sermon Dr. Peabody likened the East St. Louis massacre to the "atrocities of the unspeakable Turk in Armenia."

He gave warning to Chicagoans that the volcano of race hatred is active in this city and an eruption is likely to occur at any time.

"The country's perils are not all on the sea and beyond," said Dr. Peabody. "Think of the moral earthquake and volcano that has burst in the midst of the land, in our own state, since last we met.

"Who would have believed that a massacre that reminds one of St. Bartholomew's night and of the atrocities of the unspeakable Turk in Armenia, could occur among our own fellow-citizens in East St. Louis?

MUTTERINGS IN CHICAGO.

"But, beware! The peril is nearer than that. The mutterings of the volcano are felt in Chicago. The single explosion is not the most significant thing. The race prejudice, contempt and hatred, working—working beneath, these are the hell below—and they find some lodgment in all our hearts; God help us.

"There is far more danger to the republic from race hatred within our borders than from all the Germans put together.

"Christian citizens of Chicago, think this thing through. Try to make up your mind beforehand what you will do and say when the earthquake and the volcano shall be around you. Our country is in dire need of clear heads and stout hearts—Christian hearts, both within and without."

REPORTS ON VISIT TO SCENE.

Mrs. Ida B. Wells Barnett, who went to East St. Louis to investigate the race riots, gave her report to the Negro Fellowship League yesterday afternoon.

After the speech resolutions suggested by Mrs. Barnett were adopted, urging action against the responsible persons, relief for the negro victims, the establishment of a citizens' committee to search out the facts.

The resolutions said the committee should seek to determine why the troops were not provided with ammunition, take steps to alleviate the suffering of the refugees and protest against certain press reports likely to arouse the public against the colored people, at the same time commending other fair reports, including those by Jack Lait in the HERALD. The resolutions also authorized Mrs. Barnett to continue the investigation.

A committee consisting of Mrs. Barnett, the Rev. J. W. Robinson, Professor R. T. Greener, Mrs. W. M. Farrow and B. W. Fitts was selected to present the resolutions to Governor Lowden.

Another meeting was held later in the afternoon in the Bethel Methodist Episcopal Church. Mrs. Barnett will speak there again tonight.

ANOTHER PROTEST MEETING.

Resolutions demanding "speedy punishment of those responsible for the recent race rioting in East St. Louis, be they black or white," were unanimously adopted by the congregation of the Berean Baptist Church, Fifty-second and Dearborn streets, yesterday morning and a copy wired to Governor Lowden.

The resolutions declare that members of the black race have shown their loyalty "by the shedding of their blood and giving up of their life upon every battlefield and are even now assembling for service in France to root up imperialism and establish democracy."

A protest also is contained against the proposed segregation of schools and playgrounds for colored children, on the presumption that members of the race desire it. "Such is not the desire or sentiment of the negro of Chicago," say the resolutions.

W. S. Braddan, chaplain of the Eighth Regiment, I. N. G., and president of the Negro Baptist Union, is pastor of the church.

SCHUETTLER DEFENDS BLACKS.

Chief of Police Schuettler yesterday denied that there were any more violations of law in Chicago's black belt than in any other section of the city, as had been alleged by Judge William N. Gemmill of the Municipal Court.

"I made a tour of inspection of the district," he said. "I found the colored persons as law-abiding as in any other section of the city.

"Ministers in negro churches, as well as leaders of the district have cautioned the members of their race to act discreetly.

"Police captains of precincts inhabited by negroes have made very favorable reports to me regarding conditions there. Today I found white and colored persons playing baseball together. Saloons there are no different from saloons in other sections of the city.

"I wonder how often the critics of the district have visited it. If the negroes are permitted to remain in peace there will be no trouble."

THE ILLINOIS RIOT.

Advertiser 7/4/17

Illinois is the scene of what will probably go down as the most deadly riot between the races ever recorded in this country. Certainly it is greater than any riot that ever occurred between the races in the South. The nearest approach to it in the South was the Atlanta riot in 1906, when less than twenty persons were killed.

There is another and still more striking difference between the Illinois riot and the Georgia riot. That difference lies in the causes of the riots.

In Atlanta a series of assaults upon white women by vicious negroes crazed by a vile grade of whiskey and cocaine, led to a series of lynchings. Then the race riots occurred.

But what had the negroes done in the Illinois town? They had left the comparatively peaceful atmosphere of Southern farms and Southern cities to go knocking at Illinois doors to announce their arrival to take the high-wage jobs which they had been told were waiting for them. They were fallen upon by the whites who did not want negro competition. Several persons were killed in the first clash a few days ago. That was the match which touched off the powder charge.

Today nearly thirty persons are known to be dead, about three hundred wounded, and scores of houses are in ashes in the Illinois town as the result of a revengeful plot on the part of the distracted and bedevilled negroes. Illinois white men are responsible for this tragedy. Had they been as tolerant of negro labor as the white people of the South usually are, not a negro would have been killed, not a house burned, and no stain have fallen upon the fairly good name of Illinois. The Illinois National Guardsmen finally quelled the riot, but they did not fall into the grim work with that sincerity and determination, which, if felt, might have halted the fiends before their ghastly work had proceeded so far.

The authorities are striving to prevent photographers from taking pictures of the rioting district. "East St. Louis does not want "that kind of advertising." Indeed, not! The best citizens of East St. Louis do not want that kind of advertising, but the criminal element, which appears to be such an influential factor in East St. Louis, does not shrink from that kind of advertising. It stands ready, presumably, to repeat the tragic events of Monday, on the first excues. ready to do any murder and burn any home because it cannot tolerate competition by the negro in the open market fields of the world.

RIOT INVESTIGATION

The Congressional Investigating Committee that has been in session during the week at East St. Louis, making inquiry into the race riot which took place in that city May 28th and July 2nd seems to be headed in the right direction. That their work will be thorough and far-reaching in its effects, is at present no room for doubt. St Louis Argus 10/26/17

This is the first time in the history of the country that the Congress of the United States has been prevailed upon to shoulder such a responsibility. The creating of such a committee is out of the ordinary, which of course, is proper under the circumstances. The cause for the investigation is unparalleled in the history of any civilized world, and while the local and State authorities are at work on the cases, and are prosecuting without fear or favor, those who fall into their hands, it is also evident that their arms are short. There is a deal that they seem to have overlooked which is being most interestingly brought out by the Congressional committee.

We do not know that they shall have power to indict or to prefer charges against those who have escaped the eyes of the State officials; but, we know they can report that conditions were "rotten" in the ill-fated "City."

Strange as it may appear, evidence thus far given at this inquiry, shows very plainly that the Negroes were not guilty of the many crimes that have been repeatedly preferred against them. It shows further that the charge of importing Negroes from the South as strike breakers is false, and was circulated by our enemies—especially the labor unions—in order to stir up race feeling against the Negroes. It has set at naught. the statement that has been prevalent, that the Negroes precipitated the riots, by firing on and killing a sergeant of the detective force. These and many other startling facts will be taken to Washington by this committee.

However, one thing seems certain; that in order to prevent future outbreaks of the kind which happened in East St. Louis, the strong hand of the United State's government must be made to reach such cases.

It is our hope that the committee will pry deeply into the matter; it is our hope that they will keep their eyes open while investigating, and on their return to Washington, will have such a clear vision of the situation, Congress will feel constrained to do something tangible, which will prevent the re-occurrence of the East St. Louis National disgrace.

NEGROES BLAME LABOR UNIONS

BOSTON MASS NEWS
JULY 16, 1917

Declare in Resolutions A. F. of L. Defends Massacre at East St. Louis.

Several hundred Negroes passed resolutions yesterday charging that the massacre of the Negro workers in East St. Louis was instigated by the labor unions. They also declared that the attitude of the American Federation of Labor was that such a massacre is right and proper when Negro workers interfere with the union's monopoly in industrial employment.

The Negro speakers said that this attitude was expressed in a telegram sent to the Equal Rights League by the Federation in answer to their protest of a few days ago.

The meeting took place at the Twelfth Baptist Church, Shawmut avenue, and was under the auspices of team No. 1 of the Equal Rights League. E. J. Morris presided, and the speakers included the Rev. M. A. W. Shaw, William Munroe Trotter, editor of the Guardian; William D. Brigham, Mrs. M. C. Simpson and Dr. A. P. Russell, Jr.

Mr. Trotter presented the resolutions, which are to be sent to President Wilson. His attention is to called to the riot and he is to be asked for an investigation.

"We declare the greatest enemy of humanity here to be organized labor," read the resolutions in one part. "Through its president, Samuel Gompers, it justifies wholesale slaughter of American citizens of color who secure work by which to live. When Samuel Gompers said in New York city that the East St. Louis riots were 'real democracy in America' he showed himself to be a monster and was justly rebuked by Theodore Roosevelt, who by his condemnation of murder and organized labor's weapon proved himself to be a real statesman and democrat.

"We declare the greatest ally of American color prejudice to be Woodrow Wilson, President of the Republic, under whose administration every sort of governmental stigma and discrimination has been put upon every citizen of African extraction, in violation of his own words when first securing election, and who speaks to the Governor of Idaho against the mobbing of white aliens but who has been dumb as an oyster against the lynching and massacre of colored citizens, even while drafting them to fight for a world democracy.'"

Portions of the resolutions deny that the excuse for the outbreak was a band of Negroes marching to attack the white people of East St. Louis, which began by the killing of a policeman. According to the resolutions, the Negroes assembled to protect their homes from marauders who were shooting at them, and mistook the automobile load of detectives for part of the mob. The story that the Negroes ran like cowards is denied and it is declared that they were disarmed by the police in a cowardly manner, but defended themselves against the attack as best they could.

Other charges are that when the whites met with resistance in the new quarter they departed and sought vengeance on all Negroes who could be found in other parts of the city, killing women and children, and burning homes.

"The affair reflects shame and discredit on the white Americans before God and man, and such holocausts will, when the world becomes adjusted, go down in history to the disgrace of the United States of America," the resolutions conclude.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

Congressmen Investigating Race Riots in East St. Louis and Session Attaches

—Krupnick Photo.

Seated in front, Howard B. Smith, official reporter for committee. Left to right, in rear, E. W. Creel, sergeant-at-arms, and Congressmen Foss of Illinois, Raker of California, Johnson of Kentucky, Cooper of Wisconsin and Foster of Illinois.

ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE.

A day or two ago the New York daily papers carried the most horrible story of barbarity that has yet come out of the war. I said "barbarity"; the word is not strong enough, nor is the word "atrocity"; in fact, there is no word in the English language to express the character of the story told by Captain David Fallon, a young Irish-Australian veteran of the Gallipoli and Belgian campaigns, when he spoke before the Society of Illustrators at their dinner a few nights ago.

Captain Fallon told his hearers how he had seen the Germans crucify a nun in Belgium by nailing her to the door of the convent But here is a part of the captain's speech clipped from one of the morning papers, which gives the story in his own words:

"In Belgium," said the young captain, "I saw a Mother Superior crucified to the door of her convent, and within the bodies of noble women, who had consecrated their lives to the teaching of the young and ministering to the poor, cut to pieces and mutiliated.

"In Belgium I saw an aged blacksmith, his folded hands pinned to his anvil, and a note on his breast proclaiming in German 'He will shoe no more of the horses of our enemies.'

Germans Cut Britons' Heads Off.

"When it came our turn our boys went into the trenches to do their bit. And, as has happened to your boys, the trenches were raided, and when the clash was over some of our boys were missing. The next day we saw their heads. Cutting them from their bodies, the Boches had stuck them on bayonets above the trenches, scarce fifty yards away. That time, when the word came, our boys waited for no barrage before they went over and in the enemy's trenches. There we found our comrades crucified and disembowled and otherwise mutilated. And then and there, gentlemen, we vowed that never again would we spare a German life."

New York age 11/15/17

My first impulse on reading this revolting narration was to say that Captain Fallon was bragging or lying. That he was talking to magnify himself, especially in the eyes of his lady listeners, or that he was purposely distorting and inventing facts in order to stir up a feeling of revenge against the Germans.

No doubt his words had both effects, for the accounts of the speech state that he thrilled the 200 artists, as in "words that went through every man and woman present like a bayonet thrust," he cited instance after instance of the debauched cruelty of German soldiers perpetrated against civilian and foe.

I was not present so did not get the thrill. What I got was a feeling of indignation that this Captain Fallon would come to New York for the purpose of making us believe that Germans or any other civilized people would commit such acts either in war or peace; and I made a clipping of the account with the intention of writing an article stating that we had enough to fight the Germans about without listening to such improbable tales as these related by Captain Fallon.

In filing the clipping, I came across two other clippings from the hearings before the Committee on Rules in the House of Representatives at Washington on August 3. I read through these two clippings and was immediately ready to apologize to Captain Fallon for my doubts regarding his sincerity and veracity. These clippings contained the statements of Congressman Dyer and Congressman Rodenberg before the committee regarding the East St. Louis riots.

Congressman Dyer said:

One man in particular who spoke to me is now an officer in the United States Army Reserve Corps, Lieut. Arbuckle, who is here in Washington somewhere, he having come here to report to the Adjutant General.

At the time of these happenings he was not in the employ of the Government, but he was there on some business in East St. Louis. He said that he saw a part of this killing, and he saw them burning railway cars in yards, which were waiting for transport, filled with interstate commerce. He saw members of the militia of Illinois shoot Negroes. He saw policemen of the city of East St. Louis shoot Negroes. He saw this mob go to the homes of these Negroes and nail boards up over the doors and windows and then set fire and burn them up. He saw them take little children out of the arms of their mothers and throw them into the fires and burn them up. He saw the most dastardly and most criminal outrages ever perpetrated in this country, and this is undisputed. And I have talked with others; and my opinion is that over 500 people were killed on this occasion.

Congressman Rodenberg said:

Now, the plain, unvarnished truth of the matter, as Mr. Joyce told Secretary Baker, is that civil government in East St. Louis completely collapsed at the time of the riot. The conditions there at the time beggar

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

description. It is impossible for any human being to describe the ferocity and brutality of that mob. In one case, for instance, a little 10-year-old boy, whose mother had been shot down, was running around sobbing and looking for his mother, and some members of the mob shot the boy, and before his life had passed from his body they picked the little fellow up and threw him in the flames.

Another colored woman with a little 2-year-old baby in her arms was trying to protect the child, and they shot her and also shot the child, and threw them in the flames. The horror of that tragedy in East St. Louis can never be described. It weighted me down with a feeling of depression that I did not recover from for weeks.

We know the statements made by these two members of Congress to be true. Therefore, since civilized Americans could commit such acts against other unoffending Americans in peace, there is no reason to doubt that Germans would commit the acts related by Captain Fallon against their foes in war. We again apologize to Captain Fallon

HERALD, Boston 10-12-17

It is quite gratifying to the people, espedially in this section of the country, to see the good work that is being done by the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

St. Louis Argus, 10/12/17

The part it has played in helping the Colored people who were victims of the East St. Louis riots has fully demonstrated its worth to the community. There is no other organization at the command of the Colored people, which is in a position (by being so well organized in spirit and purpose) to do big things, as this organization has done and is doing.

The response on the part of the people, throughout the country, shows the confidence they have in the officers, whose duty is to administer to the less fortunate.

In view of all that has been done, including the recent activities; the great possibilities and the large scope of work have only been "touched." Now, is the time to prepare. Every man, woman and child who believe that the Colored people are entitled to an equal opportunity to earn a living, and an equal opportunity before the law; and that his political and civic rights should not be denied; should join the Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

The race riot that broke out in East St. Louis during this week was the direct result of labor trouble that has been brewing in that city for some time. East St. Louis being a large industrial and manufacturing city, large numbers of laboring class of people have been attracted there on account of high wages. Labor Unions have sought to control the labor that is used in the industries. In anticipation of a general strike in the near future, the Unions were face to face with the one great problem, and that was the Negro. They realized full well that the Negro (as a rule) was denied admittance to the Unions and those who did belong, were denied admittance to their councils. The Unions had decided that owing to the scarcity of labor on account of the war, they would force the manufacturers to acceed to every demand.

The influx of Negro labor each day made the chances for tieing up the wheels of the industry less and less. So after many weeks of sweating over the matter, a conclusion was reached that the best way to carry out their anticipated strike was to run the Negroes out of town, or frighten them sufficiently enough to get newspaper noteriety and make it appear to all the world, that East St. Louis is a dangerous place for Negroes. The scheme worked quite well. Politics were their main strings to draw upon. These strikers got the ear of the Mayor of the city, and they whispered a little buncombe politics in his ears, and he (the Mayor) "fell for it" and rendered the mob assistance, which precipitated the riot.

"***Sowing the Wind*** and in the near future, they will reap the ***Whirl Wind.*** It is stated that the Mayor and police officers condoned the actions of the mob that beat up Negroes and destroyed their property. These officials let their prejudices get the better of their common judgment. We predict that this outbreak of lawlessness, is but the beginning; it was meant only to clear the way for the real conflict that is coming, and the next time it will not be an attack on the '***damn nigger,***" but it will be on the owners of industries. The industrial and manufacturing plants, and this same mob, the same leaders, will mock at the city authorities when they shall try to interfere. This is the law of nature. Like the poisonous venom that you take into your bosom that it might have life, it will strike you because it is its nature to bite.

The Mayor of East St. Lsuis should know that the same men who are clamoring loudest for Negroes to assault and mob now, will later ask for his head on a charger, if he attempts to interfere with them; for every act of acquiescence on the part of the police or any other officer of the law in the deeds done by the mob has only served to make mob violence and disrespect for law and order greater. It is to be regretted that men in responsible positions can so easily become blinded by prejudice or petty politics, that they will forget the real responsibility of their offices.

"He that soweth the wind shall reap the whirl wind."

Wüste Scenen in Straßen der Stadt.

Farbige werden wie Hasen zusammengeknallt.

N. Y. MORGAN JOURNAL JULY 3, 1917

Dutzende an Telegraphen-Pfählen aufgeknüpft.

Der weiße Mob treibt die Neger in die Flammen ihres brennenden Viertels zurück. Kriegsrecht proklamiert.

East St. Louis, Ill., 2. Juli.— Farbige werden in den Straßen der Stadt niedergeschossen wie Hasen, oder an Telegraphenpfählen aufgeknüpft. Die Polizei schätzt, daß bis 9 Uhr Abends mindestens 250 Neger auf diese Weise ihr Leben eingebüßt haben. Viele der Opfer sind in die Flammen des in Brand stehenden Negerviertels zurückgetrieben worden, andere wurden in den Fluß geworfen und ertranken. Die genaue Anzahl der Toten wird wahrscheinlich niemals bekannt werden.

Sechs Neger wurden im Südende der Stadt an Telegraphenpfählen aufgeknüpft gefunden. Ein Polizist zählte in einer Seitenstraße allein 19 farbige Leichen.

Mayor Mollman stieß an der Spitze einer Abteilung Milizer in den Straßen auf einen Haufen Weißer, die einen Neger an einem Seile mitschleppten und ihn eben aufhängen wollten. Der Mayor befahl die Verhaftung aller, die in Sicht waren und die Truppen führten seinen Befehl prompt aus. Mehr als 200 Verhaftete wurden im Stadthause vorläufig untergebracht.

Der Mob, der den ganzen Tag die Straßen der Stadt füllte, so daß Polizei und Milizer so gut wie machtlos waren, fuhr auch heute Abend damit fort, Negerwohnungen in Brand zu stecken und die Farbigen selbst zu erschießen. Acht Compagnien Miliz konnten nichts ausrichten und im Verlaufe des Abends wurden weitere sechs Compagnien aus Springfield, Ill., aufgeboten.

Kriegsrecht erklärt.

Im Laufe des Nachmittags ersuchte die Handelskammer Colonel S. O. Tripp als Vertreter Gouverneur Lowdens, das **Kriegsrecht über die Stadt zu verhängen,** was dieser auch tat. Er erklärte sich gleichzeitig bereit, genügend Truppen zur Verfügung zu stellen, um die Ordnung in der Stadt wieder herzustellen.

Viele Anzeichen sprechen jedoch dafür, daß, soviel die Truppen auch dazu beitragen mögen, die augenblicklichen Unruhen zu ersticken, diese doch immer wieder von neuem aufleben werden, da der Haß gegen die farbige Bevölkerung zu tief eingewurzelt ist.

Die Flucht der Neger aus East St. Louis hat bereits begonnen. Nicht weniger als 10,000 Farbige hatten bislang hier ihren Wohnsitz. Ein Teil derselben hat sich unter militärischer Bedeckung freiwillig auf den Weg nach St. Louis, Mo., gemacht, andere sind von Colonel Tripp dazu angehalten worden, um sie vor dem Verderben zu schützen.

Mayor Molman verfügte, daß alle Kneipen und Gastwirtschaften um 2 Uhr Nachmittags geschlossen werden mußten, und veranlaßte auch die Schließung aller Läden, Theater und anderer halböffentlicher Plätze um 6 Uhr Abends. Um 7 Uhr Abends stellen auch die Straßenbahnen ihren Betrieb ein.

Das Negerviertel in Flammen.

Das im Laufe des Nachmittags angelegte Feuer im Negerviertel, das das ganze Viertel einzuäschern droht, ist immer noch nicht unter Kontrolle und die städtischen Behörden haben sich nach St. Louis, Mo., um Hilfe wenden müssen.

Detektive-Sergeant Samuel Coppedge wurde im Laufe des Nachmittags zusammen mit zwei anderen weißen Bürgern getötet und drei Polizeibeamte von einem Negerhaufen so schwer verwundet, daß an ihrem Aufkommen gezweifelt wird. Unmittelbar darauf wurden cirka 50 Farbige verhaftet und das ganze Negerviertel einer Haussuchung unterzogen, wobei alle Feuerwaffen, die gefunden wurden, konfisziert wurden.

Neger an Krawallen schuld.

Damit war der Ausbruch neuer Krawalle gegeben. Sofort, nachdem sich das Gerücht von der Ermordung der Polizeibeamten und der weißen Bürger verbreitete, formierten sich in den Straßen Volkshaufen, die racheschnaubend nach dem Negerviertel hinauszogen und ihre unheilbringende Arbeit begannen.

So wurden am frühen Nachmittage zunächst zwei Farbige von einem Straßenbahnwagen heruntergeholt, gegen die Wand gestellt und kaltblütig erschossen. Ein weiterer Weißer wurde von einer in die Irre gegangenen Kugel getroffen und war ebenfalls auf der Stelle tot.

Die ersten Rassen-Krawalle ereigneten sich in East St. Louis im Mai, vor allem deswegen, weil eine Anzahl farbiger Arbeiter aus den Südstaaten hierhergekommen ist und die Löhne in den Südstaaten und hat denen, die in den Südstaaten heim gedrückte. Der Gouverneur des Staates sind, wenn angeregt, wieder dorthin zurückzuverfügen.

Riots — 1917

NEW HAVEN CONN TIMES LEAD
AUGUST 11, 1917

Colored Men Protest

Rev. A. Clayton Powell, formerly and for several years pastor of Immanuel Baptist church of this city, now pastor of a leading church in Brooklyn, N. Y., is a member of a committee which has asked President Wilson to consider their protest against the atrocious attacks made against law abiding colored men of East St. Louis.

This committee tried to see the president but had to content themselves with an interview with Secretary Tumulty, who gave them the president's promise "that the matter would not be neglected."

The petition left for Mr. Wilson's consideration included the following:

"In the last thirty-one years 2,867 colored men and women have been lynched by mobs without trial. Less than half a dozen persons out of the tens of thousands involved have received any punishment whatsoever for these crimes, and not a single one has been punished for murder. In addition to this mobs have harried and murdered colored citizens time and time again with impunity, culminating in the latest atrocity at East St. Louis where nearly a hundred innocent, hardworking citizens were done to death in broad daylight for seeking to earn an honest living.

"We believe that this spirit of lawlessness is doing untold injury to our country and we submit that the record proves that the states are either unwilling or unable to put down lynching and mob violence.

"We ask, therefore, that lynching and mob violence be made a national crime punishable by the laws of the United States and that this be done by federal enactment, or if necessary, by constitutional amendment. We believe that there can be found in recent legislation abundant precedent for action of this sort, and whether this be true or not, no nation that seeks to fight the battles of civilization can afford to march in blood-smeared garments."

The mob violence in East St. Louis cannot be justified by anybody on any ground whatever and the protest of the colored men and their demand for greater protection of law ought to be heeded. An honest man who obeys the law ought to be certain that he will have a place in the sun of this nation and that any man who tries to take it from him or assails him in any way is going up against the great power of the United States which will be employed to any extent necessary to protect its citizens in their rights, no matter what their color or the nativity of their ancestors.

THE LIGHT SIDE OF LYNCHING

The indictment of Mayor Mollman of East St. Louis for conspiracy in the massacre of the scores of innocent black men, women and children there on July 2, the fight being made against the extradition from Ohio of Dr. Leroy Bundy, charged with furnishing arms to colored men there, and the indictments against the Postmaster and Policeman of Hickory Grove, South Carolina, who led the lynching of Rev. W. T. Sims, who denounced the St. Louis massacre, are the only bright spots in the otherwise black lynch law problem that confronts this country. After each wave of mob murders, there is a revulsion of sentiment throughout the country. It has always ended there. We fear that it will always end there until the Federal Government makes and rigidly enforces a law against lynching. The sporatic and isolated punishments meted out to lynchers will not throttle the mob menace to this country's free institutions. They will not avail to satisfy the deep and growing dissatisfaction of twelve million American citizens. The Federal Government must send to the electric chair the postmaster of Hickory Grove if he is guilty. Illinois should place behind prison bars for the rest of his natural life the guilty Mayor of East St. Louis. Ohio must refuse to extradite Dr. Bundy back to the East St. Louis shambles for helping his helpless race to defend itself. But all of these are only temporary. The Government at Washington must intervene sooner or later. The sooner the better for the United States of America.

New Yorker informed 8/2/17

East St. Louis

4085 New York City Churchman
JULY 14, 1917

National Honor and East St. Louis

WHILE the whole country is being roused to t national task of making the world safe for d mocracy and is being taught the duty of suppres ing once and for all German "Frightfulness" the ra riots in East St. Louis come to remind us that democracy needs to be saved from our own native bran of frightfulness. None of the explanations offered ca palliate the existence of such a wrong. All of the detai connected with the outbreak point to an enfeebled social conscience. Numbers of ignorant negroes were brought to East St. Louis under false pretensions, were subjected while there to demoralizing conditions of living, and when mob violence reached a fervor pitch of excitement the police protection and even the military intervention was casual and perfunctory.

A veteran journalist writing to the New York *Sun* tells of the deliberate fashion in which the outbreak was planned. East St. Louis had for some time been a center of racial antagonism and yet it was in this center of racial hatred that Negro labor was introduced by labor agents who persuaded Negroes to migrate there from the South because they would find vast material benefits in coming to the state of Abraham Lincoln, the Emancipator. Nearly ten thousand colored people were persuaded to leave the South and look for employment in East St. Louis. Many of them remained and found work in steel mills, foundries and other manufacturing concerns. No precaution was taken to police the town more efficiently after the advent of the Negroes and as might be expected acts of violence became frequent. The local police, one of whose officers was killed by the Negroes several weeks ago, looked on apathetically while the mob raged through the streets of East St. Louis. One of the most terrible features in the situation was the part taken in the deeds of violence by women. Even when the militia was called out anarchy was only repressed with hesitating slowness. Militiamen allowed mob leaders to take away their rifles and were said to have "grinned" when indignant citizens of the better class remonstrated with them. The state authorities from the lowest to the highest showed little energy. Apparently nothing was heard from the sheriff of the county and even the Governor of the State acted with unseasonable deliberation. It is well to remember now, as an illustration of local conditions in East St. Louis, that a United States judge was told last fall by the mayor and the police commissioners of the town that it was not customary to enforce the laws there. Such is the complicated network of disgraceful deeds and hopelessly de- sed social principles that have caused this grievous wrong and revealed the United States as exposed to an odious brand of frightfulness.

National honor demands that Americans set their own household in order and that they deal as intelligently and efficiently with their domestic problems as with the organization of oversea forces and armament. Through a series of social outrages the African Negro became a laboring factor in this Western hemisphere. Intelligent work on a large scale was not done in the United States to solve the Negro problem after the slave trade period was ended. There has been a vast deal of sentimentalism in the handling of all questions concerning our Negro population. On the one side it has been assumed that the distribution of public offices to a few selected Negroes would prove a panacea to the whole race. On the other side it was assumed that in some mysterious way masses of the descendants of the African savages would assimilate habits of industry by being left by themselves. The American people are not a stupid people, neither are they a pharisaical people, but the treatment of the Negro in American history has been to a great extent a deplorable mixture of stupidity and pharisaism.

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
JULY 12, 1917

WORDS AND WORK

"This is a nation-wide affair," Attorney General Brundage of Illinois is reported to ha said in regard to the East St. Louis riots, "and the investigation will be followed to the end with a view to punishing all who have contributed to existing conditions." He is quoted again: "We will not take into consideration the color of a man's skin. If whites are guilty they must suffer. If blacks have committed crime they, too, must pay the penalty. East St. Louis must be cleaned up." To these utterances the GLOBE-DEMOCRAT gives its warm approval. If the attorney general will make good his words by persistent and courageous action the State of Illinois can do much to remove the odium that has been cast upon it by the deeds of the cruel and lawless rioters of East St. Louis, and that city can be helped to the establishment of a permanent condition of law and order. No man who can be convicted of the crime of July 2, or of the crimes that led to that shameful outbreak, should be permitted to go unpunished, and the punishment should fit the crime. Murder committed by a mob is no less murder than when committed by an individual. So, too, as to assault and arson. A mob is but a collection of individuals, and each one of its numbers is personally responsible for his acts. White or black he should be made to pay.

The attorney general and the other officials concerned in the prosecution of this great cause, and in the social and political rehabilitation of East St. Louis, should have the earnest support of every man and woman in that town who believes in the supremacy of the law, who believes in equal rights for all men, who wants to wipe away the foul stain of that terrible night, who wants to have a city in which it is safe and pleasant and profitable to live. The issue of right and wrong is paramount, but there is another issue that may appeal more strongly to some, and that is the material future of East St. Louis. They cannot afford, to put it sordidly, to be timid or indifferent in this matter. Those who will no fight for the right because it is right, and for justice because it is justice, must battle for these things becaus the welfare of the city is at stake, and the personal welfare of every law-abiding citizen of it. East St. Lou must be redeemed, or it is doomed.

LABOR AND THE NEGRO.

To what extent the race riots in East St. Louis are due to "labor agitators"—official or unofficial—will probably never be known.

But this may be set down as a fact—organized labor is as ready as any body else to give the negro a square deal.

OKLAHOMA CITY NEWS
JULY 11. 1917

Every man who becomes a member of the American Federation of Labor obligates himself "never to discriminate against a fellow-worker on account of creed, color or nationality."

This is as high a standard as one can find anywhere; and, in a general way, it expresses the attitude of organized labor toward the negro thruout the entire country.

Ordinarily when there is a prejudice against the negro, either on the part of a workingman or any other kind of a man, it is due to the negro's character and not to his color.

N. BEDFORD, MASS., TIMES
JULY 6, 1917

MEMORIAL TO AMERICAN PEOPLE

The recently-organized New Bedford branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held a meeting in the Union Baptist church last evening, with an attendance of about 40.

There were several additions to the membership list, the present total being 46.

During the meeting the massacre of Negroes in East St. Louis was brought up and discussed by I. C. Dade, E. B. Jourdain and the Rev. S. W. Weller. It was voted that a committee be appointed to draw up a memorial to the American people

EAST ST. LOUIS AND ILLINOIS.

In closing their work at East St. Louis, some members of the Congressional Investigating Committee have clearly foreshadowed the nature of the committee's report. It can be seen in advance that the report will take a much wider range than could have been contemplated when the committee was organized. It promises to include evidence touching some violations of federal laws said to have grown out of and been tolerated by evil conditions of government in East St. Louis. Committee members express themselves as so astonished at some revelations that, before this experience, they could not have believed such conditions possible in any community.

A better word has been spoken, not for East St. Louis in particular, but for that part of organized state government known as St. Clair County, in which East St. Louis is included. In an address made at Chicago Saturday, Attorney General Brundage commended results of grand jury and trial jury work in the indictment and conviction of leaders and participants in the July riots at East St. Louis, and all the procedure of the court at Belleville before which the prisoners were arraigned. This praise has been merited, and the GLOBE-DEMOCRAT has itself drawn a distinction between the records made by the court of justice and its machinery, and the inertia and worse of the municipal government of East St. Louis. In state organization, while the sovereignty of the state is coequal with its boundaries, the county is the unit of that organization. The sheriff is a state officer. Judges are a part of a state and not of any independent judiciary. The machinery of county government is, or should always be, responsive to the state.

When, soon after the riots, it was first proposed to have federal investigation, the GLOBE-DEMOCRAT, insisting that the State of Illinois, working through its constituted organization and under its own laws, could assert its own sovereignty, could see no reason for such an investigation. No interstate question had been raised, and the committee, though probing mercilessly and to the bottom, has not been able to find any one of moment. But it is fortunate, on the whole, that the investigation has been made. Its work has cleared the air of unbelief. The member of the committee saying he could not have believed such conditions possible cannot be alone in his innocence. Such revelations may be salutary in convincing the incredulous that there is no depth to which prostituted politics, in a long tolerant or indifferent community, will not descend.

Race Rioters Indicted.

A Grand Jury sitting at Belleville, Ills., has done its duty by returning indicaments against more than a hundred persons accused of complicity in the East St. Louis race riots, in which some forty negroes were killed. The charges in the indicements include murder, arson, conspiracy, rioting, and assault to murder.

BRISTOL VA COURIER
AUGUST 16, 1917

This Grand Jury does not quite agree with those northern newspapers which have insisted that the East St. Louis massacre of negroes was an industrial riot rather than a race riot; that the riot was caused by unsatisfactory labor conditions, and that the negroes were not killed because they were negroes but because they were "easily distinguishable by the color of their skin," or words to that effect. The Grand Jury declares its belief that the riots, or the occurences which led up to them, were deliberately plotted. It is of the opinion that the wholesale slaughter of negroes was the result of a propaganda of racial intolerance. And this in a State whose newspapers have been most rabid in denunciation of the South because of its alleged ill treatment of the negro. Among those indicted is a high police official. An attorney at law, accused of making an inflammatory speech advocating mob violence, was also indicted. And the Grand Jury took occasion to censure "indolent public officials," who, it declared, heard the rumblings but were overawed by cowardly intimidations and remained inactive.

The Grand Jury has done its duty. Illinois history has no blacker chapter than the murder of nearly two score unoffending negroes. It will be a still blacker chapter if nobody is punished for the crime.

American Massacres

GLYRIA O TELEGRAM
JULY 5, 1917

Comments on any such event as the recent "race war" in East St. Louis seem futile. The whole business is so shocking, so shameful—and so helpless. After all these years of striving to overcome race prejudice in America, to adjust the relations of white and black men so as to enable them to live side by side in peace and co-operation, to make our vaunted democracy workable in spite of differences of color, we have an outbreak of riot and murder that has made every American hang his head.

When negroes are shot and burned to death by the score in a community furnished with all the equipment of law and order and all the American traditions of decency and justice, at a time when we are fighting a great war to give to oppressed nations and races the liberty we profess to exemplify above all other peoples, what can we say?

How often we have reproached Russia and Turkey for their massacres! And what was the killing at East St. Louis but an American massacre? How bitterly we have condemned Turkey for her savage slaughter of Armenians! And what is the basic difference between Turks and Americans when they meet on this common level of brutality? We have excoriated the Germans for their cruelties practised in Belgium, in France, in Serbia, in Poland and on the high seas. And is there any Prussian Schrecklichkeit worse than those East St. Louis funeral pyres?

There is no question that the white population there and in many other communities faces a serious problem. There was considerable provocation. There usually is. But "noblesse oblige." White men should act like white men. Civilized people must show themselves civilized.

Elihu Root, giving the Russian revolutionists his idea of democracy, called it "organized self-restraint." How Russian and Turkish and Prussian cynics can laugh at us now! Can't you hear them asking, "Is America a democracy or a mob?"

AFTER THE MASSACRE.

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLS., wants the negro workers whom the rioters drove out of town to come back.

The city finds it cannot do business without the negroes. While there were thousands of white rioters to kill negroes and burn their homes, it turns out there are no white workmen to take the places of the negroes who have fled. The city that did not protect the negroes is now promising them all kinds of protection if they will return. Even East St. Louis' big neighbor across the river is greatly disturbed by the exodus of black labor and is trying to coax it back to keep industry moving.

The frantic effort to secure the return of the negroes puts an end to the argument that the massacre was due to their having taken white men's jobs. It shows there was more work in town than white labor could do. East St. Louis had work for all.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots — 1917

ROOSEVELT AGAIN RIGHT
WITH PLAINS (N. Y.) AROU
LY 7, 1917

Ex-President Roosevelt and Samuel Gompers, head of the labor organizations in this country, had a clash on the stage of Carnegie Hall last night relative to the rioting at East St. Louis. The ex-President made it plain that, while he favored labor in every way consistent with law and order, he was opposed to force and incendiarism to gain a point in an industrial conflict. He was opposed to whites fighting whites. Both sides could seek and obtain justice without a resort to anarchy as in the East St. Louis affair.

Mr. Gompers flaunted a telegram of some labor leaders in East St. Louis explanatory of the trouble from a labor viewpoint.

The crowd was a Roosevelt crowd, however, and applauded the ex-President to the echo.

The Russians, in whose honor a reception was to be held, had a taste of American Democracy and what it means at the meeting.

Referring to the rioting and killing in East St. Louis the Colonel said in part:

"Before we speak of justice for others," he said, "it behooves us to do justice within our own household. Within the week there has been an appalling outbreak of savagery in a race riot at East St. Louis, a race riot for which, as far as we can see, there there was no real provocation, and which, whether there was provocation or not, was waged with such an access of appalling brutality as to leave a stain on the American name. (Applause).

"Now, friends, the longer I live the more I grow to abhor rhetoric that isn't based on facts, words that aren't translated in deeds. And when we applaud the birth of democracy in another people, the spirit which insists on treating each man on the basis of his rights as a man, refusing to deny to the humblest the rights that are his, when we present such a greeting to the representatives of a foreign nation it behooves us to express our deep condemnation of acts that give the lie to our words within our own country.

"It behooves us to say that it is impossible that there should be a justification for mob violence, for brutuality and murder in this democracy. To ask—that isn't strong enough—to demand that the Government agencies shall use with ruthless severity every instrumentality to place the responsibility for this is our first duty.

"We must insist first of all upon the restoration of order, upon the reign of law, and then on the foundation of law and order we can build up the superstructure of justice.

"Before we congratulate others upon casting out the beam from their eye let us draw out the beam from our own. Let me remind you that the chiefest and most dangerous fault of a sentimental debauch is to give expression to good wishes on behalf of virtue somewhere else when you don't dare to enforce decency within the limits of your own authority."

Addressing Mr. Gompers, the Colonel said:

"I don't care a snap of my finger," the Colonel shouted, "for any telegram from the head of the strongest labor union in Illinois. This took aplace in a Northern state, where the whites outrank the negroes twenty to one. And if in that State the white men can't protect their rights by their votes against an insignificant minority, and have to protect them by the murder of women and children, then the people of the State which sent Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency must bow their heads."

RIOT RESOLUTION PLACES PART OF BLAME ON VOTER

Citizens Who Knew of Conditions in City Government and Failed to Intervene Scored in Committee Meeting.

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 6, 1917

POLICE CALLED INEFFICIENT AND MILITIA IS DENOUNCED

Reorganization of Law-Enforcing Department Demanded at Session of Chamber of Commerce Body in City Hall.

The East St. Louis Police Department was blamed for the "helpless and inefficient manner" in which it dealt with the race riots Monday, and the Illinois militia was said to have "pretended to give the city aid," while in some instances "aiding and abetting the rioters," in resolutions read by the Citizens' Committee of the Chamber of Commerce before a citizens' mass meeting at the East St. Louis City Hall at 2 p. m. today.

Reorganization of the Police Department is demanded, together with complete and careful investigation of the riots and full punishment of all persons, black and white, who engaged in them.

East St. Louis

"It is said a municipality usually receives the government it merits," the lengthy resolution read in one place. "We believe the good people of the city of East St. Louis are not without blame for the terrible experiences through which they have just passed. They have not been ignorant of the reign of crime that has been going on in the city and the failure on the part of the police officers and other officials to punish offenders. And yet they have been so engrossed in their individual affairs they have entirely overlooked and neglected to perform a public duty.

Race Troubles Reviewed.

"It has taken a terrible tragedy to arouse them to a sense of the responsibility they are under to the community in which they live."

The resolutions review the race troubles beginning with the rioting in May. The May riots are condemned, the action of the "lawless and savage" negroes in shooting, Sunday night, into a machine load of police is condemned, and Monday's outrages, committed in "a savage and brutal manner," are declared to be so bad that drafters of the resolutions have no language in which to express their disgust.

Laxity in punishment of crime was given as the chief motive leading up to the riots.

Attorney General Brundage of Springfield arrived at noon and went into conference with the Citizens' Committee, preparatory to beginning an exhaustive investigation.

Mayor Kiel and Director of Public Welfare Schmoll today visited the riot-damaged districts of East St. Louis and conferred with Mayor Mollman and Adjutant General Dickson, preliminary to requesting negro refugees in St. Louis to return to their homes and work on the East Side.

The Mayor had been in the East and only returned last night. At 8:30 a. m. today he had started for East St. Louis. On returning he said he had seen 100 or more negroes going unmolested about their business on the East Side, and had been assured that every precaution has been observed for their safety.

"There is no reason why the refugees should not return to their homes, and I hope they will do so," he said. He added that it will be a hardship on St. Louis negroes especially, if the East St. Louisans do not return to their homes, because of the overcrowded conditions on this side, and the claims made on the hospitality of the St. Louis negroes.

Few Negroes Going Back.

Despite assurances from military, civil and police authorities of East St. Louis the blacks were returning slowly today. Not more than 200 of the estimated 5,000 had gone back to East St. Louis.

The Red Cross is expending about $300 a day in caring for them at the Municipal Lodging House, according to C. M. Hubbard of the Provident Association. Hubbard said the negroes there were being told it was safe to return to East St. Louis, but were not urged to go if they didn't feel like it. Work can be procured for them here, he said.

An appeal to 500 of them in the Municipal Lodging House to go back today resulted in three men stepping forward and offering to resume work in the Swift Packing plant. They were dispatched in a truck, together with four men who agreed to go back to work at the Malleable Iron Company plant, after a representative of that company had appealed in vain to twenty-five former workmen in the Municipal Lodging House to return.

Satisfied With City Fare.

A reporter for The Star, who questioned many of the negroes there this morning, found more than fifty who said they were going back to their former homes in the South. Others seemed satisfied with the free food and free lodging given them by the city of St. Louis and showed no disposition to return to work or seek homes.

Richard W. Kent, 2208 Chestnut street, a St. Louis negro, who is aiding in the relief work in the lodging house, addressed 500 men there today, telling them their safety was assured on the East Side and asking them to return to work. He said he got no assurance from the men that they would return.

Officer, Two Policemen Accused in Race Riots Ask Release on Bail

East St. Louis Men Locked Up for the Night in Belleville Jail.

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
JULY 20, 1917

Habeas corpus proceedings to get bail for Police Sergeant Con Meehan and Patrolmen James O'Brien and A. H. Wilson of the East St. Louis police force, were begun Wednesday in the Circuit Court at Belleville by P. K. Johnson, a Belleville attorney, representing the policemen. Judge George A. Crow of the Circuit Court will hear the application this morning.

At 5 o'clock the accused men, accompanied by friends and their attorney, appeared at the County Jail in Belleville and surrendered. They were booked and locked up for the night. The habeas corpus proceeding were immediately begun and will be determined this morning.

Under the law of Illinois a man charged with murder cannot be admitted to bail except by order of a court of record. The proceeding will bring their case before the court where the charges of the state against them will be aired and the judge be asked to decide whether the charges are of such a nature as to admit of bail.

Bail Usually Accepted.

It is customary to grant accused men bail, and especially so when they surrender themselves as the policemen have done. Bail in such cases as these is usually fixed at from $5000 to $10,000. The holding of the policemen was recommended on a mittimus from the coroner.

The charge against the three men is that they ordered the militiamen in East St. Louis at the time of the rioting to "shoot to kill" at the negroes. Meehan denies that he issued any such order as this, and says that the guardsmen shot the negroes without orders.

It is said that at the coroner's inquest testimony was given to the effect that patrolmen who had been ordered to close a saloon on the "Island," run by a negro named St. John, entered the place and immediately began shooting. Two negro men were killed and a negro woman had her arm shot off.

It is also reported that testimony was given at the coroner's inquest which fastens upon Meehan the quotation, "You two guys keep your mouth shut and don't snitch." Meehan denies the testimony which implicates him or the patrolmen.

The grand jury continued hearing witnesses in its investigation of the rioting of two weeks ago, and about a dozen more appeared before that body. Several days are expected to be consumed in completing the coroner's transcript of the testimony taken at the secret inquest held by him before the testimony can be given to the grand jury.

More Troops to Depart Today.

Five more companies of infantry of the Illinois National Guard and one troop of cavalry will depart for their homes from East St. Louis today. About 500 men will leave and as many more will remain.

The companies to go are F of Benton, G of Effingham, H of Shelbyville, I of Vandalia of the Fourth Regiment; B of Chicago of the Second Regiment. The troop is D Troop of the First Cavalry Regiment of Springfield.

The military court of inquiry adjourned at 9 p. m. after a three-day session, at which over seventy witnesses were called. Col. S. O. Tripp, the officer who was in charge of the troops at the time of the rioting, was one of the witnesses. The proceedings of the court were forwarded to Gov. Frank O. Lowden for review.

Maj. R. W. Cavenaugh, in camp at Nineteenth and State streets since April 23, commanding four companies of infantry mustered into the federal service will remain on guard duty in East St. Louis. His command is not affiliated with the militiamen who were on riot duty in the city, but is a federal unit.

EAST ST. LOUIS PROBLEM.
WATERVILLE ME SENTINEL
JULY 10, 1917

The Negro problem, political graft, union labor troubles and violation of liquor laws are all given as the chief causes of the terrible conditions existing at East St. Louis. Those selecting the first named cause as the principal one say that Negroes have been brought up from the south and through political influence have been allowed to do as they pleased. They have naturally badly irritated the whites, especially those with whom they have been in direct contact, and

have thus aroused all the inbred racial antipathies. This cause is akin to the union labor issue, it being declared that the Negroes have been used to fight the unions and that the unions have struck back with more force than judgment. This issue nearly brought Col. Roosevelt and President Gompers to fisticuffs in a public meeting the other night, the colonel with characteristic emphasis holding that what he considered the real cause of the trouble must surely be the whole cause and Mr. Gompers resenting the intimation that union labor was responsible.

Violation of the liquor laws and political graft also go together, city officials being charged with allowing almost anything for the sake of the votes to be gained and the claim being made that seldom has there been more corruption or manipulation.

Whatever may have been the real cause, it has been plain that the Negroes have not had public sentiment with them, but rather decidedly against them. Soldiers called out to protect them failed and police were powerless to control the mob spirit once it got well under way. From reports that have been sent out the attitude of the majority of the citizens has been "Good enough for them!" The Negroes have been persecuted and maltreated in ways that hardly seemed possible in America. Innocent and inoffensive men have been shot down in cold blood in the streets, law abiding black women subjected to indignities for which the Huns might blush and the whole city thrown into an uproar for days.

Rigid investigation has been demanded and this seems to be the first step to take. As it is now there can be no accurate placing of the blame which has been of a kind to deserve the severest punishment. Negroes have been coming north in rapidly increasing numbers in recent months and several other cities are already trembling over the possibilities of similar outbreaks. The south has long battled with problems in which the Negroes have been involved in East St. Louis and now the north is confronted by them. The quicker economic evils of the situation are discovered and corrected the better. The north has its work cut out for it in this connection, as the old Negro problem of southerners, who understand Negros better probably than the north ever will, is complicated with new features.

East St. Louis happens to be the first city to be involved and if political influence there is too strong for a thorough local clean up, federal authorities should take a hand. It is a trouble that cannot be ignored and which will thrive mightily in darkness. The white light of "pitiless publicity" is needed for fumigation.

UNION LABOR DENIES BLAME FOR RACE RIOTS

N Y C CALL
NOVEMBER 6, 1917

ORGANIZED TOILERS FEEL THEY HAVE BEEN REFUSED SQUARE DEAL AT EAST ST. LOUIS.

ST. LOUIS, Nov. 5.—Organized labor, testifying before the congressional committee which is investigating the July riots in East St. Louis, denied the blame of the race persecutions. Harry Kerr, district organizer of the American Federation of Labor, emphasized to the committee that race prejudice was not used to drive unorganized labor out of the city, and cited instances of assistance to the Negro from the labor unions.

The labor unions feel that they have not gotten a square deal in the East St. Louis matter, and an appeal was made to the congressional committee for impartial consideration.

Mr. Kerr explained to the committee the formation of the unions which control skilled labor, attributing the failure of the Negro workman to obtain admission to these bodies to his inability to pass the examinations required by most of the unions. As the unions are autonomous bodies, the personal sentiments of the members direct the actions of each organization. The district organizer wished to make plain the fact that these sentiments were not controlled by the American Federation of Labor.

No Unskilled Organization.

There is no organization for unskilled workmen in East St. Louis. Owing to the large number of Negroes who come into East St. Louis from the rural districts of the South, most of the colored workers are not eligible to the ranks of skilled union labor.

An attempt was made last August to organize a federal labor union, and a charter was obtained for that purpose. Such a union has for its purpose the incorporation of unskilled labor, and would, therefore, include a larger number of Negro laborers than can gain admittance to the craft unions.

It was stated to the committee by other representatives of the labor unions that, owing to the loose political condition and the large migratory population which the city seemed to attract, there were habitually in East St. Louis two laboring men for every job.

Unions Didn't Control Meeting.

It would seem from the testimony of labor union men that the meeting of May 28, which culminated in rioting, although planned by the unions as a consultation with Mayor Mollman concerning complicated labor conditions, at an early hour slipped from their control.

Upon their arrival at the city hall, where the meeting was held, the unions claim they were greatly surprised to find a large crowd assembled to take part in the proceedings.

One labor representative told the committee that upon finding the meeting was acquiring a tone of levity incompatible with the seriousness of its purpose, he left the hall. Later in the evening, when the crowd had fully acquired the spirit which would result in mob activity, and had surged forth upon the streets in disorder, he made appeals that they should go home. The witness stated that he had his face slapped in reply. Immediately afterward, two soldiers whom he recognized as members of the national guard of St. Louis called to the mob to follow them, and they left the vicinity of the city hall.

The witness stated that he personally went to a point from whence the negroes would of necessity have to come in order to enter the business section of the city, and advised the colored people not to come down into the heart of East St. Louis, but to reach their points of destination by some less direct route. He continued this friendly assistance until 1 o'clock in the morning.

Asked Car Removed.

On the morning of July 2, finding a restless, threatening crowd gathered in front of the police station, about the automobile in which Detectives Coppedge and Wodley had been killed the night before, the labor leader suggested to the chief of police that exhibition of the bullet-scarred car might incite further difficulty, and upon this suggestion the car was removed to the station garage.

The American Federation of Labor was not connected with the strike at the Aluminum Ore works owing to the fact that the men of this plant were organized into an individual association which was not affiliated with the national body. This particular conflict lay between the managers and employes of the Aluminum Ore works.

The committee has been unable so far to learn just who is responsible for the bringing of Negroes to East St. Louis from the South. That such agencies were at work is practically certain.

One witness told of seeing a company of nearly 100 Negroes in charge of a white agent standing on a street corner in East St. Louis. The date given was some time between the May and July riots. Upon conversing with some of these Negroes, the witness said he learned that they were being brought up from Tuscaloosa, Ala., and were on their way to Gary, Ind. The suggestion of the witness to the chief of police that the destination and starting point of these immigrants under the direction of a white man ought to be determined was received with disregard.

Reduced railroad rates brought to East St. Louis immigrants who, upon their arrival, had not a cent, and no other clothing than what they wore. Some of them were seen carrying a few poor articles in parcels, but the majority had no goods or baggage. Many of the men wore only a shirt and overalls, even after the weather had become wintry.

Numbers of these colored people were left stranded. One party stated that the white agent had brought them as far as Cario, Ill., and then left them. They had no certain employment and no funds.

Testimony has been given before the committee that one carload of Negroes which was brought up from the South to work in the Aluminum Ore Works refused to accept the jobs which they had come up North to take when they learned that the reason for the vacancy of these positions was the fact that a strike was in process among the regular employes.

Blame the Authorities.

Union labor attributes the rioting of May and July to the lax enforcement of law by the local authorities, and the bringing in of negro labor by the heads of industries for the purpose of breaking up the labor unions.

The result of these combined conditions was crime which went unpunished, a large number of idlers of both races, and ill-feeling produced by cut-throat competition and general lawlessness.

East St. Louis is composed almost altogether of laboring people. When labor representatives had appealed in vain to the mayor and city council for a consideration of their difficulties, the problems were carried to the state authorities. The state council of defence sent a committee to East St. Louis to investigate the situation, but the facts were not available.

Mayor Mollman, it is said, was warned that the prevailing condition must inevitably result in riots such as had taken place in Springfield, Ill. The mayor accepted the warning, but took no action to improve conditions.

WASHINGTON D C STAR
JULY 3, 1917

America's Shame.

Distressing in itself at any time, bu particularly so at this juncture of na tional affairs, with the United States in volved in war with a foreign power, th rioting at East St. Louis is a calamit certain to have the most grave effec

The troubles that culminated last nigh in an orgy of killing and burning, i the course of which at least twent negroes were slain, and possibly sever times that number, began several week ago in consequence of the importation o negro laborers from the south. Bu there had been bad blood between th races in that neighborhood long befor and race riots have been of no infre quent occurrence.

It would seem to have been possibl for the municipal and state authoritie to forestall and prevent this outbreal by a proper display and use of force after the warnings that were given in May. Apparently nothing effective was done. If any prosecutions were started of those responsible for the May rioting they were not concluded. The community was left at the mercy of a chance outbreak of race feeling. State troops had been ordered to the scene and then withdrawn. The immediate crisis was caused by the publication Saturday of a report by the state council of defense that labor agents had induced negroes to migrate to East St. Louis from the south. Evidently no precaution was taken to have troops at hand to quell the disturbance virtually certain to result from this disclosure.

The situation of the negroes at East St. Louis and other industrial centers is a pitiable one, however blame may rest upon some of the individuals among them for these outbreaks. Those who have left the south have done so because of intolerable conditions there. The lynchings that occur with sickening frequency render them more than willing to move to other places, and they are not to be blamed if they accept the invitations of agents to migrate. That they should go into a neighborhood of equally intense race feeling and become the victims of wholesale slaughter is indeed a tragedy.

The United States is today fighting, as the President says, the war of democracy. It is disheartening to find human rights disregarded and laws swept aside by mobs in the very heart of the country while we are equipping our armies to send them forth to fight for the principle of liberty. The scene of this slaughter is not on a frontier. It is in the midst of a thickly settled region, the city itself is adjacent to one of the great centers of American population. All the judicial processes to correct abuses and guarantee rights are available. Yet in a few hours a mob has killed and burned and defied the law and America is ashamed.

Riots—1917

East St Louis

Amsterdam 7/11/17

THE EAST ST. LOUIS LESSON

The East St. Louis murders prove nothing new. There is hardly anything we can say in reference to East St. Louis savagery and wanton defiance of law and order that we have not already said about the same crimes in the South. In fact, we do not intend to run true to the all-to-marked trait of the colored man of "talking his head off" and doing nothing.

Every black man (and we take it every white man) knows that the fundamental principles upon which this government was established—the "unalienable rights of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness"—were murderously violated by the foreign-born scum that composed the East St. Louis mobs and by the incapacity to handle, or collusion with, the mobs of the white police and militia men. But this is not the first time that these fundamental principles have been violated and roughly jolted from the pedestal set for them by "the land of the free and the home of the brave." The white police and militia at East St. Louis are not the first forces representing "American law and order" that have failed to protect black men in an unequal fight of one thousand to one. They are not even the first who have cheerfully relinguished their arms or their black prisoners to fellow whites in a mob thirsting for colored blood. They are not the first that have bravely rushed to the support of a white mob getting the worst of it, after being futile and apparently uninterested spectators when only blacks were being beaten or killed. The East St. Louis whites—civilians, police and militia—are not the first whites who have relentlessly refused the black man an equal chance, either in industry or in battle. North, East, South and West in this broad land it is the same story. The black man must forever wage an unequal fight in every field, whether it is earning a living or defending himself and kind. No Joe Lorey chivalry on the part of white or black! Ever the fight is a thousand to one!

But we said we would not "talk our heads off." These things have happened before and will occur again. Race prejudice will exist until the Millenium. Race friction will continue wherever two races meet and will be experienced at its worst when, living in the same country and under the same flag, one race is vastly outnumbered by a race with the superiority itch. Racial, or rather national, antagonism was deep-seated in Europe even before the present war. This war will modify the ancient prejudices between French and English, but will strengthen those between French and German and German and English, etc. If there were no mob murders of French or English in the past it was because each people respected, not the attainments in the arts or the sciences, but the POTENTIAL WAR POWER OF THE OTHER! For this same reason, while this war has fired the fiercest hatreds of French and British for Teuton and of German and Austrian for English and French there will be no mob murders in frontier towns or in the far-away capitals of these nations. Such attempts have occurred in the past and may recur in the future, but they will be instantly suppressed as in the past. Each nation respects and fears too well the power of the other. That is the reason, too, that while the Japanese are intensely hated in this country there have been no outrages committed upon the subjects of the Mikado.

Every numerous people, and many who can boast only a few million, has a nation of its own, except the New World colored man and IT IS HIGH TIME THAT HE BE ABOUT NATION-BUILDING IF HE WOULD OBTAIN JUSTICE AND A FAIR CHANCE AT THE "UNALIENABLE RIGHTS TO LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS".

This is plainly the course ordained by Destiny for every people ambitious enough to aspire to Liberty and Progress, and emphatically the only course open to a people with self-respect and the natural desire for self-preservation. Yet our so-called leaders have never dared to advise it.

The course we offer, in preference to the racial habit of talking its head off and doing nothing, demands sacrifice and the faith and determination of heroes. It is, in truth, a heroic course. But what thing worth while was ever won and retained without effort? Had not the heroes of 1776 wrested from George III the justice and the "unalienable rights to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" which he denied them would the whites of this country be now enjoying the same? When the peoples of the Netherlands lifted their voices in prayer to Philip of Spain to restrain his inquisition and religious persecution, did Philip abate one jot his efforts to annihilate a whole people? When the French prayed for bread, were they not told by their rulers to eat cake? But the men of 1776 and the persecuted Netherlanders and the oppressed French alike arose in their might with the odds an hundred times against them and wrested from the tyrant their rights to Life, Libery and the Pursuit of Happiness.

These rights are universal. But no people has ever received them as a gift. Nor has any people ever retained them without the exercise of eternal vigilance.

There are over eleven million colored people in the United States and a total of more than thirty million inthe New World, with over a hundred million in Africa. Also there are unoccupied millions of square miles in North and South America—unoccupied in a far greater sense than was Africa when the European nations started the great division of spoils. Let the leaders of the race get together and designate some country favorable to the development of a people (and the hot countries are not!) and sufficiently rich in resources to support a large population, and let the people emigrate as rapidly as possible to that country, accepting for the time, anyhow, the existing government.

We said that the course was heroic and entailed great sacrifices. Yet it is no harder a task than faced many peoples in the past. A Tartar tribe, throwing off the government of Catherine of Russia,

DETECTIVE SHOT BY NEGRO DIES

News of Frank Wodley's End Suppressed for Fear of Reviving Riot.

VICTIM OF ARMED BLACKS

East St. Louis Policeman Was With Coppedge When He Was Slain.

ST LOUIS MO REPUBLIC
JULY 4, 1917

Detective Frank Wodley, 29 years old, walking partner of Detective Sergeant Samuel Coppedge, who was slain Monday by a negro mob in East St. Louis, died at 9:45 o'clock last night in the Deaconess Hospital from bullet wounds suffered at that same time.

News of his death was suppressed at the hospital during the night, for fear that it would incite more mob violence among whites.

Wodley was wounded three times, the leaden missiles from Springfield rifles in the hands of the negroes penetrating his abdomen, chest and right arm.

When Wodley was placed on the operating table Coppedge's body was brought in for final examination. Wodley saw the body as it was wheeled in and when told his partner was dead he remarked: "Well, I'll soon be with him."

Wodley was the youngest member of the East St. Louis Police Department. He became a patrolman five years ago and was promoted to detective about two years ago. He resided at 1624 Gaty avenue with his parents. Two brothers and two sisters also survive.

The funeral of Coppedge will be held at 6 o'clock this morning from his home, 3201 State street. A squad of patrolmen under Sergt. Con Meehan will escort the body to the east tower of Eads bridge.

The remains will be shipped to St. James, Mo., Coppedge's boyhood home, and interment will take place there this afternoon.

He is survived by his mother, who is 83 years old, a wife, daughter and son. The son recently joined the navy and is aboard the battleship Florida.

took its flight over the boundless Siberian steppes, pursued and often in danger of being overwhelmed and massacred, until after a flight of thousands of miles over snow, ice and deserts, it found safety under the shadow of the great Chinese Wall. A Colored American emigration to the State of Washington on the Pacific Coast and thence by peaceful penetration or organized force into the rich Canadian province of British Columbia would entail far less difficulty and sacrifice than the ancient migrations of tribes across Asia, Africa and Europe. And there can be no doubt that it would be of as far-reaching importance as the most successful of those movements. Possibly the United States would be willing to allow the colored man an autonomous existence in the State of Washington. But whether as an independent nation or as a sovereign State of the Union, the New World colored people, gathered in Washington would be much better off and with a thousand more opportunities to develop than in their present scattered existence with its resultant opportunities for repression by their more numerous and united neighbors.

Well, Why *Not* Make the World Safe for Democracy

N Y C CALL
JULY 7, 1917

IN the early edition of the Evening Mail of July 5, the one entitled the "Afternoon Edition," there was a cartoon that was intended as a sort of sentimental appeal to the people with reference to the East St. Louis massacre.

There was a Negro woman, with two children cowering under her arms, kneeling before the president. The president has a very firm and resolute look, and in his hand is a paper bearing the burning words, "The world must be made safe for democracy." In the background is a blaze, labeled "East St. Louis," and there are shadowy pictures of men shooting other men down.

The caption was, "Mr. President, why not make the world safe for democracy?"

It was a good cartoon, and it hit home. Incidentally, in the later editions, the Wall Street, and the Night, and the Five Star, and the ultimate editions, that cartoon disappeared, and in its place appeared a weak and anæmic picture that had to do with the German spy scare. What pressure was brought to bear to "kill" the cartoon we do not know. But it would be interesting to find out.

Well—why *not* make the world safe? Why should the flag of this country be found on the firing line in France, with the national motto, "The world must be made safe for democracy," while the countrymen of the "Sammees" are engaging in massacres rivaling the now discarded Russian national amusement of the pogrom? Why should not a president of such high personal ideals, of such nobility of character, of such lofty sentiments for other nations as Mr. Wilson, do something?

It may be embarrassing to state the reason. It may not sound well in the nations where we are trying to make an impression. But the facts must be told.

The Negro problem is a social problem, and an economic problem The East St. Louis massacre is but the flaming up of passions that are constantly present, and that will continue to be present while the causes remain.

Naturally, the Negro problem is a peculiarly Southern question; in the South the mass of the white people have the Negro obsession. They cannot go to bed without dreaming horrid nightmares of Negro insurrections, of Negro assaults, and so on. It was not so long ago that the whole South was convulsed with horror at the story that in the New York schools white girls were compelled to dance with Negro boys—which happened not to be true, anyway.

The masters of the bread, the descendents of the ante-bellum Bourbons, the exploiters, have managed to force their vicious race hatred upon the "pore whites," just as the Black Hundreds made the ignorant Russian peasantry Jew haters and Jew baiters.

Until the economic system of the South is completely changed, until the exploitation of the workers ceases, this race question will continue, and it will flare up in prejudice, in separate schools, in Negro slums, in the foulest persecution, in stupidly ignorant hatred, and in lynchings and massacres.

It is openly boasted by the young bloods of the South that no Negro girl is pure. And the whites make it their business to try to make good on this foul boast. Negroes have no rights, except as menials, except as lickspittle personal servants, except as abject slaves.

And this South has been politically solidified as the "solid South," with a beautiful block of 135 electoral votes that never can be cast for any but a Democratic candidate while present conditions continue. This block of votes is the decisive factor in the election of every Democratic president, and without it Wilson could not have been reelected. And that Southern Bourbon, Negro-lynching, labor-hating, reactionary, intellectually stagnant political element, dominant as it is in the South, is the element that makes it impossible for anything to be done in cases like the East St. Louis battle. That is the element that is represented by Vardaman, and Tom Heflin, and Hoke Smith, and the rest of the bitterest reactionaries in Congress.

Let the president even hint at the fact that there is something to say about the event, or something to be done, and he will raise a storm that will be reminiscent of the savage attacks upon President Roosevelt at the time that he and Dr. Booker T. Washington ate a sandwich or two from the leaf of the president's desk. They did not give votes to Roosevelt; they twice elected Wilson. That is why.

The Bourbon South approves of the massacre. And nothing will be done to make this country safe for the ten million Negroes, to make this country a fit place to live in for one-tenth of our population, to end this outrageous treatment of a whole race, while present conditions continue, and especially while the Democratic party rules.

The world must be made safe for democracy. And it *shall* be made safe for democracy and for humanity. It *shall* be made fit to live in, and a world fit to live for.

But the capitalistic class, and the agents and the governments of the capitalist class, are not going to do it.

It will be done by the workers themselves, by the disinherited, the doomed and the damned.

Negroes Urge Their Race to Meet Riots With Rifle and Bomb

"A few Winchester rifles in the hands of good colored men would have stopped the atrocities in East St. Louis," said Louis A. Lavelle, a member of the New York bar, and the 150 negroes, men and women, in the lecture room of the Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, at 102 West 133d Street, last night cheered and stamped their approval. They were gathered to "protest against the East St. Louis riots and to call on President Wilson to make America safe for the negro."

"The only way to stop race riots in East St. Louis or here in New York, if they break out," continued Lavelle, "is to make the white men realize that it's a risky job to attack us. Make them feel that if they start out on a rampage they'll die. You're not murderers when you protect yourselves and meet force with force. It's a jest to do anything else. No man is more God-fearing than I—but God had His chance in East St. Louis, and somehow He didn't stop the riots. You've got to help yourselves.

"Crowds are cowards. Five good guns pumping a stream of lead into a mob will stop it. The colored people must get ready for defence. They've got to keep the Winchester Arms Company busy turning out guns for them, so they can protect their homes and the law. There's more democracy in a Winchester than in all the speeches in the world."

George W. Harris, editor of "The New York News," a negro publication, said:

"It'd be a good thing if the colored people studied a little chemistry. It would have had a wholesome effect on that East St. Louis mob if several bright young colored men knew how to make bombs and had dropped a few on them.

"You know, all you need is a little nitro-glycerine, a little powder and a tin can." The crowd cheered, and Harris continued:

"We have placated the white people too long. It must end. The colored man must stop showing the Uncle Tom spirit."

Following Lavelle's address, Cleveland G. Allen, chairman of the meeting, said:

"I hope nobody will misunderstand Mr. Lavelle. He means if one side commits a crime it's all right for the other side to do the same."

"I beg your pardon!" shouted Lavelle. "Please don't make any apologies for me." Some one in the audience jumped up and called, "No, don't make any apologies!" and the crowd applauded.

METROPOLIS

Mrs. Jennie Woods arrived home Saturday, the 7th, after a narrow escape from the East St. Louis mob.

Company M of the 8th Illinois National Guards are making preparations to do duty as soon as called upon.

Mrs. Mamie Jones has returned to Metropolis from Murphysboro where she spent several weeks.

Mrs. J. W. Gaskins is able to be out again after being confined to her room for several days.

Mrs. Ella McKarie is on the sick list, but is some better at this writing.

Mrs. Berdie Hopson, of Carbondale, Ill., is visiting her parents, Rev. and Mrs. Green Hodge.

Mrs. Camilla Thedford, of Shoat, visited Mrs. Ed Wheeler Thursday.

Rev. J. S. Stone baptized four candidates Sunday the 8th.

Mr. Maceo Stolls gave a birthday party to celebrate his 19th birthday at the residence of Mrs. J. W. Gaskins, 413 West 7th street. Ice cream, cake and orangeade were served.

Mr. J. W. Gaskin went fishing on the 7th and after falling in the river twice returned home with a fine perch.

Mrs. Desma Whitman and little son, of St. Louis, Mo., is in the city visiting her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Roberts.

Some of our citizens who were in the East St. Louis riot have returned home, but others of them can not be found. It is feared that they have been killed.

Mr. Pete Haynes is on the sick list, but is better at this writing.

The following persons from here are working in Gary, Ind., A. C. Tranzor, C. Griggs, Townsley and Maurice Martin.

Mr. Delbert Moore, our enterprisin young barber, has been contemplati training as an officer for the comin conflict.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

The White Man's Burden

WE FEEL SORRY for the white people of Illinois, for the white people of every section of this broad—but not free—land. It is their shame, their crime, that awaits atonement. We have sacrificed on the altar of prejudice and race hatred a quarter of a hundred men, women and children in the last orgy staged recently in East St. Louis. It is not a story of the dark ages, when savagery was at its height, nor yet a review of the atrocities committed by the Belgians in their African colonies. It has to deal with a class heralded as the acme of twentieth century civilization, living not in Georgia, Texas nor any state below the Mason and Dixon line, but in Illinois, the home of the greatest of humanitarians, Abraham Lincoln.

Chicago Defender

Word pictures, no matter how forcefully presented, fail utterly to depict the scenes enacted. Young girls in their teens, kicked, beaten with clubs and every shred of clothing torn from their bodies by white women and girls, were forced in their nudeness to flee for their lives. An aged man far from the scene of the riots was accosted by a set of murderers with the remark, "Well, old man, I guess you don't know what's going on around here," then was shot in his tracks. One victim, dying in the gutter, showed signs of life as two rioters passed and was dispatched with an oath and a bayonet thrust, it is said. Strong men were torn apart limb by limb. Babies were snatched from the breasts of their mothers, witnesses aver, and tossed back into the burning buildings. The whole fiendish group of actors, the setting and the plot were under the personal supervision of his satanic majesty.

7/14/17

Unlike most mobs, this one was made up of full grown men and women, who publicly avowed they had but one slogan: "We don't want the nigger." The depths to which these blots on society have sunk is seen when, gazing upon the charred remains of their victims, they expressed their views on burial: "No need; they stayed in and got roasted. Why didn't those niggers come out and let us get a shot at them?" But enough of this picture, painted with the blood of innocent people, as horrible to look upon as the tortures found in a veritable hell. And yet there is no reverse side, no silver lining bursting through the dark, angry clouds. There was no excuse. There are no extenuating circumstances, even though it is admitted, as claimed, that a majority of the dark people in East St. Louis were the scum of the earth.

The Negro of today, be he angel or devil, is just what the white man made him. For two hundred and fifty years he has been as a piece of clay in their hands. They have denied him every means of advancement, have made special laws to crush and debase him, have taken his life without fear of punishment, for they were the law. Finally, with one fell swoop they removed the bended prop from under him, leaving him in an unfriendly environment and expected him to measure up to the standards of a race that has hundreds of years of civilization behind it. Is it fair? Is it just?

We speak of democracy as though it had reached the acme of perfection in these United States, and sit in judgment on other countries who hold autocracy still. We sympathize with the Belgians and with the Armenians, then proceed to lynch and burn at the stake one or more of the most loyal citizens the country affords, simply because of a difference in color. There are three sets of laws—not all on the statute books, but practiced, nevertheless: The law for the rich man, the law for the poor man and the law for the Colored man. No country can long prosper under such conditions, and unless steps are taken to remedy this evil internal strife will undoubtedly follow.

Twelve million people is no inconsiderable number, and, while they all may not have the proper stiffening in their backbone, enough wise men can be found among them to protest, and protest vigorously, against any abridgement of their rights as American citizens. The gun or the torch need never be resorted to in accomplishing this end. Because our highly civilized white brethren resort to these things to exterminate "a weaker and inferior" race is not reason sufficient for us to employ the same methods. Embodied in the criminal code of the revised statutes of Illinois, under the heading "SUPPRESSING MOB VIOLENCE," is found:

"Any person or persons composing a mob, under the provisions of this act, who shall by violence inflict material damage to the property or serious injury to the person of or any other person upon the pretense of exercising correctional powers over such person or persons, by violence and without authority of law, shall be deemed guilty of a felony and shall suffer imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding five years; and any person so suffering material damage to property or injury to person by mob shall have an action against the county or city in which such injury is inflicted, for such damage as he may sustain, to an amount not exceeding $5,000.

"In case of lynching, the surviving spouse, lineal heirs or adopted children of any such other person or persons who, before the loss of life, were dependent for support upon any other person who shall hereafter suffer death by lynching at the hands of a mob, in any county or city of this state, may recover from such county or city damages for injury sustained by reason of the loss of life of such person, to a sum not exceeding $5,000."

We are going to be men and women; we are going to be law-abiding citizens. We are going to fight to the last ditch for what we know to be our God-given rights, but our fighting will be done through the courts. We will not raise mobs and attempt to shatter the very foundation of our government. We will not form ourselves into a band of murderers and commit crimes too fiendish and hellish—upon the innocent and guilty alike—to be recorded by our daily press. We will resort to the courts. If they fail—but they cannot fail—surely the good people must predominate. We have waited patiently all these bitter years for conditions to change; the sun has peeped from its hiding place many times, only to be obscured by such black, angry clouds as those that fell over East St. Louis recently. The Governor has given us his promise that the guilty will be brought to justice and has set the entire law machinery of the state in motion to accomplish this end. For the lives that have been sacrificed there can be no recompense. For the survivors a full settlement is demanded. We await the result, but we await actively.

ST WORTH. TEX. RECORD
JULY 8. 1917

"Look for the Politician."

James Keeley is the publisher of the Chicago Herald and the Chicago Herald is an independent newspaper. It is neither a shriveled localism nor a torch-bearer of sectionalism. James Keeley made the Tribune great. Now he is making the Herald fearless and fair. East St. Louis is an Illinois town. There race riots terrorized the people of the city and horrified the people of America. "Look for the politician," editorializes the Herald, and this indictment of the cold-blooded and scheming politician of the North is given a prominent position on the editorial page of the Herald:

Back of the orgy of murder and riot which has disgraced East St. Louis and Illinois is the great migration of negroes to this section. And back of that is not only the industrial explanation but the argument which self-seeking politicians have furnished to those trying to induce the negroes to come North. The industrial argument might not be sufficient—particularly in these days when employment is to be had in any part of the country. But when to it is added the appeal to come North and play a big part in politics—to be coddled by this or that brand of politician or political faction—to get jobs and become tax-eaters just like the white people—what wonder that the simple negroes allow themselves to be herded into cars and hurried here? This is no idle supposition. In the repertory of the agent trying to promote migrations this appeal is certainly not omitted. All the facts that can be gathered up and that self-seeking politicians in their desire to exploit the negro vote have furnished are unquestionably used. This part of the country is represented as a political paradise for the negro, where he will compensate himself fully for the lack of political importance which he has known in the South. Thus in this case as in all other ills from which we suffer in this country we find crooked politics and the unscrupulous politician playing a distinct and dangerous role. "Look for the politician!" is as good a rule as "Look for the woman!" in cases of individual crime. His bad influence acts pervasively and often directly to bring about conditions that tax the ability of the rest of the community to deal with. His is a great responsibility for murder and death, but what does he care for that as long as his own hide remains untouched?

William L. Chenery conducts the Herald Guide Post, an interesting Keeley editorial page feature. In his forceful comment relative to the East St. Louis horror these significant words appear: "Deep as must be the horror of lynching, natural as must be the desire to seek a refuge free from all possibility of lawless violence, **the negro today cannot turn to the North for safety.**"

Again he says: "Other races feel the curse of prejudice, but nearly everywhere political adjustments will solve the problem. There is no bureaucracy here to be overthrown. There are no new states to be freed. America has all the forms of self-government. **It is doubtful if the constitution could do more than it has done for the negro. For him there is no promised land.**"

Writer Chenery believes that the negro will do better to follow the advice of the late Booker T. Washington than to do the bidding of some of the present critics of Washington.

Booker T. Washington was southern born; he made his life work the uplift and the advancement of his people. He believed the South the natural and the logical home of the negro, and he advised the men of his race to remain in the South and work out their own salvation.

"The negro today cannot turn to the North for safety," is the verdict of this Chicago editorial writer, who is singularly free from sectional prejudice and who states facts as they are without attempting to gloss them over.

Robert R .Moton filled the gap at Tuskegee when Booker T. Washington passed on. Four days ago Moton sent out a letter dealing with the lynching record of the country. This paragraph is taken from the Moton letter: "The horrors connected with the recent burning at the stake near Memphis has increased among negroes the

fear of lynchings and accelerated their migration to the North."

James Keeley, one of the foremost editors of America, publisher of an influential northern newspaper, editorially said: "This part of the country is represented as a political paradise for the negro where he will compensate himself fully for the lack of political importance which he has known in the South."

More than 300,000 negroes have been herded like cattle in cars and shipped from the South to the labor centers of the North. They yielded to the allurements of labor agents from the North. They are promised fanciful wages, political and social equality and the conditions there which await them, as painted by these agents, open for the deluded blacks a paradise on earth.

The East St. Louis massacre is the answer.

Now, the great employers of labor are calling for the return of the thousands of negroes who have deserted the Illinois city for Missouri. They are promised protection, high wages and steady employment. These negroes have aroused the ire of white bread-winners and the curse of race prejudice is certain to continue uppermost.

There is a man power shortage in the United States and the Burnett bill shuts out the illiterates of the world. For two decades before the coming of the world war a million immigrants from Europe landed on these shores every year. Now that the ports are closed, now that the supply has been shut off, employers of labor are face to face with a crisis and it remains for the patriotic and the conservative leaders of the people to find a solution of the problem.

Labor Not Race Riots

N Y C TRIBUNE
JULY 19, 1917

Only Economic Justice Can End East St. Louis Troubles

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Will you kindly allow me to correct what seems to be a wrong impression some people in the East have received regarding the so-called "race riots" in East St. Louis? Whenever I say that I come from St. Louis I meet with the remark, "Oh, St. Louis; I wouldn't want to come from a city which still allows race riots to occur!"

In the first place, St. Louis is situated on the west side of the Mississippi River, and is in the State of Missouri, while East St. Louis is just across the river, on the east side, and belongs to the State of Illinois. In the second place, let it be distinctly understood, although negroes have been killed and wounded by whites, and vice versa, these are not race riots, as where the individual takes the law into his own hands and punishes another individual guilty of crime, but black and white against black, caused by the awful industrial conditions due to importation of black labor from the South.

Although the capitalist has made and is making millions of dollars of profit bleeding the laborer, he is not satisfied, and is always trying to increase the per cent of profit, as every one knows, by increase of prices and decrease of cost of labor to as low a figure as possible. Every one knows also that the capitalist and employer, not content with introducing female and child labor because it is cheaper, took another step by exploitation and importation of foreign labor (by means of labor agencies); then still another by importing black labor from the South, and I have heard rumors of Chinese coolies being smuggled into the United States. Chinese coolies are not famed for the high prices for labor they demand, and are satisfied with lower wages than the negroes. If we Americans will think hard we will remember that not so very long ago we put up a stiff fight in Washington for an immigration and literacy law excluding foreigners, and this is the very same thing that is happening in East St. Louis, except it is black and white against black, and in our recent fight it was only white against white—no colors involved.

The Living Conditions

If you could only see the conditions in which these laborers live, black and white, ignorant, illiterate, the majority of the whites being Slavs and Poles; in the poorest, filthiest, barely furnished frame shacks, in low, flat country full of small lakes, which are easily flooded during the rainy season, you would not wonder why such conditions exist, but, rather, how can these people exist (for they don't live), and you would then understand why they have at last decided to rebel against the importation of black labor simply because of the animal desire to live. Instead of that, we condemn them for causing race riots. No one dreams of blaming Swift & Co. and the Armour Packing Company or any other corporation or capitalist. They are laughing up their sleeves and reaping millions of dollars at the same time in taking advantage of the laborers' ignorance. And although they do rebel, these poor creatures do not realize that they themselves must be their own saviors. Only by education and organization will they secure their own rights, which, after all, are really to be allowed to live and work and be paid an honest wage for what they earn.

The trouble in East St. Louis really was this: that some negroes, filled up with whiskey, refused to be arrested for disturbing the peace and shot at the policemen who tried to arrest them, and in the excitement and chase resulting therefrom innocent bystanders were killed and wounded. Although the militia was called, they really did nothing, for the trouble had been caused by something more serious than drunken negroes and cheap whiskey.

My views may sound socialistic, but I'm not a socialist. I believe in fair play and justice to all, white, black or brown. In our hearts most of us do look down upon the negro. Not content with his being 2,000 years behind us in civilization (we are civilized, we white people, aren't we, with war and murder going on everywhere?), we claim to treat the black man as well as we do the white. We build good, sufficient schools for him and allow him to study and learn a decent trade or profession (in one out of 1,000 instances), at the same time putting every possible obstacle in his way and charging him more for rent and food and clothing and giving him lower wages, and also putting his every flaw under a microscope, so that the world may see for itself that we were right in stating that he is our inferior.

In the South

In the South they drive him out with low wages and disadvantages of all kinds, and at the same time try to keep him there because they cannot secure any one else who will work for lower wages and stand for more hardships. Really, it would not harm us one bit if while administering that same justice to all we were to add a drop of that medicine called the milk of human kindness, for although the negro is black he is made of the same dust that we are and came from and will return to the very same earth.

Permit me in closing to quote from "The Mirror" of July 6, 1917, edited by Mr. William Marion Reedy, which gives the facts in more concise form and better than I could:

"The one hope for a cessation of such happenings as the East St. Louis riot is in the realization by the South that the way to keep the negro where he would prefer to be is to pay him better for his toil. Recently there has been something like a panic in Georgia and other Southern states over the prospect of a shortage of negro labor. So the condition produces panic in both sections. Men would not be killing each other over jobs if the source of all jobs, the earth, was not cornered. There's room enough on the planet for everybody, and there would be jobs enough if the land were free to all who would use it. Riots will not improve conditions. Neither will militia bullets and cold steel. We won't get rid of labor troubles by getting rid of the 'nigger.' The South doesn't want to get rid of him. There's no getting rid of the worker, white or black. He will riot when his passions are aroused by economic conditions. Give him what is his—the opportunity to work and to secure the full reward of his labor—and he will be too busy and happy to go shooting up his brother man."

JENNIE BLUSTEIN.

New York, July 10, 1917.

CHICAGO ILL. HERALD
JULY 9, 1917

The Rights of Negroes.

Clinton, Iowa, July 6.—To the Editor: The writer has been a constant reader of the HERALD under its various names ever since its first existence, and this has been so because it has almost always been sound on moral questions. But I am disappointed that it has not been more severe in its denunciation of the East St. Louis outrage upon the negro population of that city.

Besides, this paper and all large journals have been rather lax in their denunciations of the barbarities practiced in this country against the negro race.

No good citizen will engage in a mob. He that does so is a criminal and a scoundrel, and there should be no palliation for his acts, whatever the provocation may be.

The press generally is censurable for not having more severely denounced the barbarities practiced against the negroes. Forty or fifty years ago had a negro been burned at the stake the whole press and people would have been afire with denunciation and indignation, but today a negro roasting, accompanied by the most barbarious and savage incidents, is only mentioned as a matter of news and without comment.

The right of free locomotion is one of the fundamental principles of civil liberty, and this country has come to a pretty pass if before a citizen can exercise his right to travel or change his place of residence in this country he must have the O. K. of some particular association or organization. A negro has just as good right to seek employment in the North as a northern white man has in the South.

The hideousness and unrighteousness of this awful deed is laid bare if we apply to it the golden rule. Suppose the negroes had been whites and the whites negroes. This is a fair test.

There are many things that press me to say, but this letter is already long. There arises the matter of our inconsistency in complaining about the barbarities imposed on the Belgians, Armenians and Congo natives (wrongs that cannot be too severely denounced), but I forbear. A wink should be as good as a nod in these cases.

The writer is a white person. F. M. FORT.

AUSTIN TEXAS AMERICAN
JULY 30, 1917

The North Repudiates the Negro.

Once more comes a report of race riots and again it is from the north, this time in Pennsylvania. The last one, and one of the most serious known, was in Illinois and, by the way, that one is not entirely ended.

Following the outbreak in East St. Louis, Ill., it was shown that unscrupulous labor agents had induced thousands of southern negroes to go to Illinois on promises of good wages, far better than they could earn in the south. The result of a large influx of negroes there, where they came in competition with white labor, is already known.

Many negroes have been induced to go from Tennessee and Alabama, where they had gained some knowledge of mining coal, to the coal fields of Pennsylvania, where the last outbreak occurred. One negro and one white man were killed in the rioting and many injured, but the dispatches tell that there has really been a state of conflict there for two weeks.

The negro is a free agent. He may go and come at will. He is a child in many ways and easily influenced. So long as he remains in the south and obeys the law he is protected. When he reaches the north he is without friends and every man he meets looks upon him as an enemy.

The greatest objection urged against him there is that he is liable to take some other man's job, secure a position held by a white man. The northern employer, the northern boss, does not understand the negro and never will. His habits, his ways, his manner of working and living, all fit in as a part of the south, but to the north he is a rank foreigner.

There is no prejudice against the negro in the south as a claimant to the right to work but this cannot be said of any single place in the north. There it is opposition to the negro all the time.

After failure there, if they are not killed by a mob, they return to the south, again seek and find employment and never again venture into the northern states, no matter the blandishments of the labor agent.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

THE EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS.

The Journal & Guide 7/7/17

The division of records and research of Tuskegee Institute had barely gotten before the public its anouncement of a decrease in the number of lynchings the first six months of this year as compared with the same period last year, before the East St. Louis, Ill., race riots broke out afresh, resulting up to Tuesday night, in the death of seventy-five persons, the injury of seventy-five and the distruction by fire of 310 dwelling houses, and other property valued at more than $3,000,000.00. Of the 14 persons lynched throughout the cuntry during the first six months of the year, four of them, one white and three colored, were charged with the crime of rape. The score or more of colored persons mob-murdered in the East St. Louis riots were put to death because they wanted to work for their living.

The wholesale loss of life and destruction of property in the East St. Louis riots may be attributed to the connivance of the police and militia with the mob. As soon as the Negroes began to defend their lives from the attacks of the mob, police and malitia rounded them up, took their arms away from them, both off their persons and out of their homes. The Negroes were then left at the mercy of the rioters, none of whom were rounded up or disarmed. On the other hand sixteen members of the militia are reported as having turned their rifles over to the members of the mob. Thirteen companies of State militia were on duty with orders not to shoot. Members of the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce charged the mitiitia with "inefficiency bordering on cowardice."

During the first three hours of the rioting colored women and children were not molested. As the rioting increased in fury white women joined the mob and began to direct their assaults upon colored women. The following press dispatche is descriptive of the part played by the white women rioters:

"Another of the innumerable brutal incidents of the night was the attack of a young colored woman. White men and women were among the assailants.

"Let the women have her," was the cry among the men, and white women began tearing the garments from their victim.

"The woman's cry, "Please, please, I ain't done nothing," was stopped by a blow in the mouth with the club which a woman swung like a base ball bat. Anothe white woman seized the victim's hand and the blow was repeated. Fingers tore at her hair and her waist was stripped from her.

"Now let's see how fast she can run," suggested a woman, as the woman broke loose. The women were loathe to leave her alone, but after following her with their blows for a short distance, they stopped and she ran crying down the street.

"The women next tried to get an aged colored woman who was guarded by three militiamen. One of them wrestled with the soldier for his rifle and other succeeded in getting in a few blows."

As another example of the depravity of the mob we quote the press despatches as follows:

"Bits of clothing taken from dead Negroes were shown to-day by souvenir hunters. One brutal incident of the night was related to-day. On Fourth stret, near Broadway, three men saw a Negro, apparently dead, lying in a guter. One flashed a pocket light in his face and saw that he still breathed.

"Well, what do you know about that!" he exclaimed, "not dead yet."

"He and one of his companions then drew their pistols and fired a bullet into the Negroe's head."

Organized labor appears to be directly responsible for the trouble between the races, as the following statement from Michael Whalen, president of the East St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Council will indicate:

"Last summer 4,500 white men went on strike in the packing plants of Armour and Company, Morris and Company and Swift and Company. Eight hundred Negroes from the south came into the plants as strike breakers. When the strike ended the Negroes remained at work and an equivalent number of white men failed to get their jobs back. Since then their has been a stream of Negroes arriving. At least 2,500 Negroes have come from the south in the last year. Many of them failed to get work, or to hold jobs once obtained. Burglaries, highway robberies and petty crimes began. The people became exasperated and determined to drive them out of town."

The leader of organized labor is flatly contradicted by employers of Negro labor in East St. Louis. We quote the press dispatches:

"Managers of plants mentioned by Mr. Whalen asserted that not a white man had been deprived of work because af the Negroes. Even with the Negroes it was difficult to get enough labor, they said. They explained that rosy letters writen back home by the first arivals accounted for the continued influx from the south."

In spite of the alleged prevalence of crime, the real objection to the Negroes is revealed in the following:

"Mr. Whalen said that the chief objection to the Negroes was that they would not organize and would not strike."

Will the United States government take cognizance of the East St. Louis massacre? Is there any section of the United States in which the American Negro cannot enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" when deporting himself as a law-abiding citizen? Will the United States government permit any group of its citizens to be deprived by anarchy of the common right to work for an honest living?. All of these issues have been raised by the East St. Louis race riots, and unless the United States government takes prompt and vigorous action upon them, the United States government should renounce its purposes for entering the world war and stand convicted among the nations of the earth as the greatest hypocrite of all times.

EAST SAINT LOUIS BARBARITY.

Only last week we were forced to discuss the nefarious rule of Judge Lynch in Texas and the South.

We had hoped that we would not have an occasion to touch upon such outrages again, and especially so soon.

But the East Saint Louis reign of terror and savagery has compelled us to say something anent such demonstrations of Americanism.

St Louis argus

The press reports state that a crowd of armed Negroes fired upon officers of the law, killing and wounding them.

Instead of the constituted authorities apprehending the guilty party or parties, a bunch of hoodlums became victims of Negrophobia and took the law into their cowardly, damnable and mobocratic hands and completely terrorized all the race people that came under their observation.

7—12—17

These detestable and despicable cut-throats and scum were not satisfied with beating up Negroes, but applied the torch to Negro homes and indulged in the sport of shooting the inmates down as they made their exit.

Conditions became so alarming that National Guardsmen were called upon to quell the disturbance.

Their actions, considering their position, were more cowardly than the mobs, for they surrendered their arms to the mobs, but took good pains to disarm the Negroes first.

In the face of such chronic outbreaks and outrages America, mind you, has been divinely (?) called to help Christianize and civilize the world by joining the allies in an attempt to crush the Teutonic nation in the present European holocaust and liberate the world from brutality and inhumanity.

In this struggle Negroes are expected to share their part of the burden like other American citizens.

Our American philosophy is all bunco and tommyrot.

Our deeds discount all we preach and teach.

Just like Bradstreet and Dun rate men by what they are and possess, and not by what they claim to be, so is the world judging the United States today.

There is not another nation, civilized or uncivilized, Christian or heathen, yea — not even Turkey and darkest Africa — where such barbarism and cannibalism openly vaunt themselves and where the perpetrators go unpunished.

The cry goes forth from all such atrocities that it was the result of a small bunch of men.

If this be true, then America is autocratic and mobocratic and not democratic and fraternal, as advertised in box-car letters.

May we ask why do these disgraceful episodes continue to occur in East Saint Louis?

Simply because some Negroes have been given employment that these despotic and dirty riff-raffs refused to do.

In their strike they came out of the little end of the horn, the employers of Negro laborers refusing to discharge the race men who proved their ability and who came to the various institutions' assistance when help was sorely needed to keep the plants in operation.

As a predicate for avenging their boneheadeness, they charged the Negroes with divers offenses and for the last several months these cowardly and abominably wicked scoundrels and roughnecks have held sway in the city and the authorities, both local and state, apparently by their dereliction of duty, have permitted them to commit murder and arson in a most shameful and shocking manner.

If mobs can not be put out of commission in this country, then America (sad to relate) is ready for the trash pile.

Where is our boasted and heralded efficiency, when several companies of militia, ready for any emergency, take cold feet and put forth the most feeble efforts to stop the depredations of such infernal mobs?

Are we waiting for Edison to invent some wonderful contrivance to thwart and stop them, or are we waiting for some miraculous manifestation of some supernatural power to put a terminations to such demonstrations of savagery and contempt of law and order? God forbid!

If these guardsmen demonstrate such cowardice in the face of a crazed and cowardly mob, what valor can we count upon when Bertha Krupps belch forth and Germanic military efficiency is encountered?

O democracy, how many ignoble and ignominious deeds are committed in thy name!

O Caucasion fairness, how often are you under the soporific influence of indifference, racial discriminations and maltreatments!

O Ruler of the Universe, how long shall we, thy humble people, remain the victims of, such uncivilized and unchristianized horrors and atrocities?

We know that blood is thicker than water, President Wilson, Governor Lowden, Illinois militiamen, governors, mayors, sheriffs and chiefs of police of Judge Lynch's states, cities and communities.

But you have taken an oath to faithfully execute the duties of your office, and Heaven's highest tribunal will sit in judgment on your cases.

If such deeds of murder and arson represent Christianity, democracy and republicanism, then let it repent the Omnipotent Father than He ever permitted such an institution to blossom forth.

All the participants in the Illinois incident and all other mobocratic demonstrations are criminals of the deepest dye, and to permit them to go unpunished and unchecked disqualifies America or any other country to challenge the cause of democracy henceforth, now and forever.

POLICE CHIEF AND AID FIRED

Attorney General Takes Charge of Quiz; People Making a Mistake by Leaving

7/21/17

By J. M. Batchman

Staff Correspondent Chicago Defender.

St. Louis, Mo., July 20.—The investigation of the riot in East St. Louis is proceeding slowly. Attorney-General Brundage is on the ground and has already found that the police department of the east side will be of no use in obtaining evidence against the rioters, as their sympathies all the time have been clearly against the Colored people.

Last Saturday night Chief of Police Ransom Payne, white, and Night Chief Con Hickey, white, were indefinitely suspended by the board of fire and police commissioners, at a special meeting held in the East St. Louis city hall. According to Wallace Watkins, white, president of the board, the officers were suspended as a result of their conduct during the recent race riot. Last night, definite charges were preferred against the men, and they will be arraigned for trial. Hickey has been assailed for his failure to take any action to protect the Colored people, and Payne is accused of taking no steps to disperse the mob. A demand was made by Attorney-General Brundage upon Mayor Mollman to remove the members of the police board, but at this writing his "Honor" has not seen fit to do so.

It is said evidence is slowly accumulating incriminating policemen in connection with killing Race men during the riots, and is being given to the grand jury at Belleville where the sessions are held. It is claimed by an official that sworn statements have been made that certain policemen actually participated in murdering Race men, and an effort will be made to secure indictments against them. Two white men, both foreigners, have been arrested to date in connection with the riot: Chris Morihetis, 19, on a charge that it was he who started the fire which destroyed the residences in "Black Valley," and John Jonkofsky, 30, 709 North Seventh street, was taken in on a mittimus issued by the coroner. To date five Race men have been arrested.

Those actually interested in securing a thorough investigation of the trouble are open in their charges that the police of East St. Louis are active in fastening as much blame as possible on the Colored people, but that the whites, who were the aggressors, are allowed to go their way.

At the last session of the East St. Louis city council, an ordinance was passed placing the burned districts in the fire limits. This was done to force the erection of brick dwellings to replace those destroyed. During the debate, Alderman John Hagerty, white, in his speech for the measure said, "We don't want those Negro shacks down there any more. IT IS GOOD THEY WERE BURNED." Mayor Mollman, who evidently had no compunction against the measure, on seeing a reporter, "sh-sh-sh-sh-ed," but Hagerty would not be silenced and reiterated his statement that he did not want those shacks.

People Continue to Leave

During the past week, possibly 1,000 people have arrived in this city with their household goods. They do not like the looks of things, though they have been given every assurance that they will be protected. The St. Louis Argus urged them in an editorial last Saturday to stand their ground, and those who left should return if they would thwart the purpose of the riot. Personally I concur in this view, and would like to see the men go back and fight the battle to the finish. It cost both sides a great deal in this last test of courage, and the law-abiding citizens of Illinois will not stand much more of it if they permit another incident of the kind. Now is the only time for the citizens of East St. Louis to settle the issue for all time; to the Negro it is as vital as fighting in France. Assurances of protection are lavish; workers are at a premium; it takes courage to stand, but it should be done.

Free Legal Aid

The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people is actively collecting all the evidence possible in order to institute legal proceedings and has retained Attorney Homer G. Phillips, 2335 A. Market street, St. Louis, Mo., who will take all the steps necessary to protect the interests of those who sustained damages and recover for them without any charges whatever. Claims must be filed before Aug. 20. Persons out of the city should write to him relative to all such cases, so that the rights of the Race may be upheld before the bar of justice.

TWO ARRESTS IN RIOT QUIZ

CHICAGO DEFENDER NEWS SERVICE

St. Louis, Mo., July 20.— Two new arrests were made today in the riot cases. This time the two were white men. They were Herbert Woods, 509 South Fourth street, East St. Louis, who, according to testimony at the inquest, was the leader of the mob, and had hold of a rope by which a Race man was being dragged through the street when first arrested. The other, John Dow, an ice wagon driver, is said to have had a hand in killing two Race men, who were taken from street cars at Collinsville and Illinois avenues.

The military board of inquiry, appointed by Gov. Lowden, began taking testimony at 11 o'clock this morning in the city courtroom of the East St. Louis city hall, and at once placed Mayor Mollman on the grill. The St. Clair grand jury began its inquiry today in Belleville and were instructed by Judge Crow how they were to proceed.

Union Memorial Church was crowded Monday at a mass meeting, at which a program was carried out for the purpose of showing the appreciation of the Race people for the assistance given the refugees by the city and friends from other cities. John Schmoll, director of public welware, who was responsible for the opening of the Municipal Lodging House, was a guest of honor, and made a stirring address.

EAST ST. LOUIS RIOT.

The East St. Louis riot which took place last Monday, continuing day and night, was at once most horrible and significant. The loss of life was most frightful for peaceful days, the Negroes as usual suffering more, not to speak of the great loss by fire. Beyond this is the alarming fact that such a happening was possible.

It will be useless to rail at the whole country of white people because of the happening, and as we are given to doing in such instances. As horrible and discouraging as it was it was no more or less than the race question. But we pray that the sun may never again go down on a scene so frightful as the one that presented in that city.

We have more than once spoken to the migration of Negroes from the South in large bodies. This is clearly a right they have, but right is not always expedient. It stands to reason that great bodies of men suddenly dumped on communities where the demand for labor is normal will cause more or less commotion in industrial sections. Many of our race in advocating the wholesale desertion of a section over look that fact; they see only the right to go. It is a principle in the law of supply and demand that over supply is considered a menace, and which will not go down neath the blows of any kind of would-be logic. We rely stoutly on the theory that we are citizens and as such we are not to be disturbed no matter what we do that's within the law. And that is right in theory, yet we must be governed by the agreements of society, the usages of men, doing the expected things rather than the sensational because permissible.

MOBS AND THEIR MAKEUP.

7/21/17

Editor Ohio State Journal:

Permit me to make a few remarks about mobs in general and the East St. Louis mob in particular.

It is a well-known fact that mobs are not composed of our best people. You never see an educated, moral, high-toned gentleman in them, neither of the aristocratic or middle class. As a rule only men of low tone, low morals, low social position and of low character constitute mobs , and it is well known that mobs are always cowardly. The East St. Louis mob was composed largely of the ignorant, rough and tough elements of both cities and they were not as good, upon an unprejudiced comparison, as the Negroes they mobbed. And, what was worse, the police seemed to be of the same low class and in addition, had perjured themselves by their failure to do their duty.

If any man wants to take a measure of his own standard let him ask himself if he sympathizes, or not, with mobs. They are nearly all alike.

The blackest day in our history was the day in 1620 when 20 slaves were landed at James town, Va. It was the beginning of slavery and the slave trade in this country, the most diabolical institution that ever affected us. the South ,owned and trafficked in humans, while claiming to be the land of the free, while the North acquiesced. It was the cause of bitterness between the two sections which eventuated in four years of bloody war, each side enduring suffering and losses in proportion to its part in the crime of slavery according tothe judgement of a just God.

As a legacy 4,000,000 of helpless and ignorant people were left in uor care. How have we administered that trust —kindly, benevolently, helpfully and justly, as a Christian people should? Not by any means. The people of the better sort have handed them over to the tender mercies of the baser sort, and God will smite the "whited wall." Their cry for pity and help has ascended toa just God who has pronounced another judgment against us and millions of our young men are being sent to fight and die for human justice, liberty and right which we have denied our own citizens

G. A. HARMAN.

Lancaster, O., July 7.

—Ohio State Journal.

Riots—1917 East St. Louis

A PITIFUL SCENE

Defender 7/14/17

Refugees arriving in St. Louis, Mo., after crossing Eads bridge from East St. Louis, Ill. Here is a man with his head bandaged from wounds in desperate fight to protect his home from the white savages. He leads his little boy who has been striped of his clothng by white woman members of the mob. The mark on the child's head is blood from where he was struck by a stone. The mother carries another half-naked chil, while leading her other son. All show the pangs of hunger. The child in front shows the rasut of the horrible experience. Photo taken especially for the Chicago Defender by the International Film Service.

WILMINGTON—E. ST. LOUIS.

The Guardian.

FROM SCENE OF THE WORST RACE RIOT IN SOUTH COMES PRAISE FOR DR. A. P. RUSSELL'S SPEECH ON WORST RIOT IN THE WHOLE COUNTRY AT EQUAL RIGHT LEAGUE MEETING.

8/4/17

Wilmington, N. C., July 28th, 1917.

Dr. Alfred R. Russell:

Dear Sir:—I read with great pleasure in the Guardian of the 21st inst., a speech by you and headed, "The East St. Louis Massacre, its Moral and Human Phase." I am indeed glad to see that there is yet a gleam of hope for the Negro of this great country. So long as we have men of your ability and courage, who are willing to speak out fearlessly for God and the right. I am hoping and waiting to see what will the authorities of East St. Louis and this country do for and help that has suffered such murders and the loss of home and property. In my judgment it remains for such men as yourself and others of influence and righteous intentions to speak out and start the authorities of states and nation to thinking more seriously on this great question of the treatment that the Negro receives at the hand of the government if not of individuals and corporations. I am a Colored man. I was born and lived in the south all my life and therefore I call it my home, but I have been grieved and made to feel very sad over the treatment meeted out to my race here and elsewhere.

Wilmington riot when Colored were Fighting for U. S. A.

I was here in Wilmington in 1898 when on the 10th of Nov. (and while some of the men of my race were in the government service to help in the war with Spain) innocent Colored men were shot down on the streets, and for what nobody has ever been able to tell. I have seen and read of the awful treatment which my race has had to contend with nearly all of my life and now I am 64 years old and I wonder how long will it go on. Your speech as I read it is indeed a great one and it ought to have a great and wholesome effect on all who hear and read it.

Worse Than Acts of Germans.

The awful murders and the destruction of home and property suffered by the Colored people of East St. Louis in my mind is worse than anything the Germans have done, for what they did was in war as they call it, and the awful thought which comes to me after it is this: Our President can afford to remain silent, and not speak a word about it where is our redress and to whom shall we seek help? But "vengence is mine, I will repay saith the Lord."

Respectfully yours,

V. V. LAWSON,

No. 615 N. 10th St.

INSULL ACTS TO STOP FUTURE RACE RIOTING

Starts Move by State Defense Council to Prevent Importation of Negroes.

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS
JULY 3, 1917

Recurrence of the race riots in East St. Louis stirred Samuel Insull, chairman of the Illinois state council of defense, and the first move he made to-day was to order printed in full pamphlets containing the complete report of the council on its investigation of conditions in East St. Louis.

Chairman Insull and the members of the council consider it a critical situation and the findings of the investigators apply alike to all cities in the state relative to the importation of colored workmen. It is the old story of the white man and the colored man clashing in the field of labor. The report deplores the migration of the southern colored man and declares it should be stopped.

Riots Due to Importations.

"The information obtained establishes that the riots were due to the excessive and abnormal number of negroes then, and for some months past, in East St. Louis," reads the report. "The feeling against the colored people originated in two sources—social and labor. There was resentment that the colored people, having overcrowded their quarters, were spreading out into sections of the city regarded as exclusively the precincts of the white people. The colored men, large numbers of whom had been induced there and who could find no jobs, in their desperate need were preventing desired improvements being made by labor and threatening the existing standards of labor, and the white men were resenting it."

Further on the report says:

"It was alleged that employers had had meetings to arrange a program of importation of the southern negroes, and that the larger employers of the city had collectively been responsible. The managers of all the larger industries of the city were examined, and all denied any collusion, or knowledge of the campaign conducted in the south to bring negroes to East St. Louis. The fact remains, however, that these managers were the chief beneficiaries of the surplus of labor, and the force of motive points in their direction."

Publicity the Cure.

The council's committee on labor made these concrete recommendations:

"1. That the widest publicity be given to the situation at East St. Louis through the council of national defense, and through the respective state councils of defense, that the danger in the situations of this kind may be made apparent to the south and the industrial centers of the north, to the end that migration of the southern negroes may be discouraged before other outbreaks of a similar nature occur.

"2. That migration of any class from one part of the country to another be allowed to flow along natural lines that the equilibrium of population may not be disturbed; that the severest condemnation should be visited upon those who undertake to promote any artificial movement of population, because such artificial movement is sure to result in friction, and now more than ever should friction be avoided.

"3. That the problems of shifting labor

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

where labor is needed during the war be handled by the various state councils of defense, in conjunction with the council of national defense, in connection with those responsible officers of the labor movement who are daily showing their patriotism in endeavoring to restrain industrial strife, and in connection with the department of labor of the United States and similar departments of the states. It is anticipated that if this is done the labor can be shifted to where it is needed with sole reference to the benefit of industry as well as the workers themselves, and consequently to the welfare of the nation."

SOCIALISTS EXPECT TROUBLE FOR TICKET

Name Hillquit for Mayor, Attack Conscription, and Prepare for Arrests.

N Y C TIMES
JULY 9, 1917

HEAR DELEGATE IN SILENCE

"We Will Soon Be Rid of Soldiers," He Said, "For They Will Be Sent to the Front."

Adopting an anti-conscription platform, which it was said might expose their candidates to arrest and imprisonment, the delegates at the city convention of the Socialist Party of New York nominated yesterday a municipal ticket, with Morris Hillquit for Mayor, Frank A. Sieverman for Controller, and Edward F. Cassidy for President of the Board of Aldermen. Sieverman, as Chairman of the convention, said:

"The Government has chosen to stretch its cold clammy hand into the sanctity of the family and take those whom it needs for its special interests. We, as Socialists representing the interests of the working classes, will have none of that. The Socialist candidates and speakers this year who are true to Socialist principles are bound to court the peril of arrest and imprisonment. But we hold that no honest Socialist will hesitate for one moment in preferring prison stripes to uniforms."

In anticipation of serious conflicts with Federal authorities during the campaign, the convention decided to create a bureau that will provide financial and legal support for all Socialist agitators who are arrested for seditious declarations. Numerous declarations were made against the Government, soldiery, and conscription during the course of the sessions. Conscription was attacked from every possible angle, and a telegram was sent to the National Committee in Chicago urging that Congressman Meyer London be directed to introduce a bill in the House demanding the repeal of the conscription law on the ground that it was a violation of the thirteenth amendment of the Federal Constitution.

The State military census also came in for extensive abuse and denunciation as a violation of "fundamental principles of liberty." It was especially attacked by the women delegates because it failed to provide a claim for exemption for women as well as men. Assemblyman Shiplakoff waved this objection aside as unimportant, there being no law on the statute books any way, he said, that would compel women to do military service.

"The State registration really amounted to nothing more than a census," he added. "It originated entirely in the whim of an Assemblyman and Senator."

During one stage of the convention the discussion turned on the East St. Louis riots, Samuel Gompers being vigorously denounced by a member of the committee for attempting at Carnegie Hall to excuse the massacre of the negroes on economic grounds. It was pointed out by one delegate that labor was as much to blame for the riots as capital, the trade unions having practiced a policy of exclusion against the negroes, which made the latter victims of the capitalistic machinery.

"Wilson owes his occupancy in the White House," shouted one delegate, "because the Democratic Party stands for misuse of negroes! About 135 electoral votes depend upon the suppression of negroes."

The delegates also became turbulent over the manner in which soldiers and sailors broke up the recent pacifist parade in Boston. A resolution was offered denouncing the "ruffians and rowdies in uniform" for disturbing the demonstration. It was finally decided that the characterization of men in uniform as "ruffians and rowdies" was somewhat strong, and the resolution was therefore amended to read "United States soldiers and sailors in uniform." One delegate saw no use in wasting time on denunciations of the soldiery.

"Let us be patient a while," he said. "Our day will soon come. We will soon be rid of them. It will not be long before they will be sent to the front, where they will surely learn better."

Unlike previous utterances against soldiers, which were received with acclaim, this remark was greeted with stolid silence on the part of the delegates. Resolutions were also adopted denouncing the City Administration and Magistrates for "failing to protect citizens against the lawless elements who interfere with freedom of speech and peaceful assemblage." This resolution referred particularly to the interruption by the Federal authorities of anti-conscription meetings. The resolution demanding a repeal of the conscription law read as follows:

Be it resolved by the Social Party of the City of New York in convention assembled, that we most emphatically protest at this manner of forcing love of country upon the people and of compelling them to fight against their wills, allegedly to make the world safe for democracy, and we declare that all such compulsory regulations and compulsory military service, with their threats of imprisonment and the actual imposing of severe penalties, are nothing less than a transfer to American soil of Prussian militarism.

In adopting a resolution to send delegates to the Stockholm conference next Winter, the convention decided that the delegates hereafter should be elected by the members of the party instead of being named, as they were this Summer, by the National Committee. A delegate declared that the committee, in naming Hillquit, Victor Berger, and Algernon Lee, had exposed itself to a refusal of passports, because at least one man, meaning Berger, was certain to inspire the opposition of the Government, and would never have been chosen by the party.

UNION LABOR FIGHTS IMPORTED NEGROES

Constitution 7/5/17

East St. Louis Riot Warning to Other Northern Cities, Says Chicago Labor Leader — Employers Are Blamed.

Chicago, July 4.—Victor A. Olander, secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor, and a member of the state council of defense, has issued a warning to Chicago and other northern cities "where the same conditions which brought about such frightful results in East St. Louis exist." He calls attention to protests by organized labor against what he terms the unnecessary importation of negro labor at East St. Louis, and says:

"I don't care to say anything about the situation here in Chicago, but there should be an investigation. Unemployment is increasing. Certain classes of employers are seeking cheaper labor—negroes and women—on the pretext that additional labor is needed on account of war conditions. As a result thousands of white men are being thrown out of employment."

At a mass meeting of negroes last night, F. L. Barnett, a negro, a former assistant state's attorney, urged his hearers to be ready to protect themselves against any mistreatment. He said that a short time might see scenes here similar to those enacted in St. Louis, and that Chicago negroes should be prepared to make a stand for their safety and rights.

The killing of Charles A. Maronde, an aged saloon keeper, by negroes in the "black belt" on the south side, early today brought out police reserves, who took eight negro suspects into custody. Later the police fired at a crowd of negroes in an attempt to stop a fight. One negro was wounded.

Chief of Police Schuettler has ordered a force of reserves held at the Fifteenth street station in the colored section, to prevent any disorder today.

GOVERNMENT PROBING EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS.

East St. Louis, July 4.—A federal investigation of race riots here in which 33 negroes and four whites were killed and approximately 310 negro homes were burned Monday, was begun today by Colonel George H. Hunter, chief quartermaster of the central division of the United States army. Colonel Hunter is under instructions to make a full report of the trouble to Major General Thomas H. Barry, at Chicago, commandant of the central department.

The city was absolutely quiet today and residents for the most part remained in their homes. More than 2,000 Illinois national guardsmen patrolled the streets under orders to shoot if necessary. The city's Fourth of July celebration was called off and all saloons and theaters remained closed.

Three negro bodies were found today in Cahokia creek, bringing the death list to 37.

Civil authorities began the work of collecting and preparing evidence to be presented to the grand jury when it convenes July 9. Only two of the 97 men arrested Monday night on charges of inciting to riot are being held. The authorities say that the ringleaders of the mobs are known and that action will be taken against them at the proper time.

Governor Frank O. Lowden, who was here last night and early today, has promised the chamber of commerce a full investigation of charges of inefficiency and lack of discipline against the militiamen who were here during the height of the rioting.

Estimates were made by the authorities today that more than half of the city's negro population has departed.

TORCH PUT TO NEGRO SECTION

N Y C JOURNAL
JULY 3, 1917

Women and Girls Join Mobs and Militia are Powerless—400 Whites Arrested.

East St. Louis, Ill., July 3.—Smouldering ruins of six city blocks, about seventy-five dead and hundreds wounded and dying, is the total to-day of the greatest race riot in the nation's history.

Blood mad men and women rose in a mighty mob of ten thousand during the night and wreaked vengeance upon the black population of the city for the assassination of Police Detective Coppedge.

Although the city was again quiet to-day, a renewal of the riots is feared. Police admit they are helpless and militiamen have been almost overpowered.

Hundreds of men, women and children stood by and cheered today while bodies of burned and mutilated negroes were being taken from the Mississippi River, creeks and ruins of homes.

The damage to-day was conservatively estimated at $500,000.

GUARDSMEN HELPLESS.

The presence of upward of 1,000 Federalized Illinois National Guardsmen failed to check even temporarily the crazed men and women.

More than 400 prominent citizens were incarcerated in the city jail during the night, arrested at the instigation of militia officers.

Dr. L. M. Bundy, negro dentist, said to be mob leader of the blacks, is missing and a search for him has been instituted. He is the man said to have inflamed the negroes and formed the mob which killed Policeman Coppedge.

During the night the city was thrown into complete darkness. Electric light and telephone wires were cut down by the mob.

The only illumination came from the fires which incendiaries had started in the negro sections.

MANY BURNED IN HOMES.

When "torchers" fired the huts in "Black Valley" and other segregated zones, the crazed negroes appeared in the doorways seeking an avenue of escape, while snipers picked them off with rifles and revolvers.

Others, fearful to make an attempt to run the gauntlet, disappeared within their burning homes and were incinerated. How many lives were ended in this manner it is impossible to estimate, and possibly will never be known.

Crowds of white men everywhere broke into the shacks and shot down the inmates, then fired the buildings. The negroes fought back and wounded many of the attackers.

Four negroes were shot and killed and two strung up by a jollying crowd in an alley in Fourth street, near Broadway. When one rope broke and let the first half-dead negro down, the crowd laughed. One hundred negro homes were burning nearby.

All saloons are closed and will remain closed until further instructions are issued. No picture theatres will be permitted to remain open.

Adjutant General Dickson arrived on the scene of the rioting early this morning. Colonel O. S. Tripp, his assistant, who has had charge of the troops, immediately relinquished command of the situation to him.

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 11, 1917

Prominent St. Louisans Consider Trying to Have Name of East St. Louis Changed.

Several prominent St. Louisans have been discussing possible steps to have the name of the East St. Louis Post Office changed to something which bears no connection with St. Louis, as a result of the anti-negro riots in that city. Among these are Walker Hill, president of the Mechanics-American National Bank; Albert Blair, attorney; Dr. Eugene Senseney and Mrs. Charles Cummings Collins.

Mrs. Collins was chairman of the Provident Association's Woman's Auxiliary, which provided relief for the refugee negroes at the Municipal Lodging House. When informed by a Post-Dispatch reporter today of the action of Congressman Dyer, she said she highly approved of the step.

"The disgraceful affair has done great harm to St. Louis," she said, "for throughout the East the name of St. Louis has been widely confused with that of East St. Louis in published and spoken accounts of the affair. I would be glad to see everything possible done to have the name of East St. Louis changed."

Others interested in the matter could not be reached today for statements.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

THE RACE WAR.

We have heard and read so much about the recent race riots in E. St. Louis during the past week until we feel like he who has drank of the cup of bitterness and is intoxicated from its effects. Page after page of newspaper accounts, augmented by the echos of the streets have pregnated the very air with the horrors that he innocent people of East St. Louis had to suffer at the hands of the mob.

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
JULY 6, 1917 argus

Just how the people the world over will see and judge this horrible spectacle largely depends upon the press reports and editorial comments of the St. Louis daily papers. Of course, an Aagus reporter was on the scene, took his chances of being sniped by the snipper, or hit by the many bullets, and mingled with the crowds. He saw it all. Of the press reports, the ***Globe-Democrat*** of Tuesday morning gave the fairest account of the acts of the police and the military men.

The editorials in the St. Louis daily papers, for the most part, were broad, and characterize with justice and fairness. In speaking of the riot the ***Globe-Democrat*** said:

The Shame of Illinois.

"The events in East St. Louis Monday night were a disgrace to that city, a disgrace to Illinois, a disgrace to America, a disgrace to humanity. We can recall no event in the history of this country so utterly and unrelievably shameful. There have been mobs, many of them, there have been riots not a few, to stain our civilization, but never a one that carried to such an extent the unreasoning brutality of mobocracy, never a one that so tortured and killed and burned without discrimination of innocence or guilt, that spared neither sex nor age in its violence.

"No attempt was there made to punish crime by striking at the criminal. Scores were tortured or killed against whom no charge of wrong was made, whose only offense was their color. Men, women, children went down before the insatiate blood lust of this worst and most cruel of mobs.

"And this is the state of Abraham Lincoln! This in the great state whose sons poured out their blood on many battlefields that all men within the Union should be free. At the heart of the country which prides itself upon its liberty and humanity, within a hundred miles of the home and tomb of the great liberator, men of the race he saved from slavery are massacred by a lawless mob unrestrained by any authority. At a time when we are entering a tremendous war to make, as we say, the world safe for democracy, our own people have given democracy a blow that well may stagger it. For if democracy is not the right of every individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, then in ***heaven's name*** what is it? How can we decently and honestly proclaim the superiority of American government and American principles when such a crime against ***liberty*** as that of Monday night in East St. Louis is permitted.

"Yes, permitted! It was a preventable crime. There had been ample warning. There was a large and complete force on hand to maintain order. Yet the rioters were permitted to gather and go on their way of destruction. Eight companies of the state militia were there, but apparently no serious effort was made either to prevent the formation of the mob or to stop its work after it was formed. Reports of eyewitnesses agree as to the inaction of the militia. Some feeble attempts were made to protect the objects of the mob's fury, but there seems to have been no attempt whatever to maintain order. We do not know who is responsible for this most disgraceful and lamentable failure of authority and power. But we do know that some one is, or some ones are, responsible, and the State will not rest until that responsibility is fixed. Punishment of rioters alone will not wipe away the shame. The blunder that permitted the riot must be accounted for. And, finally the Federal Government should refuse to take into its service any officer or private who is found to have been derelict in his duty in this crisis. The people of Illinois must insist, and the people of America will insist that this thing be probed to the bottom, for it is not only state honor but national honor that is involved."

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH.

The East St. Louis Murders—"Law, order and governmental authority were trampled under the feet of a murderous mob in East St. Louis Monday, to the shameful disgrace of the city and State.

"Scores of Negro men, women and children were killed or beaten and hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of property was destroyed without apparent effort to check the violence of the mob on the part of the police force and companies of the national guard sent to the city to maintain order and enforce the laws of the State.

"Either from terror or sympathy with the mob, the police did nothing to check the mobs violence, but why were the forces of the national guard inactive until the mob had done its bloody work? Why was there not a bullet nor bayonet used against the mob which freely used torch, club and bullet against Negroes, regardless of age or sex or character?

"If the word of Adjutant General Dickson, who arrived after the mob had finished its work, is to be taken as evidence of the intent of the national guard officers the guardsmen lacked proper orders. Gen. Dickson is quoted as saying that the guard accomplished the purpose for which it was sent, arresting several hundred of the mob with the rifle and bayonets and if the guardsmen had used bullets and [illegible] would have been wholesale killings.

"But there was wholesale killings and wholesale burning of property. The mob did the killing in defiance of the law, when, if any killing was done, it should have been done in enforcement of law by the soldiers and police.

"Why was the mob permitted to collect and begin its work? The critical time to stop the disorder was in the beginning. Having failed to check the gathering of the mob, why were not its members shot down when they began to kill Negroes? Better that a thousand lawless murders be killed in support of law and orderly government than that one citizen be killed by a lawless mob. The failure of the soldiers sent to sustain law and order and to use force for that purpose did not prevent bloodshed. It merely encouraged murder and arson.

"It is hardly worth while to question the authorities of East St. Louis. They have failed utterly in their [illegible] for well-known causes. They have known of the [illegible] without taking effective steps to check it. They [illegible] not in spasmodic temporary efforts, enforced the law [illegible] mob work of the disorderly elements of the city is [illegible] of a long reign of lawlessness. Lawlessness and [illegible] law enforcement, have been the foundation of politics [illegible] East St. Louis for years. The lawless element has long been the masters of governmental authority and used their license without fear of restraint.

"The State of Illinois, however, is responsible for consequences of Monday's outbreak. It assumed responsibility when Illinois guardsmen were sent to East St. Louis to maintain law and order. The State should inquire into the conduct of the officers in charge of the State's forces and hold every man guilty of failure to do his duty to strict accountability, This much, with the prosecution of the mob leaders, must be done for the future of civilization and law in the State.

"Meanwhile we indulge the hope that Monday's lesson will be effective to prevent further mob violence. Hereafter. at least, neither false humanity nor political weakness should restrain soldiers sent to sustain law and order from using bullets and bayonets on murderous mobs or individuals."

Riots - 1917 East St. Louis

pm 7/7/17

Looking at the East St. Louis happening as a sort of miniature war we are not inclined to blame Negroes who find it necessary at times to protect themselves. However, a mob of Negroes is not any more lawful than a mob of white men, but if any kind of mob is supposed to commit unlawful acts and get away with them it may as well be a Negro mob. If there must be mobs the privileges do not all belong to white men. The point is that there should be no mobs, but in the event, there should be no preference. We have tried to discourage the wholesale migration of our people, knowing what it meant to the section from which they come and to the sections or community to which they go. It would have been much better if they had gone quietly to other parts, and as individuals, rather than in groups. Many workmen moving to a certain point cannot help but disturb the industrial situation. We say this in all fairness to our own kind and for the benefit of others whom it may concern. Happily, other communities have been able to care for the added workmen or else the same condition would be as it is now at St. Louis. The fact that they are cared for does not disturb the theory that it is dangerous to move in large numbers, the only point that can be urged against the Negroes.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

THE ISSUE AND THE MAN

Chicago Independent

The Independent prints elsewhere in this issue the New York Sun's account of the Roosevelt-Gompers episode, which occurred in Carnegie Hall, New York, Friday evening of last week. Every reader of The Independent is begged to read every word of that story, for, beyond all question, so far as the Negro, the United States and the world are concerned, there is no doubt that the Colonel stated the issue and, equally, there is no doubt that the Colonel is the man of the hour. He stands out head and shoulders above all others, as the unequalled champion of the absolute freedom and equality of all men.

7-14-17

The statesmanship and, very often sad to say, the philosophy of America and other great countries, in dealing with the matter of freedom, liberty and justice to their peoples, have fallen into the grave blunder, when discussing the Negro question, to appeal only for RELATIVE rights for the Negro. The matters of justice, of liberty and of freedom are not RELATIVE conceptions; they are ABSOLUTE. Timid statesmen and pussy-foot-philanthropists make of the Negro's case one of mere RELATIVE rights. Whereas, Colonel Roosevelt rose to the height and, at the most momentous time that could occur in this country's experience, stood four-square to all the world and pleaded for the ABSOLUTE rights of black men.

Heretofore, even some, esteemed to be our good friends, have pleaded for one liberty for a white man and for anothr liberty for a black man; jurists in the courts of last resort have fallen down to the misery of deciding one measure of justice for the white man, and another measure for the black man. When they do it, in the higher atmosphere, they stand just as bad as the man who takes all of the rights away from a black man. The issue is whether the Negro, as an American citizen, either in East St. Louis, Illinois, or in Princeton, New Jersey, is to be esteemed as possessing, under our Constitution and laws, not similar, but the identical rights of every other man and of every other hue. Mr. Roosevelt met the occasion. He did not mince his words. He did not plead for relative rights for the Negroes of East St. Louis or anywhere else, but, on the contrary, aroused to the height of his righteous indignation, he pleaded for the absolute rights and liberty of every man, woman and child who stands responsible in their place as citizens, and who should have the rights that go with those obligations as necessary corollaries.

It has been a sad blot on the statesmanship of America, its judges and its juries, to dish out one quality of justice for the man who is white, and an entirely different quality for the man who is black, and this for one and the self-same cause; one class of accommodations in public carriers for white people, and another class of accommodations on the same common carrier for colored people, taxing the colored citizen the same rate that is taxed against the white man; municipalities and states provide one set of schools and colleges, and public parks, and libraries for white people and another far different variety for colored people, and often none at all; and still every dollar that is paid for running these establishments are dollars which stand impaled with the ownership of all the people, both white and colored. Soldiers, quelling riots wherein a poor black man is the aggressor, shoot with bullets, and shoot to kill; soldiers, who quell riots wherein the white man is the aggressor, most often do not shoot at all, but stand prone and suffer the mob to take their guns and they look on and see them turned upon the innocent, as occurred in East St. Louis.

What impression must this condition of affairs have made upon Boris Bakhmetieff, the Russian special ambassador, who is here to report back to that great man, Kerensky, the man of the hour in Russia? What story must he tell of how the people in Russia must take the proclamations of the United States for freedom when Gompers stands under his eyes and justifies the murder of black men in East St. Louis because, as free citizens, they were begging for work to get the bread of life?

It is well for America that Theodore Roosevelt was there at Carnegie Hall at that hour, because it was necessary to assure the representative of the new republic of Russia that America did not intend to impose upon those people, who have just won their liberty, the kind of justice that was dealt to Negroes in East St. Louis with the approval of Sam Gompers, who was at that meeting as a representative of the United States government. It was well for the United States that, if Sam Gompers could speak for a federation of labor, and for a political group, Roosevelt stood there for the whole American people.

We look to see the beginning of a new dawn for the Negro to grow out of this very incident. The decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case was one of the greatest causes that led up to the civil war. Is it not a little strange that the East St. Louis outrage, that has aroused the American spirit to stamp it out—is it not strange, the Independent repeats, that Dred Scott was taken on the free soil of Illinois back to the slave soil of Missouri at this very place where this riot sixty years afterward took place? Is it not fair to presume that God in His own providence suffered these two happenings to occur at the self-same geographical spot, and is it too much to expect that as slavery was banished when the first cause occurred in East St. Louis with Dred Scott sixty years ago, we shall see the death knell of mob violence grow out of this latest outrage enacted at the self-same place. "God moves in a mysterious way."

It has always happened that whenever a great crisis arose, a great man sprang forth as the bright morning star of the new dispensation. Russia, groaning under the agony of its unspeakable travail, has produced a mighty Kerensky, and liberty and freedom and justice is the one dream of all their efforts. Mob violence at East St. Louis has taken the forefront, even of conscription and of the food bill in Congress, because liberty, freedom and justice are in the balance there, and Theodore Roosevelt comes forth as the bright morning star of the accomplishment of this end for the down-trodden black man of America. May he live long and may the high standards he has raised never fall. We would like to fight under him as a general in the army. We shall delight to live under him as the President of the United States.

BE NOT DISCOURAGED

Recorder 7/12/17

Don't let the East St. Louis murders discourage you, black men and women, in your effort to better yourselves. As damnable as was the occurence, it never would have occurred if the black men had been incompetent. The reason for the massacre was that black men were found to be able to do their work as well as whites. The Northern laborer and the Southern employer have both decried the Negro, and told the Northern employer that the Negro was shiftless, unreliable and no good; and the Northern employer appeared to believe them. The Northern laborer was against the Negro cause he feared his competition; the Southern employer said hard things against the Negro because he knew if the Northern employer ever learned the truth, he would bid for Negro labor, and the Southern employer would either have to pay Negroes a higher wage, give them better living conditions or lose them.

Now that there is a scarcity of labor, the Northern employer is learning the Negro and becoming pleased with him. He finds the Negro good natured, more intelligent than the average foreigner, a hard worker, and no striker. He is pleased with the Negro, and the Negro is making good. Hence the massacre.

But the Negro must not be discouraged. He must spill some blood. They massacred Crispus Attucks and his companions because America wanted her freedom. They hanged John Brown because he sought to free the slaves. When the editor was a student in Chicago, and Negroes were first making their entrance as workers in the packing plants, many had to pay the price, but today they remain at that work by the thousands. The same was true in the steel mills of the Pittsburgh district. Murder can frighten efficiency. All the Negro needs to do is to be prepared to do his work, learn better to organize and protect himself. Our cause is just; God is on our side and we must win.

LABOR MUST FIGHT DISORDER, WARNS MR. ROOSEVELT

N Y C HERALD
JULY 20. 1917

In Letter He Amplifies View on East St. Louis Riots.

In a letter sent three days ago to Victor A. Olander, secretary and treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and just made public, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt gives full expression to his views concerning the recent race riots at East St. Louis, over the discussion of which he and Samuel Gompers nearly came to blows at the reception to the Russian Mission in Carnegie Hall two weeks ago. In the letter Colonel Roosevelt says, in part:—

"It was Mr. Gompers' speech which first gave me clearly to understand that the fundamental cause (of the riots) was alleged to be economic, and that organized labor regarded itself as especially concerned with the riots.' Then my attention was called to the newspapers of July 4, which carried an alleged statement by Mr. Michael Whalen, president of the Central Trades and Labor Councils of East St. Louis. If this statement is correctly reported, Mr. Whalen said, 'The chief objection to the negroes is that they would not unionize and would not strike.'

"I hold with the utmost intensity of conviction that it is absolutely impossible for us to succeed along the lines of an orderly democracy, a democracy which shall be industrial as well as political, unless we treat the repression of crime, including crimes of violence, and the insistence on justice obtained through the enforcement of law, as prime necessities. I, of course, refuse, under any conditions, to accept the fact that certain persons decline 'to unionize and strike' as warranting their murder, or as warranting any kind of violence against them. But I go much further than this:—I will aid in every way in my power to secure by governmental as well as private action the remedying of all the wrongs of labor, and in so acting I shall pay no attention to any capitalistic opposition.

"But I refuse to treat any industrial conditions as warranting riot and murder; and I condemn all persons, whether representatives of organized labor or not, who attempt to palliate or excuse such crimes or who fail to condemn them in clear cut and unequivocal fashion. I heartily believe in organized labor, just as and even more than I believe in organized capital.

"I am very proud of being a member of the labor organization; but I will no more condone crime or wrong by a labor organization or by workingmen than I will condone crime or wrongdoing by a corporation or by capitalists. A square deal for every man! That is the only safe motto for the United States. * * *

"Recently the I. W. W. has been guilty of all kinds of misconduct, and has been acting as in effect a potent ally of Germany, with whom we are at war; and finally their lawlessness produced an explosion of counter lawlessness. Of course the government should repress both kinds of lawlessness. It should prevent all lawless excesses against the I. W. W., and it should also act on the theory that these excesses are fundamentally due to the previous failure of the government to deal in drastic fashion and with all necessary severity with the turbulent, lawless, murderous and treasonable practices which have been so common among the I. W. W. and kindred organizations. * * *

"The victims of the mob in East St. Louis were very humble people. They were slain and their little belongings destroyed. In speaking of the draft riots in New York as the saddest feature of the riots the tyranny and brutality and oppression of some working people by other working people.' 'Surely, when we go to war against our own hands must be clean of innocent blood.'

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

THE N. A. A. C. P.

The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has proven its worth to the community again by having an organization in tact that could step in at the right time and render the most valuable service to the community. This fact was demonstrated very clearly recently during the race riot at East St. Louis in which many colored people were assaulted, killed and their homes burned. As soon as word was received concerning the outbreak and the impending danger of further slaughter, the officers of the Association called a meeting, which was augmented by a popular response from the citizens, and immediate steps were taken to render assistance to the stricken and unfortunate victims of the East St. Louis mob.

We had no other organization that could do the work. No member of the colored race were members of the Red Cross Unit of this city, so the logical organization was the N. A. A. C. P.

This work now has been undertaken and already has done the most satisfactory work. But the real task is still before it. The local branch must co-operate with the National Association in seeing that every colored person, who was a victim of the mob, eitter in loosing life or property, or receiving personal injuries shall have their claims against the city of East St. Louis properly presented and prosecuted. Two thousand murderers who took part in this massacre are at large, many of whom have fled to unknown parts. Others still are on the scene daily looking at the very spot where they killed a poor helpless Negro who had never wronged his assailants in any way. They are depending upon public sentiment outweighing justice and allowing them to go unpunished. Already it seems certain that all the blame will be laid at the door of the Negroes. Everybody knows that is wrong. We are reliably informed that large sums of money is being spent in an effort to fasten the responsibility on the Negro that the city may dodge the endemnity. We should feel this situation keenly. We need very much at this time a united effort.

The National headquarters has asked the local branch to raise two thousand dollars. This is a small amount. Let all the small units that are raising any amount for this work give their report through the local Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. Help swell the fund. What we give in this way will be duly accounted for through the National organ, ***The Crisis***; but if every small unit takes its little amount and distributes it here and there, the colored people of St. Louis will be behind in their part of the work.

Let us all get behind that well organized, well greased, and well prepared piece of machinery and work together, for once, that we may loose none of our energy and concentrate our entire strength.

St. Louis Riots
Disgrace to Nation
N. BEDFORD, MASS., TIMES
JULY 6, 1917

Comments on any such event as the recent "race war" in East St. Louis seems futile. The whole business is so shocking, so shameful—and so helpless. After all these years of striving to overcome race prejudice in America, to adjust the relations of white and black men so as to enable them to live side by side in peace and co-operation, to make our vaunted democracy workable in spite of differences of color, we have an outbreak of riot and murder that has made every American hang his head.

When Negroes are shot and burned to death by the score in a community furnished with all the equipment of law and order and all the American traditions of decency and justice, at a time when we are fighting a great war to give to oppressed nations and races the liberty we profess to exemplify above all other people, what can we say?

How often we have reproached "barbarous Russia" for her pogroms! And what was the massacre at East St. Louis but an American pogrom? How bitterly we have condemned Turkey for her savage slaughter of Armenians! And what is the basic difference between Turks and Americans when they meet on this common level of brutality? We have excoriated the Germans for the cruelties practised in Belgium, in France, in Serbia, in Poland and on the high seas. And is there any Prussian Schrecklichkeit worse than those East St. Louis funeral pyres?

There is no question that the white population there and in many other communities faces a serious problem. There was considerable provocation. There usually is. But "noblesse oblige." White men should act like white men. Civilized people must show themselves civilized.

THE NEGRO IN THE CITY.

The race riot in East St. Louis has made every American ci. realize the fact that we have in the negro one of the most serio social problems by which this country is confronted.

There are 10,000,000 negroes in the United States and they are rapidly increasing. They increased something like 1,000,000 during the last ten years. The wildest guesses imaginable have been made as to the future of the negro race. Some people think that they will ultimately die out. As a matter of fact, during the last sixty years they have increased nearly threefold.

The increase of the negro is but little below that of older civilized nations; England's increase being but 12 per cent for the last decade. The increase in the negro population was something over 11 per cent during the last ten years.

BRIDGEPORT CONN STANDARD
JULY 11, 1917

It is unfortunate that systematic efforts are being made to bring the negro from the South to the large industrial centers in the North. The negro is probably much better fitted for work on the farm than he is for work in the city.

The last census reports of the United States government brought out the fact that negro farms in the South have increased 20 per cent, while negro population increased only 10 per cent throughout the entire country.

The real friends of the negro will try to persuade him to move onto the farm, for here he will have more independence than he will ever secure in the industrial cities or even in the smaller towns.

There are exceptional negroes who will make good almost anywhere, but it is to be remembered that we are dealing with the one tenth of the population of the United States which for many generations to come will in many respects be inferior to the white race.

Those who are constantly preaching equality of every sort for the negro race, are not the real friends of the negro. While the negro should have equality of opportunity, it by no means follows that he is born with the same endowment or capabilities as the white man.

ASK WILSON TO STOP ACTS OF LAWLESSNESS

Members of Empire State Federation Hold Ninth Annual Session at New Rochelle.

TEN NEW CLUBS ARE FORMED

New York Age

Mrs. Lawton and Other Officers are Re-elected Next Session of Federation to be Held at St. Mark's M. E. Church, New York.

7/12/17

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.—The ninth annual session of the Empire State Federation of Women's Clubs was held in St. Catharine's A. M. E. Zion church July 4 and 5 and was largely attended by delegates from various parts of the State, and many prominent visitors.

The convention was called to order by the president, Mrs. M. C. Lawton, who, after briefly reviewing the East St. Louis riot and other atrocities perpetrated upon the colored race, appointed a committee to send a suitable telegram to the president of the United States, calling upon him in the name of justice to put a stop to these innumerable horrors.

Those composing the committee were Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, president of the National Association of Colored Women; Mrs. A. W. Hunton, Dr. V. Morton Jones, and Mrs. M. J. Stuart.

Two Hundred Delegates Present.

It was conceeded by all present that the meeting was one of the most successful in its history, having almost two hundred delegates present. Practical subjects were discussed.

The Hon. Edward Stetson Griffing, of New Rochelle, delivered the address of welcome on July 4. He expressed delight at seeing the colored women so well organized and heartily commended them on the splendid work of uplift in which they are engaged.

Ten new clubs were brought in by the organizer, Mrs. A. W. Hunton, giving the Federation an added membership of 700 women.

A special committee was appointed to outline specific work for the ensuing year, consisting of the following delegates: Mrs. Cicily S. Gunner, Hilburn; Miss Thomas, Ithaca; Mrs. S. E. Wilkerson, White Rose Home; Mme. V. E Scott of the New York Branch Y. W. C. A.; Mrs. J. W. Harden, Poughkeepsie; and Mrs. Lutie Lytle Cowan-McNeil of Port Chester.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PEL 7

The reports of the various clubs throughout the State were most encouragaing and gave evidence of continued development along the lines of racial advancement. The department of arts and crafts, under the direction of Mrs. C. H. Turner of Brooklyn, made an excellent showing, and the exhibition was a feature of interest to all who attended.

Three prizes, the first $5 in gold, the second $2.50 in gold and the third $1 in the new currency, were awarded to the three clubs bringing in the best work, which resulted as follows: Jamaica Thimble Club, Embroidery Club of Poughkeepsie, and the Silver Spray Circle of St. Mark's Church, New York City. This department is but one year old and its chairman deserves great credit for its progress.

Delegates to National Association.

The delegates to the National Association of Colored Women were elected as follows: Mrs. M. C. Lawton, president; Mrs. Charlotte Bell, vice-president; Mrs. A. W. Hunton, organizer; Mrs. Charlotte Delt, chairman executive committee; Dr. V. Morton Jonrs, Mrs. Lutie Lytle Cowan-McNeil, Mrs. W. F. Thornton, Miss Josephine Holmes, Miss Elizabeth Mickens, Mrs. M. J. Stuart, Mrs. J. W. Harden.

Prominent among those who discussed subjects before the convention were Mrs. Ferrell of the White Rose Industrial Home for Working Girls; Miss Grace P. Campbell of the Empire Friendly Shelter, Miss Vivian Ward of the Urban League.

The temperance symposium conducted by Mrs. Sylvia Harris, chairman of that department was an enjoyable feature of the convention. Addresses were delivered by Fred R. Moore, John M. Royall, Eugene Kinckle Jones, Mrs. Florence Randolph, president of the New Jersey State Federation, and short talks by the Revs. T. J. B. Harris of Englewood, N. J., Fahe, of Tarrytown, and W. R. Lawton of Brooklyn, which were replete with practical suggestions.

The officers of the Federation were all re-elected and were as follows: Mrs. M. C. Lawton, Brooklyn, president; Mrs. Charlotte Bell, Brooklyn, vice-president; Mrs. Addie Jackson, Tarrytown, financial secretary; Mrs. Tillie Harden, Poughkeepsie, recording secretary; Miss Elizabeth Mickens, New York City, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Alice Scott, Jamaica, L. I., treasurer; Mrs. Charlotte Delt, Niagara Falls, chairman executive committee; Mrs. Alice Wiley-Seay, Brooklyn, historian.

The delegates were entertained by the local branch of the Negro Business League on the last day of the session.

The next meeting of the Empire State Federation will be held at St. Mark's M. E. Church, New York, as the guest of the Silver Spray Circle.

Economic Race Riots

BRIDGEPORT [illegible] FALLS

JULY 8, 1917

Not even the greatest war of all history in Europe, with its outrages and brutality, can harden the American heart against deep feeling for the unfortunate negroes of East St. Louis.

The terrible reign of terror of which they were victims must make American people stop a while and go lightly in their condemnation of brutality on the other side. There is no difference between the old Russian pogrom, with its slaughter of the Jews, and the East St. Louis "race riots," with its murder of the negroes.

When American men can go out like brigands and bandits and deliberately kill American negroes, burn their houses, and commit other outrages, it is certainly a greater source of wonder than for a maddened soldier, flushed with victory, to wreak vengeance on the conquered enemy and do unmentionable things.

The East St. Louis massacre will be found, upon investigation, to have been caused by two primary hatreds. A deep and unreasoning hatred exists between the white man and the black because of their difference in color and social position. With this as a basis, an explosion necessarily occurs when the black man appears in large numbers to take away a white man's job. And this appears to have been the situation in East St. Louis.

For some time past there has been a general migration of the blacks from the South northward.

Some say the reason for this is the lack of good wages in the South, as compared to the North. The negroes want a share in the prosperity of the industrial sections of the country. So they leave their cotton fields to go North and compete with the white laboring man for jobs.

The white man can't compete with the negro laborer, any more than he can compete with the poor laborer of Japan, China, or other poor white laborers from Latin and Slavish Europe. The American's standard of living is so much higher than theirs that he has to have more money.

The employer, quite naturally, will hire the man he can get for the least money six days a week and reserve to Sunday alone the business of improving the race, uplifting the working classes and preaching unselfishness. So the white man plays a losing game competing with his colored brother in the unskilled labor market. And, when he sees his job gone, and thinks of his family without support, he becomes an elemental creature once more, with the shell of civilization all broken off him. He goes out and slays the encroacher.

The pity is that efficient America has found no way to deal with this sort of thing except "call in the militia." With all our colleges and all our knowledge of economic laws, our labor bureaus or social research organizations, aided by vast wealth, our only remedy up to date for a labor disturbance is to threaten to shoot somebody.

The general laws which govern the conduct of human beings are known to everybody. Given a state of facts the effect of those facts on men can be safely assumed. It is well known that nothing but a supernatural Christian conscience can overcome man's instinct for self preservation. Men have always fought to oppose every effort to deprive them of what they thought was their own. Men have risked their lives for centuries against each other over questions of rights. Why, then, won't a man fight for his job, when, as a general rule, his job is the only thing standing between him and extinction? He always has fought for it, and he always will, and it is about time the United States government, at least, took judicial knowledge of this fact.

If the government will not adjust differences between opposing groups of its citizens, they will do the adjusting themselves, even if they are shot for it. The horror of the East St. Louis riots and all other economic terroristic disturbances can be charged up to the government. The individual merely attempts to do in a barbarous way, clumsily and brutally, what his government neglects to do for him in a humane, civilized American way.

FEEDING THE RACIAL FIRES.

ST. PAUL [illegible] PIONEER PRESS

JULY 3, 1917

In East St. Louis we have the logical fruit of the lack of social organization and regulation. Since American factories began the extensive manufacture of supplies for European armies the labor field of the North has become inviting to the negroes of the South. Wages above the [illegible] line became almost double those on the other side. The negroes began to migrate from the South in droves.

This migration has been a bad thing for the North, a bad thing for the South and a bad thing for the negro. The South has been stripped clean of a great deal of its labor and as a consequence a serious shortage of the products of its fields has been threatened. Only those negroes who owned land or an interest in land have been proof against the alluring offers of Northern factories.

But for the negro himself the new movement in which he has figured has been a snare and a delusion. Wages are higher, it is true, but he has found the living expenses are also higher—so much so as to remove the velvet of profit he expected to reap. He has found the North a harsh and unsympathetic asylum. He has been obliged to live in fearful squalor and the severity of the climate has claimed its toll in disease and death.

The benefit to Northern cities is typified in East St. Louis. These negroes were imported to break a strike. Thus they came into inheritance of the bitter prejudice of white workers at the start. An alleged crime or two served the whites an excuse for mob action and soon the negroes were completely terrorized. Then a reaction set in. The negroes also found respite in mob movements. The reaction culminated Sunday night in the killing of two officers of the law and the calling of six companies of the national guard to suppress further disorders.

The government may be without power to stop the northward migration of negroes as a factor in Northern labor wars. But it is not without power to establish negro labor bureaus in the South to inform negroes what is best for them and to disillusion them of alluring propositions which mean their undoing.

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., A FIERY HELL.

The Atlanta Independent

7/7/17

The carnage at East St. Louis casts a shadow over the joy all civilized Americans had anticipated having upon the anniversary of the birthday of the Republic. There should be crepe upon the door of the State House of Illinois. To this writing, the unbridled, unpunished, unshot murderers of innocent black men, women and children, stands as the bright, gory accomplishment of Illinois civilization. The mess of the whole matter lies in the active co-operation of the mob and the militia. News dispatches give instances of white women taking guns from soldiers, wrestling bayonets from their hands, while others of their number were beating colored girls with large clubs, tearing their hair, and stripping them naked as a lady-like pastime. The news item just stops short at reciting that white fiends actually ate the burned flesh of black victims. Why not? Such a meal would add nothing to the barbarous souls of these East St. Louis ghouls. A ton of "Terrorol" beneath this Gomorroh would be proper. If Governor Lowden does not produce indictments, does not set the gallows in operation, then Governor Lowden is a flat failure, and should resign. Congressman Rodenburg has often been shocked at our little troubles in the South. How much is he shocked at the dirty work of his constituents in his own home town? Congressman Mann was shocked at vice and wickedness and put through the Mann white slave law. How much shocked has he been at the prominent part white women and white girls of his own blessed state took in the assassination and torture of black women and girls? It's time for the Yankee pretenders of Illinois to put up, or shut up, on the law and order proposition.

NEGR[illegible]LAND O LEADERS LAW AND ORDER CHAMPION

JULY 13, 1917

Resolutions characterizing the East St. Louis race riots as "brutal and murderous assaults upon defenseless colored persons" and heralding ex-President Roosevelt as the greatest champion of law and order in America, were passed last night at a mass meeting of representatives of Cleveland negroes.

Copies of the resolutions are to be forwarded to President Wilson and to the governors of Ohio and Illinois, together with a plea that the men responsible for the outbreak be brought to justice. The meeting was held in the Shiloh church, 2340 E. 30th st.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots—1917

East St Louis

If St. Louis Is Right Then the War of the Rebellion Was Wrong

Just now when we are burning with a desire to free the world from all autocratic bonds and are rejoicing that the Jews of Russia are to be given a political chance for equality and justice, it seems more revolting than ever that such crimes as those committed against the colored people in St. Louis, Monday, must be laid at the door of the American people.

We are fond of quoting Abranam Lincoln's splendid ultimatum that a nation cannot exist half slave and half free, but it is not too much to say that the slavery of the colored people has only changed its form and the persecutions to which they are subjected are more violent and malicious than ever before.

In only one way have they been advanced in the south: They may not be bodily owned by a master.

But every one of them is owned, for every one of them must have food and shelter and the wherewithal to live.

Therefore, when race prejudice runs riot and becomes an orgy of bloodshed and the burning of homes, what is it but hopeless slavery on a large scale?

America prides herself upon protecting the weak.

Its people are indignant against the treatment of the Belgians and the enslaving of small nations.

We send food sorely needed at home, and much money to alleviate these conditions, but ours must be a sentimental, unreasoning charity, and we can see injustice only in a distant country where there is a long perspective and are unable to visualise as sad a state before our eyes.

We have made laws for all of our people, and the colored race is part of us; These laws will mete out punishment to the Negro much more surely than to the white man.

This we know, and yet the lynchings which have been such a blemish upon the south of this country show too plainly that we are not a law-abiding people but rather ruled by passion, hatred and barbarity.

The great struggle now is economic.

We have shifted our battle ground to the factory, the mills, the packing house.

It is hands off to the Negroes lest the white man may lose a portion of his substance.

Until we can put our own house in order we must not be too critical of other countries. Russia has treated the Jews cruelly.

We are all aghast, but WHAT HAVE WE DONE TO OUR OWN COLORED PEOPLE?

TAMPA FLA. TRIBUNE
JULY 6, 1917

Illinois murders thirty-three negroes and Florida orders out two companies of guardsmen to save one from lynching. O, you "barbarous" South!

AFTERMATH OF RACE RIOTS.

East St. Louis is beginning to see the immediate consequences of the attacks made on its negroes by a mob inflamed by race prejudice and inspired by ignorance. About 1000 negroes have been driven from the city. These were not idlers. They were not parasites. They were honest workers. Many of them were doing a character of work about the packing plants which the average white man refuses to do. But it is necessary work, and until other people can be found to do it the packing plants cannot operate. When the packing plants close, it not only throws hundreds of white men out of employment, with all that means to the business of the community, but it interferes with meat growers and meat consumers in a large area. No man nowadays lives to himself industrially, any more than he does morally.

The negroes who have been driven from East St. Louis ate their bread in the sweat of their faces. They did not even stop at bread. Whatever fault may have been found with the negro, he has never been accused of parsimony. Too often his expenditures exactly equal his income. The negroes are good spenders and they pay cash. The merchants and the landlords estimate that loss of these 1000 negroes means a weekly shrinking of about $18,000 in business receipts. None of the mob have shown any disposition to make this shrinkage good. None of them have offered to fill the enforced vacancies. They are not even trying to find places for the white men thrown out of employment as a result of the lack of men to do disagreeable though necessary labor.

The city has also suffered in its industrial reputation. It is impossible to measure this loss. It is fortunate that the constituted authorities made an effort to keep the mob under control, for this proves that the foes of law and order are not in full charge. Determined prosecution of participants in the riot will go still further to restore the prestige of East St. Louis in the eyes of the outside world.

THE REIGN OF TERROR

The Journal and Guide

There have been some conspicuous riots in the United States during the past few weeks. In East St. Louis, Mo., white people objected to the presence of black people in the community and black workmen in the industries and proceeded to do violence to them. The United States government let the State and local authorities handle the situation, in deference to States' rights,, no doubt. There were some riots in Arizona and Montana between two factions of white people, between mine owners and mine workers. The workers started out to do violence as they did in EastSt. Louis and the United States government promptly dispatched troops to handle the situation, States' rights to the contrary notwithstanding, with the result that there was little loss of life and destruction of property. Law and order triumphed in Arizona and Montana. Terror reigned in East St. Louis.

EAST ST. LOUIS RACE-RIOTS

Literary Digest 7—14—17

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNATURE of a famous document asserting the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, thousands of American negroes were fleeing for safety from the State of Abraham Lincoln into Missouri. They left behind them nearly two score of their own race dead, nearly a hundred in hospitals, and the blackened ruins of more than three hundred of the homes of their people. East St. Louis, guarded by two thousand militiamen, was recovering from the effects of one of the worst race-riots in American history while investigations by Federal, State, and municipal authorities were on foot. Altho the blame for the loss of life and property is laid by many observers at the door of local and State officials, the underlying cause of the riot, the press generally agree, was the influx of negro labor into East St. Louis from the South.

This migration, as our readers are aware, is no more liked at the South than at the North. Indeed, as the New York *Evening Sun* remarks, the South has tried every expedient to check it, so that "as Northern communities mob the negroes for coming in, so Southern communities mob the employment-agents for inducing them to go out." Other papers observe that while the rioting at its beginning was due to economic causes, it developed racial jealousy which led to wholesale and indiscriminate attacks on negro men, women, and children.

While the press of the country more or less calmly consider the underlying causes of the East St. Louis riots, and discuss the economic effects of the war, and the development of race hatred in the United States, papers near at hand are imprest with the collapse of government in the Illinois city. Across the Mississippi River in St. Louis, *The Globe-Democrat* denounces the failure to "impress the lawless and irresponsible participants in the mob" that "attacks on property and persons would be dangerous to themselves." This paper believes that firmness early in the afternoon of the first day's rioting "would have saved East St. Louis, the State of Illinois, and American civil-

ization itself, a record of indelible shame." But, it continues, after the coming of darkness to the aid of the mob, slaughter and burning raged unchecked. "The unleashed passions of the mob ignored questions of guilt and innocence and of age and sex. They disregarded the safety of bystanders and cared not what ruin the incendiary fires might bring. The lust of murder turned the mob into savages."

East St. Louis, tho a suburb of the great Missouri city, is itself in Illinois. In that State the Chicago *Tribune*, which, as it reminds us, "has flailed the evil of lynching and especially reproached its countrymen of the South for their failure to stamp it out, does not propose to offer any palliation of this outrage in Illinois." It continues:

"The blood of victims spatters the State. The riot will burn as an unforgetable dishonor in our memories. We do not propose to talk now about race hatred or economic rivalry or any other learned aspect of the offense. There is just one truth, one sickening, shameful truth—in an American city, in a city of Illinois, there has been a loathsome irruption of the brute, and neither civilized public sentiment nor constituted authority was capable of arresting it. . . . . .

"The East St. Louis riot is nothing to be covered with official whitewash. Illinois stands shamed before the world. Her authority has been proved futile. Her name will be a byword if she does not establish that authority, so it will never be defied again."

Somewhat more philosophical is the editor of the Adrian (Michigan) *Telegram*. He vigorously denounces the rioters and is thoroughly ashamed of the East St. Louis episode. But he would suggest that we try to discover the basic cause of the trouble in order to avoid similar things in the future. He says:

"Theoretically, negroes from the South have a right to go North and work for half a white man's wages, thereby turning the white man out of his job. Theoretically, the Northern employer has a right to import negroes who will work for half-wages, dwell in hovels, live on a scale that no white family would endure. But while these things may be done in theory, they can not be done in practise. The white workers of the North will not stand it."

This writer would remind us that just now workers are sensitive over their rights and their prospects, believing that these may suffer under war-conditions. So a certain moral responsibility for the East St. Louis episode is placed upon "the men and the interests who began the wholesale importation of Southern black labor." The Adrian editor even believes that good may result from the evil of the East St. Louis riot—

"Cincinnati employers will not start any wholesale importations of negroes; Pittsburg employers will not; Chicago employers will not. They will all take due notice. They have been effectively warned that there are some things that can not be done in practise, even tho they may be strictly according to law. . . . . .

"The moral is clear. Leave the negro in the South."

A leader of the negro race, Booker T. Washington's successor at Tuskegee, expresses his pain, chagrin, and discouragement at these riots on the eve of Independence day, at a time when the nation is calling upon negroes as well as whites to join in the war for "democracy" and the "square deal" for weak peoples. Major Moton adds, in a letter to the New York *World:*

"There is room in America for the various racial groups to work out their salvation. Killing and maiming men because they are seeking economic salvation is not, in my opinion, a credit to our civilization or to our boasted doctrine of fair play. With all her faults, the South, at least, can not be criticized for killing men seeking employment and a better economic status."

AMERICAN ATROCITIES

The most embarrassing, the most alarming of many paradoxical events in America's mobilization for world democracy, is the race war in East St. Louis, Ill.

In the midst of fighting for the freedom of all peoples, and for the rescue of all victims of autocratic greed and cruelty, America suffers a wanton butchery of her own citizens in one of our prosperous and enlightened communities.

BOSTON MASS JOURNAL
JULY 4, 1917

The Negroes in East St. Louis were hunted down like rats. They were shot in the streets, they were burned in their homes. The spectacle has not been equaled in modern history outside the blood-soaked hamlets of Armenia.

No atrocities of the war in Europe, even in Belgium, have amounted to a wholesale murder of townspeople. The wildest tales of German fiendishness have painted no such picture as that witnessed in East St. Louis.

* * * * * * *

Blocks of homes in ashes, charred bodies in the ruins; shots fired at Negroes seen trying to escape the flames; bands of armed white men roaming the streets exterminating the refugees—this is the American outburst reaching the ears of a world which has heard us pledge our blood and treasure to make the world safe for democracy.

A Negro girl seeking safety from a band of white men is attacked by white women, and when she tries to beg for mercy a white woman smashes her face with a club. An aged Negro, tottering with weakness, is seized and hanged to a pole. Three million dollars' worth of property and an unknown number of lives are destroyed by incendiary fires. State guardsmen are disarmed by the mob and police are overpowered.

* * * * * * *

The Chicago Tribune, speaking editorially under the caption, "The Shame of Illinois," declares that the East St. Louis race war is the worst blot on the name of an American community in history. "Illinois must bow her head," says the Tribune.

But it isn't only Illinois. This is a national calamity. Old Russia of the Jewish massacres; Turkey of the Armenian butcheries . . . We bow our heads, indeed.

Nor is a patrol of East St. Louis streets by Illinois guardsmen a sufficient national answer to this horrible massacre. Under the present national administration, with the old South in control, Negroes have fared worse than at any time since the Civil War that was fought to set them free from slavery. This attack in Illinois cannot be interpreted but as the culmination of a steadily declining respect for the Negro's rights—a respect not encouraged by the national government in recent years.

* * * * * * *

Shall there be more race warfare? Shall the streets of cities in free America run with the blood of innocent people whose color offends the mob mind? Shall a country promising equality regardless of race, color or previous condition of servitude burn American Negroes to death in their homes?

The situation is eminently worthy of a proclamation by the President of the United States. Taken in conjunction with sundry other evidences of a waning democracy (including an assault upon citizens of Boston by United States soldiers) it points to a condition which must eventually cause sneers by our enemies and distrust by our friends across the water.

The effect of the experience cannot be easily counteracted. Every effort to nullify that effect and to punish the crime must be made if we are to march into democracy's battles with our heads up.

Some of the Democratic press are endeavoring to blame the negroes of East St. Louis for the riots in which they were ruthlessly murdered or driven from their homes. The effort will fail and ought to fail. No one has ever contended that the colored people were doing anything but quietly following their legitimate occupations, in making a living for their families. If they had been idlers, rowdies or criminals, there might be some excuse for their expulsion from the community, but even that should be in an orderly and lawful manner. The fact of the matter is that East St. Louis is in a section of Illinois that was strongly pro-Southern during the Civil War and that still has much of Southern sympathy and ideas. The county in which East St. Louis is situated has a habit of going Democratic. While there is a large proportion of the population that respects the rights of the negroes, the community is one in which just such outrages as the unprovoked negro massacre could occur. The Democratic press is doing itself no credit in trying to excuse the outrage.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

THE EAST ST. LOUIS MASSACRE

Southwestern Christian Advocate 7/25/17

East St. Louis, Ill., was to have unveiled on July the fourth a monument in memory of the soldiers and sailors from St. Clair County, Illinois, who gave their lives during the sixties to free Negroes from Slavery. The monument was in readiness and veiled. A stand had been erected, draped in red, white and blue bunting, from which the Governor was to have spoken. No doubt he would have given a patriotic address and lauded the men who gave their lives for the freedom of a race. The soldiers' monument was not unveiled, the speech was not delivered. East St. Louis had thrown a gloom over the entire nation and there are some who thought that the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor should have been veiled, so shamefully and brutally and outrageously had the citizens of East St. Louis conducted themselves.

What is the Story?

There is nothing like it in American history for brutality, for cold-blooded murder, for unrestrained lawlessness in the presence of constitutional authority sufficiently armed to have put down the mob in five minutes. There is nothing like it, not only in American history in recent years, but in the history of the world. We have established the record and we have vountarily taken from the Germans the mantle of shame placed upon their shoulders by civilization for their cruelty to the Belgians and for the atrocities perpetrated which have shocked the civllized world. WE is used advisedly. It gains nothing for any part of this nation to hold up holy hands of horror for the deeds done at East St. Louis. The reign of crime in East St. Louis was a logical sequence to other happenings. Who has forgotten Coatesville, Pa.; Waco, Tex.; Abbeville, S. C.; Memphis, Tenn.; Paris, Tex.; Hogansville, Ga.; SPRINGFIELD, O., and hundreds of other places?

East St. Louis' reign of terror is the price we have paid for state and national indifference to the growth of lawlessness. Church and state have remained in criminal silence. What happened at East St. Louis was what was to be expected. The end is not yet. Unless we rise up as a nation and stop mob rule we must prepare ourselves for more frequent slaughter of the innocent.

In East St. Louis, Ill., the second city in the state, where lay the sacred remains of the great emancipator, more than one hundred Negroes were killed, several hundred wounded, sixteen acres of Negro homes burned, 10,000 Negroes rendered homeless and millions of dollars of property destroyed. As the St. Louis Post-Dispatch reports, "Black skins, without regard to age, sex or innocence, were marked for slaughter." If the Negroes for any cause had aroused the white citizens of East St. Louis to the point where they would have inflicted murder that would have been one thing, but it was not murder. It was brutality of the most hellish sort. Eye-witnesses testify that innocent babes were snatched from Negro mothers' arms, stripped of their clothing and thrown back into the fire, then the mothers were stripped and thrown upon the burning pile. Old men who had been brutally treated by the mob, lying in the gutter unconscious though not dead, had their eyes plucked out by white women and girls who shared with their brothers and husbands the thirst for blood on that awful day. One woman craved the opportunity to cut a Negro's heart out. There was nothing to prevent her. In another instance a Negro was lured into an alley by one of the mob stating that it would be safer for him there. The Negro was shot in cold blood. In another instance boys rushed into a Negro's home, where an innocent babe was lying in a cradle, and set fire to the cradle, which finally set fire to the house. The mother rushed out with the babe in her arms, only to meet death. For brutality, for downright savagery and for the low elements of man's degenerate life boiling at white heat, East St. Louis furnishes us an example that is without parallel.

It is not only the ravages of the mob that excite disgust, but that the mob was aided and abetted by the police force of East St. Louis and by the state militia that was already on the ground. It is a matter of common report, published in a number of newspapers, that the police and militia passed their guns over to the mob. With this evidence in hand it remains to be seen what the constitutional authorities of East St. Louis and the state of Illinois will do toward suppressing this mob spirit and calling to account the police force and militia who were directly responsible for this reckless waste of life.

What Was the Cause?

That is hard to state. Upon many lips there is a conviction that the incitement of this mob is traceable to German intrigue. There is a chance for this to be true. The close proximity of German sympathizers and the estranged relation known to have existed between the races for some time furnish logical grounds for disturbances. But we do not put credence to this story altogther. It may be true. On the other hand, it may not be true. Fundamentally, at the bottom of the outbreak was racial antipathy that has been encouraged in the last few years in every conceivable way, even to the point where the National Government has not frowned upon racial antipathy, but has sought to justify it. Keep in mind as we study this subject the drift of the nation during the past two or three years. We have had segregation of every description in many sections, all based upon the idea that the Negro is undesirable and deserves nothing which the white man has not first refused. Added to this, which gives color to the situation at East St. Louis, is the growing antipathy between labor and capital, considering at the same time the increased strength of labor, labor becoming more insistent in its demands, strikes more frequent and a nation-wide strike narrowly averted. The situation is further colored by the fact that immigration stopped, cutting off the labor supply in this country, which was further reduced by the European countries calling from this country to the support of their flags on the battle front thousands upon thousands of laborers. Thus labor in many of the industrial centers was scarce. These three facts lead up to the consideration of another. The South had a surplus of labor which for years has been regarded as worthless, shiftless and unreliable. It was often predicted in the South that the shifting of the Negro population would greatly reduce the seriousness of the racial problem. For one reason and another the Negro began to move Northward in large numbers. It is supposed that the Negro population in East St. Louis had increased within the year by at least 10,000, all of whom found employment in the big packing companies, oil companies and steel founderies and other big companies that employed labor on a large scale. They were brought in first as strike-breakers, and this fact aroused the feeling of the strikers. Racial antipathy to start with, plus the fact that the Negroes were welcomed into the large industries in East St. Louis to the dislike of the men who, although they held their positions, were unable to furnish the quantity of

THE ST. LOUIS MASSACRE

Placket 7/14/17

The massacre at East St. Louis, Illinois grows in horror, the indications are that even the State officials were derelect in the performance of their duties. The charge is made that the members of the National Guard sent to the city were unarmed, or rather had been provided with empty rifles. They were about just as much service as wooden soldiers would have been. Colored people were disarmed and white people were permitted not only to keep firearms but to use them upon men and women.

The report of the affair shows the depravity of human nature in some sections of this country. Pleading, begging, frightened, women were beaten and even little children were burned to death and their bodies cremated in the houses in the section assigned to colored people. Right across the Mississippi River were thousands of colored people, many of them prosepr ous and well to do. They were helpless while the slaughter of their people was taking place. The affair is sickening and the reports of the affair make the crimes committed all the more hideous.

Colored people will yet learn that they must organize for mutual protection, that they must learn to protect themselves first and then expect others to protect them afterwards. Sympathy is all right and expressions of horror over an outrage of this kind timely, but we should be prepared to act at the time the butchery is taking place. One hundred determined colored men could have produced a panic among this class of people and the story as finally told would have been different. Cowards are willing to slaughter sheep, but these same cowards hesitate to kill bull-dogs

East St. Louis murdered many colored folks, but every life lost is the cause of an awful toll being paid by the United States of America in a lost reputation for humanity and charitableness. The entire country must necessarily bear the reproach of this outrageous barbarism and that distinguished citizen, Hon. Theodore Roosevelt was not slow to observe it.

labor needed, and we have, in part at least, the cause of the awful occurrence on July 2. There is but one other fact in the situation that needs be given at this time, namely, the weakness of the government of East St. Louis, due largely to the fact that East St. Louis is in the hands of the whiskey power. From the standpoint of city government, East St. Louis is one of the worst governed municipalities in the nation. It is the result of that difficulty in American life that arises from the proximity of large populations adjacent to state boundaries. St. Louis, Mo., across the river, had put on the lid and declared for a dry Sunday. East St. Louis remained wide open. It is said that on the first Sunday that the St. Louis saloons were closed 50,000 men poured across the bridge into East St. Louis to slake their thirst from the fountains that sent forth the flow that has been the damnation of many a man and has almost wrecked the American life.

There had been a disturbance at East St. Louis some time ago, the exact date being May 28. There were several instances of murder and lawlessness, but things had quieted down under the presence of the militia that had been sent to East St. Louis to suppress what was supposed to be labor disorder. Tension was great. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch said the "gathering of the storm had been known for some time." Negroes were apprehensive. White men grew more bold in insults upon the Negro. On July 1 a colored boy was beaten by white men. It was reported, but not confirmed, that a church service was broken up. Automobiles filled with colored people were rocked. Then came the clash between the Negroes that were armed and others. Several white men were killed and then the slaughter ensued. It is supposed that the mob had been given immunity by the municipal officials, policemen and the militia.

The Negro Race Queried

Nothing in recent years has so stirred the Negro race in this country as this outrage at East St. Louis. Only a day or so before this occurrence was known to the nation, Dr. R. R. Moton, the head of Tuskegee Institute, had sent out a statement showing a decrease of lynching during the first six months of the present year. It was hoped that lawlessness was on the decrease. When the nation was apprehensive lest the Negro should be disloyal in the national crisis, Negroes cheerfully offered themselves to the nation. The finest body of Negro men, for individual equipment and training, ever assembled is now at Fort Des Moines, Iowa. They include many of our picked men from the best colleges and universities of the nation. Everywhere the Negro in offering himself there was the hope that as he offers himself for the defense of the flag there will be granted to him protection and the freedom to live his largest and best life. Will America give the Negro a man's chance?

A Serious Question

We have heard much concerning the United States fighting to make the world safe for democracy. A more serious and practical and near-at-hand question is "Is AMERICA to be safe for democracy?" That is the question. Are we going to protect weak people three thousand miles away from us and permit weak people to be ruthlessly murdered within an arm's reach of the Capital? Are we going to cable to the four corners of the earth our declaration in favor of democracy and scatter our declaration over the firing lines by means of areoplanes so as to inform the world on what democracy is, and at the same time permit any number of 10,000,000 of people, constituting the backbone of American labor and forming one of the strongest segments of American patriotism, to be threatened, intimidated and murdered without redress? We are dangerously near as a nation of being the laughing stock of the world. The mask of hypocrisy is already being made for us and we will be forced to put it on unless constitutional authorities of the states, as well as of the nation, make America safe for every man. A democracy that is color-blind and race-blind is a travesty on the fundamental principles which underlie a government of the people, for the people, for the people and by the people.

A RACE CALLED TO PRAYER

Christian Advocate
D W

On Wednesday morning July 11th, five thousand colored women assembled in and around Metropolitan Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., and conducted a prayer service. The call for this meeting was issued by Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, chairman of the Publicity Committee of the National Association of Colored Women. Among other things the call urged:

"To your knees and Don't Stop Praying until the voice of Negro Women is heard and their petition for the suppression of mob violence is accepted by the American people. These wrongs can and must be righted. The nearest way to the conscience of the American people is by way of the Throne of God."

It is said that the gathering of these early worshippers at six o'clock in the morning was one of the most inspiring sights that have ever been seen in the Nation's capital; and in reporting the prayer services our informant says "Jesus met us there." Since then through the activity and interest of Congressman L. C. Dyer of Missouri, resolutions not only to prosecute those who took part in the East St. Louis riot, but to enact or enforce laws that will prevent like outrages in any state in the Union, have been introduced in both houses of Congress. A number of petitions have been filed through Vice President Marshall urging the passage of the Dyer resolution. The committee in Baltimore, Maryland, headed by Dean Pickens of Morgan College, presented to the Vice President in person a memorial supporting Congressman Dyer's resolution urging its passage for the following reasons:

"More persons have suffered death by mob violence, than were killed in the Spanish-American War.

"Just about ten times as many Americans have lost their lives by mobs—in violation of the law—as have become victims of German submarines.

"According to the records, which have been kept consecutively since 1885, 3,373 American citizens have been hanged, burned or otherwise unlawfully done to death. This large number of men and women has not found Democracy in our country safe, and has been Lynched Without Warning.

"This last outbreak in East St. Louis came on the eve of the Fourth of July celebration, and at a time when to our positive knowledge, colored Americans were in hearty accord with the President in this war crisis, standing ready and willing to do service in any capacity.

"Thirty-seven persons are thus known to have lost their lives, not strikebreakers only, but old men, women and children. Alleged causes of the riot conflict. This much is certain. It began as a labor disturbance, and ended as a race riot.

"Two points stand out clearly:

"1. The local police were unable to handle the situation.

"2. The state militia disarmed the blacks, and provided arms and ammunition for the whites.

"The lynching records show that every mob that has committed violence has been strong enough to prevent conviction of its members in the local courts. So long as the Federal Government stands aloof, mob law may feel encouraged, not discouraged."

URGE COLORED RETURN, WANT FEDERAL ACTION

Guardian 7/7/17

E. ST. LOUIS BUSINESS CRIPPLED BY DRIVING COLORED OUT—CAPITALISTS PROMISE PROTECTION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY—RAILROADS MAY APPEAL TO INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION—CAN'T MOVE FREIGHT—LABOR UNIONS WROUGHT HAVOC.

East St. Louis, Ill., July 5, 1917.—The interuption to the industrial life of this city and to the commercial life of St. Louis, Mo., as the result of the exodus of Negro labor that followed the race riots Monday, arrested the attention of business men of the two cities today.

The Chamber of Commerce of East St. Louis adopted a resolution urging the Negro workmen who fled from East St. Louis to return, and promising them protection of life and property.

At the same time Traffic Commissioner Coyle of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, took up with railway and terminal officials the interruption to freight movement that has resulted from the exodus of Negroes employed in the freight and switching yards. Mr. Coyle said that if normal traffic could not be restored by the railroads, an appeal would be made to the federal government on the basis of federal control over the interstate commerce.

Most of the St. Louis railroads have their freight terminals in East St. Louis, and anything that interferes with labor in the railroad yards of East St. Louis affects St. Louis commerce direct

About 1500 Illinois Guardsmen are now on duty here. A meeting of these men will be held Friday afternoon to consider means of getting laborers to return.

Riots—1917 East St. Louis

WHAT STOPPED THE MOB RULE

Defender 7/14/17

Photo by International Film Service

The Second Regiment Illinois Infantry loading their guns prior to starting for scene of trouble. These grim-faced, earnest men put an end to America's greatest blot on the civilized world

TO PRESIDENT WILSON

Philadelphia, Pa., July 5, 1917.

Hon. Woodrow Wilson,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr . President:

Permit me to intrude upon your much occupied time to express to you somewhat of the feeling of my people with regard to the indiscriminate murder of our brothers in East St. Louis, by mobs of white men and women. We believe this is the result of a long practiced disregard for the common rights of Negroes in the United States. Lynching Negroes on account of rape soon developed into lynching for any cause, and now develops into wholesale arson and murder of Negroes merely because they have exercised the rights given them by the Constitution of the United States, of passing freely from one state to another in quest of an honest living by the sweat of their brows. And I ask if this is to continue where in all this country will the life of a colored citizen be safe?

If an attempt had been made by an organized mob to stop the transportation of cattle or coal from one state to another the nation would be justly indignant. I ask why can it sit quietly by when laborers, to better their condition, go from one state to another seeking work, and are murdered for so doing?

You are calling on all the people to be loyal. There is no more loyal group than the Negroes. You have never known a traitor among them. You have not heard them complain of your conscription act. Hundreds of the best of their sons have volunteered to go to Des Moines to train for the country's army, and in a short time thousands will gladly place their lives at the disposal of their country.

The Negroes are native American citizens, and there is no just excuse either political, religious or economic for persecuting them. Think what impression this treatment of the Negroes will make upon our European allies! How can we claim to fight for the rights of humanity, when we permit our own citizens to be shot and burned to death. What respect can outsiders have for us when it is reported that our national guard, sent to protect our own citizens, simply "grinned" when appealed to?

Mr. President, we trust that a full and impartial investigation will be made of this East St. Louis occurence and that the guilty will be brought to such strict account, that in the future all loyal citizens may have ample protection as far as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are concerned.

We remember your statement in your letter to the late Bishop Alexander Walters just before your election in 1912. You said in part, under date of October 16, 1912, as follows:

"It would afford me pleasure to be present, because there are certain things I want to say. I hope that it seems superfluous to those who know me, but to those who do not know me perhaps it is not necessary for me to assure my colored fellow-citizens of my earnest wish to see justice done them in every matter; and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling. Every guarantee of our law, every principle of our constitution, commands this, and our sympathies should also make it easy.

"The colored people of the United States have made extraordinary progress towards self-support and usefulness, and ought to be encouraged in every possible and proper way. My sympathy with them is of long standing, and **I want to assure them through you that should I become President of the United States, they may count upon me for absolute fair dealing and for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interest of their race in the United States.**

"Cordially and sincerely yours,
"WOODROW WILSON."

"Bishop Alexander Walters,
"Care Judge Robert S. Hudspeth,
"New York City."

In the spirit of this letter we appeal to you to see that "justice be done in every matter." May we count upon you as President of the United States to insist upon "for absolute fair dealing" in the present treatment of the Negro?

Respectfully,
R. R. WRIGHT, JR.,
Editor Christian Recorder—Official organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

COLORED WOMEN ON THE EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS.

Freeman 7/14/17

Grieved and heart-sick over the East St. Louis outrages, in which men, women and children were shot down like rats and their houses burned while United States soldiers and policemen sworn to protect life and property "grinned" when asked why they did not stop the slaughter, the women of this city have requested Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, president of the National Association of Colored Women, to come to Washington at once and to call the president of every other state federation to do the same.

These women are to take proper steps to put the question of lynching squarely before the American people.

The organization has a membership of over 50,000 of the most cultured women of the race. Preparatory to the coming of the leaders outside of Washington, the women here are going ahead, quietly, but determinedly to set in motion a wave of sentiment that will become nation wide. The first step has been taken. It is made in the following call to prayer:

To Your Knees and Don't Stop Praying Until the Voice of Negro Women Is Heard and Their Petition for the Suppression of mob violence is accepted by the American people and lynchings and slaughter of human beings are made a crime instead of a thing to be "grinned" at by soldiers under oath to defend the honor of the country and in time of uprisings to do their duty bravely.

The wrongs can and must be righted. The nearest way to the conscience of the American people is by way of the throne of God.

We are going that way, and then we are going to put our appeal for justice and protection under the law, squarely up to the American people.

We regret that this issue has been thrust before us when we are with the nations at war, but there will be no "world democracy" until the burning of innocent women and babies, aged men and innocent citizens of color is taken from the list of "Sports" of civilized Americans.

We propose to fight for our country to help against foes at home and abroad, to conserve its food and fuel supplies, and we believe that this fight for "democracy" must begin at Jerusalem (at home).

Therefore, the women of this city will assemble for prayer in the Metropolitan Baptist Church Wednesday, July 11, at 6 a. m. The meeting will last just one hour. Every woman and girl is urged to attend. Those who cannot come are asked to spend a part of the hour in family and secret prayer.

Don't stop praying. God has promised and He is true. Don't stop praying. He'll answer you.

Let everybody pray. Let every preacher "life up thy (his) voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgression and the house of Jacob their sins."

Among the most active leaders, we note the following:

Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, Miss Emma B. Hall, Miss Ida C. Plummer, Miss Marie A. D. Madre, Mrs. Mary E. Thompson, Mrs. Rosetta Lawson, Mrs. Lelia A. Pendleton, Mrs. Alma J. Scott, Mrs. Rebecca J. Gray, Mrs. Hannah McCarey, Mrs. G. Pelham and Dr. Whipper.

Hunters of Men.

The colored citizens of Baltimore have called for an investigation of the massacre at East St. Louis. They indorse the congressional investigation demanded by the Dyer resolution (H. J. res. 118) now pending in the House of Representatives.

In a dignified memorial to the President of the Senate of the United States these colored citizens set forth established facts which must be faced. They set forth the fact that more persons have suffered death by mob violence than were killed in the Spanish-American war. Read their indictment:

N Y C MAIL
JULY 18. 1917

According to the records, which have been set consecutively since 1885, 3,373 American citizens have been hanged, burned, or otherwise unlawfully done to death. This large number of men and women have not found democracy in our country safe and have been lynched without warning.

This last outbreak at East St. Louis came on the eve of the Fourth of July celebration, and at a time when, to our positive knowledge, colored Americans were in hearty accord with the President in this war crisis, standing ready and willing to do service in any capacity.

Thirty-seven persons are thus far known to have lost their lives, not strike-breakers only but old men, women and children. Alleged causes of the riot conflict. This much is certain: It began as a labor disturbance and ended as a race riot.

The memorialists not only charge that the local police were unable to handle the situation, but that the state militia disarmed the blacks and provided arms and ammunition for the whites.

The country is to-day in a mood for meeting this negro problem which we have so long tried to disregard. They are in a mood to have

the Dyer resolution enacted into law providing for:

The appointment of a congressional committee to study and report upon the riot at East St. Louis.

The discovery of what laws, if any, are needed to prevent like occurrences in Illinois or any other state.

GOMPERS LAYS ROW WHOLLY TO COLONEL

Charges Attack to His Failure to Support T. R.

N Y C EVE SUN
JULY 7 1917

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, appeared at the Claremont to-day after the luncheon given by the Mayor's reception committee to the Russian War Commission was well under way.

He brought a broad grin from the hot controversy with Col. Roosevelt at Carnegie Hall last night, seeming to have recovered from the tempestuous humor into which the discussion of the East St. Louis race riots threw two of the principal speakers. Mr. Gompers was immediately surrounded by newspaper men, and in reply to questions, credited Col. Roosevelt's attack to the fact that he had not supported the Colonel for President.

When asked for the information which he said last night that he possessed, and which was not known to the Colonel, he produced a telegram from an Illinois labor leader denouncing as false the accusation that the labor unions were in any way responsible for the East St. Louis riots and roundly condemning the methods whereby negroes from the South had been allured to northern communities in search of employment.

Col. Roosevelt was not present at the Claremont luncheon to-day, and so did not encounter Mr. Gompers. The labor leader, explaining his side of the disturbance, went on to say:

"I felt as the Mayor did last night that it was a reception to the Russian commission, and I tried to placate the people. I didn't want it turned into a worse situation than it was already.

"Col. Roosevelt provoked the thing and his tirade was unwarranted."

The whole trouble, he went on to say, was an aftermath of the fact that he and Col. Roosevelt were on opposite sides of the campaign last fall. The Colonel never forgave him, he said, for declining an invitation to go to Oyster Bay last fall. He couldn't go and he didn't, Mr. Gompers explained, and added that last year Mr. George W. Perkins had sent him a copy of the Colonel's May Day speech. He could not approve this speech, he felt, and didn't. Later, Mr. Gompers said, the Colonel attacked him at Scranton, Pa., and accused him of trying to dominate the political affairs of the country.

The proofs which Mr. Gompers submitted in the form of the telegram—which, in his speech las night, he said he regretted that he did not have with him in order to read it from the platform—began:

"Press despatches allege Negro Equal Right League of Boston have telegraphed you charging that trade unions are responsible for East St. Louis riots. Any such charge is viciously untrue." After reciting that the East St. Louis Central Labor Council had requested an investigation into the practice of importing negroes from the South, the telegram went on:

"Investigation showed Southern Negroes misled by false advertisements and unscrupulous employment agents. They came to East St. Louis in such numbers they could not secure work or decent living quarters. The effect has been to make possible exploitation of labor, with serious disturbances of social as well as economic conditions and to arouse bitterness on all sides."

TO SPARE NONE IN EAST ST. LOUIS PROBE

CHICAGO ILL EVE POST
JULY 13, 1917

Attorney General Brundage Says Example Must Be Shown to Prevent Riots.

"Spare no one."

This is the order which Attorney General Brundage, arriving today from East St. Louis, has issued in connection with the grand jury proceedings which he has commenced in St. Clair County as the result of the recent riots. Two special assistant attorney generals have been appointed to gather the evidence, making four assistants Mr. Brundage now has at work preparing evidence for the grand jury.

That riots will break out afresh if the militia now guarding East St. Louis are withdrawn is feared.

"One of my investigators reported to me," Mr. Brundage said, "to having overheard conversations in several places in East St. Louis to this effect. 'We cannot do much now,' one man said, 'but wait until the troops are withdrawn, then we will clean up the negroes.'

Special Dispensation for Troops.

"The federal government, it appears to me, may have to make some special dispensation regarding the troops now on guard. If they are drawn into the federal service the streets will be left unguarded, when, there is just grounds to believe, the threats against the colored population, which my investigators overheard, may be carried out."

Assistant Attorney Generals C. W. Middelkauf and W. E. Trautman were appointed to prepare evidence soon after the rioting broke out. When Mr. Brundage made a personal inspection trip to the disturbed field he found the force adequate, and James Farmer and F. J. Hamlin were named special assistants.

Rioters Cut Fire Hose.

"When the fire department went to the colored district to put out the incendiary flames, rioters cut the hose and handicapped this work. We are searching for several men who did this, and prosecution will follow. If the situation becomes bad again, residents of East St. Louis fear that the city will be burned down by rioters unless just punishment is meted out to those who engaged in the first debauch, to deter others from following their example."

BURLINGTON VT FREE PRESS
JULY 4, 1917

THE EAST ST. LOUIS RACE RIOTS.

In spite of our boasted civilization we as a people are apparently not far removed from mobocracy. We are professing to be in this war for the promotion of world democracy. Apparently we need still to struggle for real democracy, or self-rule by he people as a whole, in our own fair land.

The shooting and killing of many persons as a result of a clash between white and black people in East St. Louis constitute a disgrace to the whole nation. We have been accustomed to arraignment of the South for race outrages. We are beginning to discover there is much truth in the assertion made by a Confederate general to a Union commander during the Civil War. The Confederate, meeting his old black mammy, who had nursed him during his tender years, kissed her. Turning to the Union leader, he said: "You are fighting for the niggers, but you would not do that."

We are coming to learn that the sentiment of many of the people of the North at this time is a thin veneer, and that underneath the surface there is a pronounced feeling of race antipathy. Probably if we lived in communities where mere numbers makes colored residents insolent, or worse, we would feel much as our southern friends feel.

The race trouble in this particular instance began a month or so ago, when negro laborers were imported from the South to East St. Louis to relieve a labor situation. The rioting reported in our news columns yesterday seems to have been precipitated during the forenoon by a mob of 200 negroes who fired on an automobile loaded with policemen.

We are thus brought face to face with a serious problem. While we are raising troops for service in Europe we are forcefully reminded that we need troops in the shape of a home guard to preserve law and order in our own midst, especially in some of the larger centers of popula

SAY ST. CLAIR COUNTY MUST PAY RIOT LOSSES

CHICAGO ILL EVE POST
JULY 13, 1917

Insurance Men Cite Cases at Youngstown, Ohio, and Pittsburg.

St. Clair County, Illinois, will be held liable for the property losses incident to the recent negro riots in East St. Louis, which resulted in the death of nearly a score of persons and the destruction of property valued at more than $300,000.

This is the opinion advanced today by insurance men of Chicago. They point to the fact that the fire insurance companies' policies all specify that the companies are not liable for losses "due to riots, civil war, invasion, insurrection or to the military power or by order of any civil authorities." This exemption is specified in lines 31 and 32 of the New York standing fire insurance policies of the kind written in Illinois.

Suits growing out of the Youngstown, Ohio, riots of two years ago are cited as precedents for action against St. Clair County in the East St. Louis rioting. In the former suits for damages have been filed by the property owners against the county in which Youngstown is located. The same procedure was followed in the earlier riots at Pittsburg.

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
JULY 9, 1917

LOSE FEAR OF INVASION BY EAST ST. LOUIS NEGROES

One of Party that Trudged Through Town Arrested for Attempt to Incite Riot.

Conditions at Hartford, Ill., eighteen miles northeast of St. Louis, where East St. Louis and Alton soldiers were sent Saturday night in response to an alarm by white residents of a negro invasion from the East Side riot belt, was described last night as being under perfect control by Marshal C. E. McGuire of Woodriver, two miles distant.

McGuire said the alarm was occasioned at the sight of several negro families passing through Hartford, and was spread when some of the negro men made remarks that the townspeople considered "impudent." Before the arrival of the soldiers, Marshal McGuire and a posse followed the negroes for a mile or two distant, and on catching up with them halted the party. They arrested one negro man on charges of conspiring to incite a riot.

The principal industries at Woodriver, formerly Benbow City, are a Standard Oil refinery, employing about 1400 men, less than a dozen of whom are negroes, and the International Tannery, which has partly shut down and laid off a number of employes, owing to a shortage of material.

In as much as there was no field for negro labor, Marshal McGuire said he was urging negroes, coming from the East St. Louis district, to continue on their way.

He said on outbreak was unlikely, and could be checked speedily, as soldiers from the East Alton camp could be summoned in ten minutes. A close watch on the arrivals and departures of negroes on street cars entering and leaving Woodriver was being kept, he said.

TILLMAN AND THE NEGRO

Benjamin Ryan Tillman, veteran Senator from South Carolina, is guilty of only a little exaggeration when he calls himself "an old slaveholder." He was fourteen years old when the war broke out, son of an Edgefield County planter. He had slaves around him as a boy. And though a hater of negro equality, he likes to be served by negroes. Spurred to a speech in the Senate on the East St. Louis rioting, he says:

BROOKLYN N Y EAGLE
JULY 18, 1917

The average Yankee has no love for the negro except for political reasons. * * * The more the Northern people know about the negro, the less they like him. I have epitomized it by saying, "They love him according to the square of the distance."

The South Carolina Senator thinks the I. W. W. are "a bad lot." He doesn't deny that in some cases the South has been unjust to the colored man. But he is sure that bringing the negroes to the North as strikebreakers is a mistake and that nowhere with or without the presence of the I. W. W., can blacks be so introduced without violence.

Tottering and infirm, at the age of 70, this South Carolina man is the best exponent of Southern feeling on this race question. His words are significant, though significantly pessimistic. Anglo-Saxonism is much the same on one side of Mason and Dixon's line as on the other.

THE RIOT AT EAST ST. LOUIS.

Herald - 7/5/17

The race riot at East St. Louis, Illinois, Monday, in which about forty Negroes were killed, a larger number wounded, and hundreds driven from the city, has turned the eyes of the nation on Illinois. The occurrence is being deplored by all right-thinking people. Now that the State and Federal authorities have decided to bring to light and justice those responsible for the barbarities perpetrated, it is hoped that the matter will be handled in such a fashion as to bring the lawless elements of East St. Louis and other communities to their senses, and give assurance to the colored people of the country, who are wondering if the terms "equality," "democracy," and "humanity," about which so much is heard nowadays, include them.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

WHO COMMITTED THE CRIME?

—o—

CRUEL barbarism broke out in East St. L[illegible] last week. The law was trampled upon, and civilization was outraged. Men, women and children, according to reports, were slaughtered, and not only their homes, but their bodies burned. We have not read of human butchery, not even that perpetrated in Europe or on the high seas, more heinous and black than that committed in East St. Louis last week. Who committed that crime? That question must wait for an answer. Upon investigation it might be determined who were the instruments by which the crime was committed. As to who were the real instruments in the matter is the smaller question. But as to who committed the crime is another question. That question looms large just at this time when America is engaged in a world war to redeem democracy, to safe guard the rights of nations and to guarantee protection and liberty to the weaker peoples of the world. At this time when America stands out as the champion of the noblest principles that have ever moved any nation to war; at this time when the material resources, best brain and bravest blood of the nation are laid upon the altar of this nation that it may lead the world out of chaos and blood to light, life, liberty and permanent universal peace and good will—at such a time as this—we say, the question as to who committed that awful crime at East St. Louis looms large. It is a question that cannot be left to East St. Louis to answer. It takes on a larger aspect. It cannot be pushed aside as a mere incident to the migration of the Negro to the North; because, in the first place, St. Louis is not a northern city; in the next place mere sectional lines or the moving of citizens of this country do not alter the principles, enunciated by President Wilson, that have moved this nation to war.

Who burned the homes, and dead bodies of innocent men, women and children last week in East S. Louis? Who stood out and watched women and children, fleeing from burning buildings, piteously screaming for their lives, and shot them down with less sympathy and consideration than they would shoot down rats? We have been told who it was that invaded Belgium and devastated the land, laid waste the resources and plundered the homes and heartlessly murdered innocent, helpless people. We have been told who committed the black and heinous crimes against humanity and civilization upon the high seas. And the loyal, brave sons of this great nation, black and white, do themselves honor and enrich the traditions of the past when they go forth to paint the battlefields with their blood and fill the air with their own dying groans in order that these wrongs may be avenged and the rights and liberties of weaker peoples be protected. But who committed the outrages and heartless, cruel barbarites in East St. Louis, beside which the invasion of Belgium pales into insignificance?

Who murdered and butchered innocent, helpless women and children in East St. Louis? Take time, think the matter through, investigate thoroughly, sift the matter to the bottom, then let us know who committed that heinous crime last week in East St. Louis. Don't halt the soldiers in their march to the front in France; for they are already late in getting there; don't check the speed of the program at the training camps, for this is no time for delay; don't take down the flags from the buildings, for the stars and stripes are beautiful to behold, and we need the added enthusiasm they inspire; don't cease those national airs and fine parades, for the thrill they give sends us faster toward our duty and makes us sometimes forget our own troubles. But who brutally burned, shot and butchered helpless, innocent citizens in East St. Louis last week?

TOLEDO OHIO BLADE
JULY 7, 1917

Guard Against Black Politics

Study of the East St. Louis slaughter has revealed that it was not due to race antagonism and economic competition so much as it was due to a vicious brand of politics. Local politics had used the negroes as the means to acquire office. Then when the negroes, taking advantage of the realization of their political power became insolent and offended the white population, politics switched position. It joined the forces seeking to "put the nigger in his place."

What is happening in the way of negro migration in southern Illinois is happening in smaller degree throughout the north. Not a city but has remarked the increase in negro population and been troubled by it. Not one but has a problem of negro housing on its hands.

Unless the greatest care is taken there will be repetitions of the East St. Louis horror in other northern communities. For the temptation to political exploitation is enormous, the means so eas[illegible] If the immigrants at East Louis can be bought [illegible] at a dollar or two a head, their brothers a[illegible] cousins elsewhere can be handled in the same wa[illegible] Where dollars are not used, concessions to run ru[illegible] shops will, official blindness to cock fights an[illegible] crap shooting, deliberate ineffectiveness in puttin[illegible] down the rowdy, the hold-up man and the thug.

Citizens with a thought to the maintenance [illegible] order and jealous as to the reputation of the[illegible] cities should watch for and suppress the first sig[illegible] of the political exploitation of the negro vote. [illegible] they do not, East St. Louis will be but the forerunner of a series of massacres.

Labor and the Negro

POST
CINCINNATI O
JULY 9, 1917

To what extent the race riots in East St. Louis are due to "labor agitators"—official or unofficial—will probably never be known.

But this may be set down as a fact—organized labor is as ready as anybody else to give the negro a square deal.

Every man who becomes a member of the American Federation of Labor obligates himself "never to discriminate against a fellow-worker on account of creed, color or nationality."

This is as high a standard as one can find anywhere; and, in a general way, it expresses the attitude of organized labor toward the negro thruout the entire country.

It is true that in some parts of the United States there is a prejudice against the negro among trade unionists, but whenever this is the case these trade unionists simply reflect the opinion of the so-called better classes of the community.

For example, in such communities, it is safe to say, it is easier for a colored man to join a white man's union than it is for a colored man to join a white man's church.

Ordinarily when there is a prejudice against the negro, either on the part of a workingman or any other kind of a man, it is due to the negro's character and not to his color.

LINCOLN, NEB., STAR
JULY 4, 1917

Any newspaper that attempts to discuss the race lawlessness of other communities than its own assumes a risk. When the Memphis mob some time ago burned a negro with accompanying orgies it invited much condemnation, none of which was more radical and severe than that of some of the St. Louis papers. The latter now have an opportunity to dig up those well-written editorials in castigation of Memphis and run them for the edification and enlightenment of the people of East St. Louis.

Gun Toting No Protection to Any Man

LOS ANGELES, CAL. TRIBUNE
JULY 10, 1917

A former assistant state's attorney in Chicago is advising negroes of that city to arm themselves for protection. No more unfortunate advice could he possibly give them. The carrying of firearms in densely populated centers in anticipation of trouble is one way, and a fairly sure way, to invite trouble. It fails of its professed purpose. It is not a protection. The un[illegible]n is safer than the one who is armed. Let it be known or suspected that a man is armed, and his least movement is under suspicion. No presumptions in his behalf are indulged. An armed man is ready to act on the impulse. So are his enemies and the possession of a firearm makes of him a personal enemy and a mark. Few men think or reason accurately with a "gun" hid away in the pocket. The "gun toting" habit is a fool habit at best.

DETROIT NEWS JOURNAL
JULY 4, 1917

CRIME BY IMITATION.

It remained for a northern state to outdo the south in lynchings. In point of numbers murdered, in sheer brutality and viciousness, the south has no record that will compare with that made at East St. Louis. It is a blot that Illinois can never wipe from its tablets.

Yet if justice were to be done this East St. Louis crime would be placed at the doors of the south. It was in that section that mob law was developed into a code It was there that men first were permitte to nourish the fiendish idea that lynchi was a virtue, that hanging negroes with due process of law argued a superior se of righteousness, that race hatred and tyranny were cutivated as a duty in cit ship. Had there been many men of high courage in public office instead of many men of feeble character, lynching would have been crushed at its first appearance. Had the south had any sense of responsibility toward the negro, had it desired to improve him, had it done anything else except to exploit his labor and maintain him in squalor and ignorance, the crimes held to be peculiarly negro crimes would not have occurred, tihs migration into the north would not have started, lynchings would have been unheard of.

The south can taunt the north for eclipsing it in savagery. It is a shame we feel and suffer. Yet what the north has done has been simply to flatter by imitation. The crime of lynching is still the southerner's crime. He devised it, developed it, gave it pridefully to the country as a sectiona product. However hard our sin, there is satisfaction in knowing that we were incapable of creating it.

Full Probe of Race Riot Under Way

Advertiser 7/5/17

(Associated Press)

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., July 4—A Federal investigation of race riots here in which 33 negroes and four whites were killed and approximately 310 negro homes were burned Monday by Col. George H. Hunter, chief quartermaster of the Central Division of the United States army. Col. Hunter is under instructions to make a full report of the trouble to Major Thomas H. Barry at Chicago, commandant of the Central Department.

The city was absolutely quiet today and residents for the most part remained in their homes.

Guardsmen On Duty.

More than 2,000 Illinois National Guardsmen patrolled the streets under orders to shoot if necessary. The citys Fourth of July celebration was called off and all saloons and theatres remained closed.

Three negro bodies were found today in Cahokia Creek, bringing the death list to 37.

Civil authorities began the work of collecting and preparing evidence to be presented to the grand jury when it convenes July 9. Only two of the 97 men arrested Monday night on charges of inciting to riot are being held. The authorities say that the ring leaders of the mobs are known and that action will be taken against them at the proper time.

To Probe Charges.

Governor Frank O. Lowden who was here last night and early today has promised the chamber of commerce a full investigation of charges of inefficiency and lack of discipline against the militiamen who were here during the height of the rioting.

Estimates were made by the authorities today that more than half of the city's negro population has departed.

THE WASHINGTON TIMES.

Roosevelt sitting on a platform with Gompers suggests that organized labor is responsible for the killing of colored men and women in East St. Louis.

Gompers justly advised him to investigate first and accuse afterward. The women and girls in East St. Louis guilty of dragging defenseless colored women and colored children from the street cars were certainly not organized labor men.

Let Mr. Roosevelt address capitalists that are willing to risk race riot and bloodshed if they can add a few dollars to dividends on their plants.—Editorial in the Washington Times, July 7, 1917.

Here is a jumble of facts, allusions and innuendo. Pin the writer down and he could truthfully say that he had said nothing false or immoral. This is the typical way of the demagogue and mob leader. Mark Antony made a speech like that which sent the Roman Empire down the toboggan slide.

The mob leader first tries to test the sentiment of the crowd by hints.

But the object of the Times editorial is transparent. Doubtless the colored people of Washington will make a note of it.

Mr. Roosevelt was quite right. There had been a cursory investigation, a newspaper investigation and report. His charge of indictment followed. Under our judicial system the trial, the real investigation, follows the indictment.

COWARDICE OR UNPREPAREDNESS?

TACOMA WASH NEWS
JULY 4, 1917

Illinois state troops are accused of cowardice in connection with the East St. Louis riots, but caretul analysis probably would reveal the difficulty merely as unpreparedness. Lack of discipline has accounted for many a poor soldier landing in the guard house. Instant obedience to orders—theirs not to question why—is not a development of days, but of weeks and steady months, thru which the soldier learns to have confidence in the man who gives the order and perfect faith in the unanimous support of his comrades. He becomes part of the machine. Until this machine-like obedience is brought about, a company of soldiers has not begun to reach its maximum. Until a nation sees the need of all the preparation that leads up to such machine-like operation it is in no state, either of mind or of body, to meet on the battlefield any nation of foresight.

THE MOB VS. THE LAW

Argus 7/1

There are two very vital questions confronting the American people in this country today, which should demand the attention of the best thinking people, to the end that they should rise in their righteous indignation and call a HALT. The mob spirit breeds contempt for law and order. Laxity in enforcing the law always encourages the violator. Argus 7/13/17

Human nature rebels against law and order. On account of the fact that man to man is so unjust, we have found it necessary to fill our statutory books to overflowing with legislation called law. Law is divine in its nature, in that it is no respecter of persons. It is strong and powerful when it is enforced, but weak and contemptible when neglected.

The mob watches the law, and is always ready to attack it whenever and wherever it shows weakness. Those who form mobs have seen for a half century that the law is weak so far as Negroes' rights are concerned. They have seen that the constable, the sheriff, the police, the judge and the jury have all fallen before the monster PREJUDICE, when called upon to enforce the law, where both races are involved. Prejudice always overbalances justice in favor of the mob.

During the recent outbreak of mob violence in East St. Louis, the officers of the law and the city officials gave license to the rioters by their partiality in favor of the whites. While the mob was forming, all Negroes seen upon the streets were searched for arms, while the white men were allowed to pass unnoticed. Negro homes were entered, searched, ransacked and looted by officers on pretense that arms might be found therein. All this was done before those who make up the mob. What more assurance should anyone need? The results were certain. Mob triumphs. Law hangs its head in shame.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

Victims Are Riddled as They Flee from Blazing Homes; Mob Disarms Militiamen

NYC HERALD
JULY 3 1917

Others Drop Back Into the Flames Rather Than Face Rain of Bullets—Estimates Place the Total Dead at from Fifteen to Seventy-Five.

WOMEN AND GIRLS, ARMED, JOIN IN THE ATTACK

[SPECIAL DESPATCH TO THE HERALD.]

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Monday.—Anywhere between twenty-five and seventy-five negroes and at least half a dozen white men have been killed in race riots that have startled this city since last midnight. Black Valley, the big negro quarter, was set afire by the mobs of whites and the flames have spread steadily until the business centre of the city is menaced at midnight.

The property loss was estimated by City Attorney Fekete at $3,000,000.

Forty injured negroes and six injured white men were in one hospital and almost an equal number in another.

The burning quarter is hemmed about by a ring of desperate and armed whites who are firing at every negro as he darts from his blazing home. Usually the fugitive's body is pierced by a dozen or more bullets before he has run twenty yards, and he crumbles up and falls in the flame swept street.

A reign of terror prevails. The police and the two companies of the National Guard that arrived this morning are powerless. Twenty-one more companies of the National Guard have been ordered here, and Adjutant General Frank S. Dickson is on his way from Springfield to take command.

Whites Disarm Militiamen.

The saloons were closed early in the afternoon, following a series of riots in the streets, in which three negroes and two white men were killed and in which white women and girls played a conspicuous part. The two companies of soldiers were powerless, as they had orders not to shoot. The whites took their rifles from them, telling them they might hurt some one.

Martial law was declared in the city at eight o'clock and the police, fighting against overwhelming odds, had gathered in three hundred white men and boys, most of them armed, and had them locked in the jail and at the City Hall.

Police activity inflamed the whites to even more drastic measures, and they marched upon the negro quarter prepared to set it afire. At the same time the negroes began to flee, and before dark Eads Bridge was congested with all kinds of conveyances carrying negroes and their goods across the Mississippi into St. Louis and another State.

Before seven o'clock fire had been set to at least twenty houses in the negro district, and the slaughter of the negroes began. As dark came on the flames spread, and at midnight the fire had spread so far that it was at the edges of the business section. The entire flame area seemed to be surrounded by a ring of white men, women and boys several deep. Most of them were armed. Even women and girls carried rifles and pistols. Every pawnshop in the city had been sacked for weapons by the mobs.

Flight Starts Fusillade.

As the flames would drive a negro—man, woman or child—from a dwelling, frequently their clothes burning, the mob would set up a great shout and rifles and pistols would be fired. So far no negro is known to have escaped. The whites have a merciless net about the negroes and the cry is:—

"Kill 'em all!"

Negro faces are seen at the windows framed in flames, and when they see what happens to those who flee from the burning structures they drop back into the fire rather than tempt a similar fate. Many are believed to have been burned to death, but their number may never be known. When the fire subsides it is a question if their bodies will be found.

However, it is known that fifteen negroes who fled from their burning homes have been shot and killed by the circling white mob. The number may be much higher, as the hemmed in district has a long circumference.

Firemen were working at top speed to confine the flames to the negro quarter and to save the business district, but they were harassed by the flying bullets from the weapons directed against the blacks.

Those who have the better interests of the city at heart are hoping that the additional State troops arrive before it is too late to save the city. It seems that when the mobs applied the torch to the negro quarter they drew lines across the streets and with rifles prevented the firemen from entering until the flames had gained such headway that they were beyond the control of the Fire Department. Then the scorched negroes began to flee from their homes and were shot as they ran.

Mayor Mollman, fearing the city would be destroyed by the spreading fire, called upon the firemen of St. Louis, across the river, for aid. The St. Louis firemen responded quickly and engines were on their way across the bridge when they were ordered back by Chief Swingley, of St. Louis. He had heard of the mob rule and would not consent to expose his firemen to bullets.

Mobs Overawe Police.

After midnight the mobs of whites ran wild through the streets. Here and there the police would seize a man and hustle him into the jail, but that only angered the mobs into greater fury. No attempt at any time was made to disarm the whites or to fire into their mobs.

At Police Headquarters it was said at midnight that there were at least twenty-five dead, and that the number might be one hundred. The only hope entertained was for the quick arrival of the ten additional companies of the National Guard. It was said that they would arrive before morning. It is expected that when Adjutant General Dickson realizes the seriousness of the situation he will order the troops to fire into the whites if they refuse to disperse.

The Adjutant General will find two companies of the National Guard here whose rifles have been taken from them by the mobs. The soldiers themselves say they could do nothing. They had strict orders not to fire in any circumstances. The rioters knew they had such orders and easily took the rifles from the soldiers. Those soldiers who resisted were pounced upon and beaten and their weapons were taken.

Negro Snipers Kill Four.

Some of the negroes not trapped in the negro quarter, locally known as "Black Valley," made reprisals upon whites. Negro snipers concealed at Ninth street and Missouri avenue had killed four white men a little after nine o'clock.

State Attorney Schaumloeffel, of St. Clair county, and Inspector Lawrence, of the St. Louis Police Department, made a tour in an automobile through East St Louis and the State's Attorney said that probably 250 negroes were killed.

While the fire was destroying all the negro houses in Black Valley, covering more than two square miles, another serious fire was started at Third street and St. Louis avenue. Forty frame houses there seemed doomed to destruction.

The rioting is a revival of the riots of a month ago, when the leaders of various labor unions found that many negroes were being imported from the South. The unions had been arranging for a big strike, and the negroes were induced to come here from the South to be ready to take the strikers' places.

Nearly five hundred negro men, women and children are quartered in the City Hall and the police station.

At frequent intervals all evening and until late to-night trucks brought negro refugees from burning sections to augment the cowering groups at the refugee buildings, where a strong guard of troops were stationed.

Terror spread among the men and women at half-past ten o'clock last night when all the lights in both buildings suddenly went out, owing to the destruction of electric wires in the downtown district.

When a report came to the military authorities that the negro inhabitants of Brooklyn, Ill., a city entirely populated by negroes, were moving on East St. Louis a truck full of militiamen was sent to the "black" bridge to meet any attack that might be attempted.

At the same time another truckload of soldiers was hurried to the corner near the Post Office, where negroes barricaded in upstairs quarters had been firing at soldiers standing guard in the street below.

Many Cars Destroyed.

The worst property damage was done along the tracks of the Southern Railroad Company, where the Southern Warehouse and between 100 and 150 cars, many of them loaded with merchandise, were consumed by flames. The damage there was estimated at between $300,000 and $500,000.

The Broadway Theatre, valued at $100,000, was destroyed, and at eleven P. M. the flames were moving steadily along the tracks, almost unhindered by the feeble efforts of the firemen, which were directed toward preventing the blaze from spreading to more important buildings.

Colonel Tripp, aid to the Adjutant General, stated that twenty-three companies of State troops would be in the city before midnight. The combined strength of the troops to combat trouble to-morrow, he said, would be several thousand.

Stringent regulations will be put into effect to curb crowds that may gather. All travel across the bridges leading from St. Louis to this city was stopped late to night.

Colonel Tripp early in the evening figured in the rescue of a negro who was being dragged down Broadway by a rope around his neck. An automobile bearing the Colonel and Mr. Fekete appeared when a mob was in the act of stringing the negro to a telephone pole. Colonel Tripp leaped from the automobile and persuaded the white attackers to desist from their design to kill the negro.

City Attorney Fekete later in the night saved the life of another young negro, who was running from a crowd which had fired a number of shots at him while the negro was plainly visible in the glare of burning buildings. Fekete placed the negro in his automobile, and, after arguing for ten minutes with the group of men, succeeded in gaining their consent to allow him to take the negro to the City Hall for protection.

C. W. Wallace, editor of a negro religious publication, says he and a negro physician were returning from St. Louis last night when they saw white motorists in Market street fire into negroes' houses. The neighborhood was aroused and the negroes armed themselves. Wallace said he did not see the negro mob fire on an automobile filled with policemen this morning, but he said a witness told him that the negroes thought when the police automobile stopped that it was the motorists.

Trouble Brewing All Day.

Trouble was brewing all Sunday and there were numerous clashes. Policemen in platoon formation charged all gatherings of negroes and at three o'clock this morning Mayor Mollman asked Governor Lowden to send troops. Two companies arrived at half-past nine o'clock and were sent into the negro quarter.

Quiet then prevailed in that quarter, but in the business centre the whites, emboldened by the absence of police and soldiers, attacked negroes wherever they were seen. Agitators, speaking at street corners, inflamed the mob.

While one agitator was speaking a harmless negro, an old resident, started to pass. A white man hit him a blow in the face. Others knocked him down and kicked him. As he lay in the street a white man pushed the crowd aside with his revolver and, deliberately taking aim, fired five times. Only two of the shots took effect, one in the arm and one in the leg. As the mob fell back the negro jumped up and ran.

A little later a white man standing in front of the Illmo Hotel fired at a negro, but missed him and wounded a white man, Louis Haege, aged sixty-five. The man who fired the shot was arrested, but the threatening mob forced the police to release him. Later a man who the police say was the one who shot Haege was found haranguing a street crowd.

EIGHTY-TW WHITES AND 23 NEGROES

The St. Louis Arg

Charged With Murder, Arson, Assault to Murder, Conspiracy to Incite Rioting and Malicious Mischief.

Argus

7/17/17

OFFICIALS INDOLENT AND COWARDLY

After taking testimony for thirty days, the St. Clair County (Illinois) grand jury returned indictments Tuesday against 105 persons for participation in the infamous race riots in East St. Louis on July 2.

Of the one hundred and five persons indicted, 82 are whites and 23 Negroes. Two of the indicted white persons are women. Names are being withheld until arrests are made.

The grand jury's inquiry was directed by Attorney-General Brundage, who was actively represented at most of the grand jury's sessions by Assistant Attorney-General Middlekauf.

There are 68 indictments, most of them naming more than one defendant, while in many cases one person is named in more than one indictment. There are nine indictments, charging 22 persons with murder; 11 charging 31 persons with conspiracy; 5 charging 27 persons with arson; 13 charging 69 persons with rioting; 26 charging 63 persons with assault to murder; 2 charging 4 persons with burglary; 1 charging 4 persons with malicious mischief, and 1 charging 1 person with arson for the purpose of defrauding.

Among the Negroes who have been arrested is Dr. Bundy, who was served with papers at the home of his father

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

in Cleveland, Ohio. Dr. Bundy is accused of leading the men who protected their homes on Sunday night July 1. This he denies, claiming to be several blocks away when the shooting occurred.

In returning its verdict the grand jury brought out the following facts:

One hundred persons were killed and 245 houses burned in rioting. The estimated loss by fire was approximately $300,000. Indolent officials, overawed by cowardly inclinations, remained inactive. Union labor created aversion to the Negro, causing race hatred. Shooting of policemen a plot of mob leaders to gain sympathy. Automobiles that caused trouble were riddled with buckshot, occupants known, but no arrest made. Plans to mob Negroes were openly held on Monday, but no effort made by officials to forestall the terrible carnage that followed. Lack of respect for law in East St. Louis.

The report also recommends that a state police force, or constabulary of 1,000 be established with power to move from one place in the state to another so they would not be affected by local prejudices or opinion.

The new bond law in Illinois makes the giving of bond in criminal cases a difficult matter and it is doubtful if many of those arrested will be able to secure their temporary release before trial. The county jail at Belleville is already overcrowded with the prisoners and the authorities have a problem to solve in providing for the 105 men who have been indicted.

WITNESS BLAMES INEFFICIENT POLICE FOR RACE RIOTING

ST. LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 3, 1917

C. E. Pope Tells Congressmen That Chiefs Have Been Unsuited to Tasks.

C. E. Pope, East St. Louis attorney, chairman of the "Committee of One Hundred," organized after the race riots of July 2, to restore order and to prevent other outbreaks, was the principal witness today before the congressional committee investigating the riots.

Pope said that Mayor Mollman had told him that at one time he had lost control of the situation and that at another time he lacked the co-operation of the police in putting down the uprising against the negroes.

Congressman Johnson then questioned Pope as to what the mayor insisted was responsible for the rioting. Pope's answer was that the only statements he had received from the mayor on that point was of the lack of co-operation of the police and that he had lost control of the situation.

"What is your general opinion of the cause of the riots?" asked Johnson.

"The inefficient police force of East St. Louis, due to the selection of inefficient police chiefs by Mayor Mollman," said Pope. "The selections of the mayor for the heads of the Police Department never suited the public in general."

Johnson then asked if the Committee of One Hundred was doing its duty, why certain citizens charged with making inflammatory speeches had not been indicted and prosecuted. Pope said he could not explain.

"Is there any influence to keep these men from being prosecuted?" asked Johnson.

"There is no influence powerful enough to save anyone connected with the rioting. I understand the state authorities are going to the bottom of this affair and that quarter will not be shown anyone," answered Pope.

Pope said he did not know if any additional indictments would be returned in connection with the riots but said that he understood detectives who had investigated the riots had made a second report which may result in more prosecutions. He added that the detectives employed to obtain evidence were no longer on the job.

Questioned why his committee did not try to obtain the name of an automobile which had been seen after the riots at Third street and Missouri avenue and which had been hit by several bullets, he said that he believed the officials were investigating the matter. The machine in question was one which it is believed was used by "joy riders" who shot up the negro district on the night before the riots.

Congressman Raker exhibiting much sarcasm questioned Pope as to what the Committee of One Hundred accomplished. Pope said that the committee had financed and brought about a reorganization of the Police Department and that it was through the efforts of the committee that the attorney general took up the riot cases.

"And what did the individual members of this committee do?" asked Raker. "Did they apprehend the guilty, ascertain the cause and then see that those responsible were punished? You have convinced me the individuals did nothing."

Raker dwelt on the riots of May 28 and 29 and forced Pope to admit through cross-questioning that inflammatory speeches made at a meeting prior to this outbreak was responsible in a great measure for the May 28 outbreak.

"Why were not the men who made speeches prosecuted?" demanded Raker. "Why hasn't action been taken against a certain gentleman who wanted a federal investigation but now is doing all he can to save rioters?"

Albert Towers, a Belleville, Ill., labor leader, yesterday told the committee that race feeling is prevalent throughout the United States and that the same conditions that brought about the East St. Louis riots will result in serious trouble elsewhere if not checked.

Towers, who witnessed part of the rioting of July 2, in which many negroes lost their lives and upward of $300,000 in property was destroyed charged that the soldiers could have checked the mob without much trouble. He said he witnessed one attempt to lynch a black and that a handful of soldiers checked the mob without even resorting to the use of their bayonets.

Congressman Raker questioned Towers closely as to the causes leading up to the riots. Towers testified there were many importations of negroes from the south to compete with white laborers; negroes invading white neighborhoods; murders, robberies, holdups and assaults of whites by negroes, and negroes forcing their way into public places frequented by whites. He said the failure of officials to check the lawless element both among the whites and negroes was a great contributory factor.

Towers was one of the star witnesses and occupied the stand the greater part of two days. The charge had been made that organized labor was responsible for the unrest. Towers answered this by pointing out that the packing house Aluminum Ore and street car track laborers' strikes were all of unorganized labor and were later settled by labor leaders. He denied that labor is prejudiced against the negroes and told of sitting in meetings and labor conventions with negroes. He said the purpose of organized labor was to better the condition of all laborers, both white and black, by increasing their wages, shortening their hours and improving their working conditions so they would be able to furnish better homes for their families and give their children an education.

He also charged that America lacks industrial democracy, and that many employers regard their workers are mere machines and do not treat them as citizens should be treated. He said the caste spirit is just as pronounced in the United States as in Europe except that over there they have titles.

DETROIT AND EAST ST. LOUIS COMPARED

Contrast of the Attitude of the Two Cities Toward the Negro Immigrants from the Southland

The Freeman

DETROIT WELCOMES, EAST ST. LOUIS MURDERS

7/21/17

Oscar Leonard, Superintendent of the Jewish Educational and Charitable Alliance of East St. Louis, says the Massacre of Negroes and the Burning of their Homes, is Purely Economic, Caused by the Rule of Low Politicians – Detroit has Assimilated a 100 per Cent. Increase in her Negro Population.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., July 20.—East St. Louis and Detroit are contrasted to the great disadvantage of East St. Louis, in articles in the current issue of The Survey, a New York weekly journal of sociology and economics, which contains articles dealing with the treatment of Negro immigrants by the two cities.

Oscar Leonard, Superintendent of the Jewish Educational and Charitable Alliance of St. Louis, discusses "The East St. Louis Program." Forrest B. Washington, Director of the Detroit League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, tells of "The Detroit Newcomers' Greeting."

Leonard concludes that the reason for the massacre of East St. Louis Negroes on July 2, and the burning of their homes is purely economic. The Negroes work for lower wages than the whites, and some will not join labor unions and most of them would not be admitted if they wanted to. "Such an element introduced into the community," he writes, "acts as a whip over the heads of the white workers." This, he thinks, is the main reason for the race antipathy in East St. Louis.

Politicians Use Undesirables.

The city, he says, is run to suit the lowest political elements. Saloons are numerous and gambling dens abound. The saloon element has been in control of the town. The undesirable Negroes, like the undesirable whites, have been used by self-seeking politicians. Evil dives have been permitted. Lawless Negroes have been protected.

Leonard quotes employers as denying that they have imported Negroes or even encouraged black immigration. The migration, according to these men, has grown from Negroes writing to friends in the South about the better wages to be had in East St. Louis.

Leonard's survey of the situation, from the viewpoint of large employers of labor and of labor leaders, is virtually the same as expressed by these men in interviews given to the Post-Dispatch on July 3, in explanation of the underlying cause of the riots.

Leonard relates how the Negroes took the place of white workers when there were strikes, and traces the development of the hatred which culminated in the massacre. He tells what the Red Cross and the charitable organizations of St. Louis did for the refugees.

Detroit's Assimilation of Negroes.

Washington relates how Detroit has welcomed and absorbed a 100 per cent. increase in its Negro population in the past twelve months, discussing the subject under the headings of employment, housing, recreation, crime prevention, co-operation and aids to efficiency.

The Detroit League, through its vocational bureau, has in the past 12 months placed 1,000 Negroes in employment other than unskilled labor. Cards directing immigrants to the vocational bureau were placed in the hands of Negro employes at railway stations.

Cigar manufacturers were induced to employ Negro women. One piant has been started which employs only Negro help. To solve the problem of the first week's board, a system of checks was arranged with certain factories, guaranteeing payment at restaurants and boarding houses.

A foundry company was induced to build low-priced homes for its Negro employes. Manufacturers were persuaded to take over the leases of disorderly houses, thus ridding neighborhoods of undesirables and providing homes for the Negro workers at the same time. Lists of vacant houses and rooms were kept.

For recreation, a 10-cent newcomers' community dance was inaugurated. A Young Negroes' Progressive Association, developed by the League, promoted the dance and other plans for providing suitable entertainment for newcomers. Committees circulate invitations and see that the newcomers get acquainted with the better element of Negroes.

Athletic features have been developed for the newcomers. Baseball has been the popular game. Teams have been created in the various industrial plants. Camp-fire girls have been organized. The expenses have been paid by the Young Negroes' Progressive Association from the proceeds of the dances.

Special Negro Policemen.

The League has persuaded the police commissioners to appoint a special policeman, selected by the League, to work among the newcomers. He regulates their conduct on the street and sends them to the League for employment.

Co-operation of the Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Health has been obtained in the improvement of the working and living conditions of the Negroes. Mothers' clubs among Negro women have taught immigrant women how to properly feed and clothe their children in a northern climate. Immigrants have been encouraged to join the Negro churches.

Riots-1917.

South Reaches New Crisis In Negro Affairs

TOCOMA WASH TIMES
JULY 3, 1917

What is the cause of the negro rioting which has brought a reign of terror in East St. Louis today? What is it all about?

Reliable reports indicate that the situation presents an issue as grave as any which the south has faced since the Civil war, and one which brings an immediate danger that the riots may be duplicated elsewhere.

The direct cause of the rioting is the great influx of negro laborers — many of them imported as strike-breakers—to the north during the last eight months. In this time about 350,000 of them have left their old homes, it is estimated. James W. Poe, president of the Colored Patriotic league, declares that one-third of a million negro laborers have moved from 12 southern states in less than a year, and that at least 73,000 of them have gone to Pennsylvania alone.

The coming of this horde of black workers to take the jobs of the whites led to the first mob outburst, several weeks ago, against the negroes in East St. Louis. This was declared unjustifiable because just before the mayor had addressed the labor leaders of the city promising to stop the immigration of the blacks. He also hinted, according to reports, that steps would be taken by deportation to relieve the situation.

The motive of the migration to the north has been the lure of higher wages, although the negro soon finds out that his higher wages are more than offset by the higher cost of living in the northern states.

And while the mobs are running riot in East St. Louis, and while the blacks apparently are meeting with more brutal treatment than they ever dreamed of in their southern homes, it is the south which is suffering most industrially.

The hundreds of thousands who have come north to work in war industries and mines are the hundreds of thousands needed to work in southern fields to help provide the nation with foodstuffs which can be grown in the 12 southern states. The sough right now is making desperate efforts to get her negroes back.

The south has been taunted for burning alive its 'bad niggers,' but the East St. Louis horror today appears to indicate that real race prejudice is just as strong, if not stronger in the north.

The responsibility for lawlessness and crime resulting from the present situation must rest largely with unscrupulous employers who have lured the negro to the north in the hope of breaking down existing wage scales.

'DESERTERS' SAY RIOT MILITIA LACKED FOOD

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 9, 1917

Two men of the Fourth Illinois Regiment, National Guard, who were arrested at Twelfth and Market streets at 3 a. m. today as "deserters," gave out a statement at police headquarters which throws light on conditions under which militiamen found themselves when sent to East St. Louis for riot duty last week.

The men are Harvey Strater, 21 years old, and Harold White, 23, both of Oledo, Ill. White said he spent nine months on the Mexican border and was willing to fight for Uncle Sam in France, but objected to firing on white men in East St. Louis.

He went home the evening of July 4, without permission, he said, because in the previous thirty-six hours in East St. Louis he had had just one meal; he and Strater had only one blanket between them and neither had a bed. White said he had five rounds of ammunition when he reached East St. Louis.

He said he rec[illegible] a telegram yesterday from Cap[illegible]n Burr, his superior officer, giv[illegible]im until 5 p. m., today to retu[illegible]o his company. He and Strate[illegible]re en route to East St. Louis w[illegible] arrested. They were held for C[illegible]ain Burr.

East St. Louis

SUPREME COURT OF ILLINOIS SUSTAINS DECISION OF LOWER COURT IN EAST ST. LOUIS RIOT CASES

Chicago Defender-6-29-18.

By J. M. BATCHMAN
Defender Staff Correspondent

St. Louis, Mo., June 28.—The decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois last week upholding the sentences of fourteen years each imposed by the Circuit Court of St. Clair county on the ten men convicted of murder in connection with the East St. Louis race riots last July has stunned the people of this city, who cannot realize the extent to which what they consider injustice in the great state of Illinois will reach. They had absolute confidence that this highest tribunal of Lincoln's state would correct what everyone considered an injustice, and while only a few are able to go into the legal phases of the case each and every one is capable of understanding that the Colored people of East St. Louis were placed on the defensive, and if any excesses were committed there were extenuating circumstances which in the nature of things temper justice with mercy.

The men, all of whom are serving sentences, are Fayette Parker, Nathaniel L. Peoples, George Roberts, Horace Thomas, Marshall Alexander, Dee Smotherman, Albert Hughes, Bud Townsend, William Palmer and Chas. Foster. Peoples died recently in the Chester penitentiary.

During the trial of these men it was made clear by the defense that at no time were they ever actually placed at the scene of the alleged murder, and the star witness in the case was a policy writing man who was kept secluded in the days preceding the trial and during the proceedings stayed at a white hotel in Belleville. In the days following the trial of these men, who were the first to be placed in jeopardy, no equal number of white men were given life sentences and those few who suffered as a result of the night's orgy in the great majority of cases got off with comparatively light sentences. The result of the whole affair has been to cause many people to question whether or not legal precedure in the particular section affected, as well as some others, is not susceptible to racial prejudice, and if a trial strictly on the law and evidence is not, for the present, beyond all expectations.

The East St. Louis riot bore all the earmarks of having been carefully planned. Telephone messages flew thick and fast during the day and many evidences of something unusual portending were at hand. Race men were attacked on their way from work and the story of what followed in the night is known on every tongue. Colored men sought to protect their lives; that they should do so is true to all creation; less is expected of no living creature; yet in the days that have followed Race people who were innocently seeking to preserve their lifetime savings have been handed the short end of the corrective measures used to secure justice. The Race people in this city have not had their previous opinion of fairness strengthened as a result.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will no doubt take the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, and while it is unusual for a court to reverse a decision of a lower court there is confidence in the fairness of this tribunal of last resort. These men have shown how necessary it is for our institutions to be upheld by a strict interpretation of the statutes in the segregation decision, which was written by that grand man, Chief Justice White, a Democrat, of Louisiana. Here the representative blue blood of the Anglo-Saxon came to the surface and emulated its fairness of which they boast. These are the men who in the end must weave the thought which will make the world safe for democracy. The East St. Louis riot situation will not be settled until the guilty are punished and the innocent freed.

RIOTING

The Savannah Tribune 9/11/17

Rioting continues in several of the larger industrial centers at the North, and as has been pointed out by The Tribune, is not altogether unexpected.

The great masses of industrial workers, embracing all the lines of unskilled labor, the thousands and thousands of toilers in factories, founderies, mines and the myriad sweatshops which go to make up the manufacturing industries of a nation, are a morbid unmoral lot of people, as a rule. We say unmoral, advisedly, because these great groups of Americans are not so much unthinking, as that they are arbitrarily unreasonable and reckless unmoral. Their cult and their creed engender in the young and encourage and intensify in the mature, an innate antagonism to everything, to every class and to every individual outside themselves. These people have never known the sense of fairness, of freedom and of opportunity; they have not conceived or contemplated the principles of equity, equality and right; they have had no vision of sacrifice, unselfishness and national spirit or fellow-feeling. Their natures have been fed from infancy on the doctrinaire of unionism in its most depraved conceptions and interpretations; their children have grown in an atmosphere of repugnance to every interest save their own; they have always been taught to resent and to hate those more fortunate than themselves and that these fortunes were built on cheap labor and the hard industrial conditions of the toilers, rather than upon commercial genius and business acumen. For generations this creed has been growing and developing and organizing, until now we have a powerful human force known, by a sort of fiction, as Labor, which wields a terrible and sinister influence in American life. Violence, bloodshed, burning, pillage and a wanton disregard for the rights of property and individuals are manifestations of their displeasures; no interests can supersede, contravene or even delay their own under pain of some outbreak of strike or violence. Arbitration, which is their right and should be their remedy, is only resorted to when they know their claims will be met. Arbitration has no binding effect, either in morals or in law, when its awards are not as liberal toward their own contentions as in their own narrow judgment and estimates they deem they should be; they exact every consideration, they make no concessions.

These unionists are not particularly interested in efficiency or economy; their preachment is ever and eternally higher wages, shorter hours and less work, and absolute monopoly of employment and control over all conditions. The right to work is to be extended only to such as in their whims may be entitled.

Their influence in American life is momentuos and terrible. Society is prejudiced in their favor and sympathizes with them, violence and plunder notwithstanding; their vote is the greatest single factor in politics and their judgment of candidacy and policy always reverts to the attitudes of candidates toward labor and the legislation labor seeks.

These are the great leavers of labor and it is with these that it has upset American industry and established a mean, unsound and unjust standard of opportunity for American working people.

The government has temporized with the vagaries of labor, if it has not even

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

judged them. Changing political regime, the bid for the labor vote and graft have influenced governmental attitude and dealing not a little. A labor leader, more notorious than influential, in a recent strike in Schenectady at the employment of a Negro expert on the same floor with white men, hastened to cite that the attitude of his constituents was based upon precedent set by the government. The government discriminates for them, and why shouldn't they do so for themselves? Thus we have the anomalous situation of a free government, a nation claiming to fight for democracy and democratic ideals, fathering and fostering an unwarranted and unwieldy institution like discrimination.

Is it to be wondered at that we have these sporadic outbursts in spots where there is some occasion and pretext? Isn't there almost always, if indirectly, at hand the suggestion to "strike"? Violence is one of the natural manifestations of the aggrieved, and is indirectly attributable to the cause of grievance.

This then is the psychology of the "mob", an organism, at once, ignorant, indulged and immune; it transgresses all law, natural and prescribed; it arrogates to itself all concession, it is without reason and excuse; it is the enraged, infuriated, blood-scenting and untethered beast raving and frothing in the market place of people and property.

As bloody and ruthless as mobs are; and as much as our people have suffered from them, they have not been without their obejct lessons and teachings:

Out of them Negroes derive some advantages from their misery and death, they learn the ways and unreason of abandoned men and institutions, they learn to adapt themselves to the conditions which these entail, and to prepare to meet and protect themselves from hardships, they learn the value of unity and organization, they learn the awful necessity and the supreme power of the suffrage and the grave calamity and misfortune of disfranchisement, they learn the high value of thrift and frugality from knowing the extremities of poverty,—they learn that industrial free country, whose highest aim is to encourage members of the race to become business factors in every line of commercial endeavor, in order that the race may have permanent standing in the business world.

The writer of this weekly letter, who happens to be the state secretary of the Georgia Negro Business League is receiving daily many encouraging letters, not only from the men of the state who are co-operating with the national officers in their efforts to have Georgia give its full quota strength to the league this year, but he is receiving many letters of congratulations from the national officers themselves upon what the have a right to expect that Geogia will do in this regard.

One of the noteworthw aspects

DR. L. N. BUNDY MAY BE ALLOWED CHANGE OF VENUE

St Louis Argus

Trial Set For Next Tuesday. Several Hundred Persons Make Affidavits That He Can Not Get a Fair Hearing In St. Clair County. Eight Whites Now On Trial

11/16/17

The trial of Dr. LeRoy N. Bundy, who is charged with rioting in East St. Louis on the night of July 1, when two police officers were killed by Negroes, has been set for Tuesday Nov. 20, in Judge Crow's court at Belleville, Ill. Dr. Bundy has been in the St. Clair County jail since brought back to Belleville on an extradition issued by Governor Cox of Ohio.

Attorneys Webb and Zerweck of Belleville, Thomas Webb of East St Louis and Homer G. Phillips of St Louis have been retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to handle the case for the defense.

When the case is called Tuesday morning, Dr. Bundy's attorneys will ask for a change of venue and the probabilities are that the request will be granted and the case taken from St. Clair County. Several hundred persons have made affidavits that there is such widespread prejudice in the county against Dr. Bundy that he cannot get a fair trial there.

The trial of Mayor Fred W. Mollman of East St. Louis on an indictment charging misfeasance in office, in connection with the riots has been set for Thursday Nov. 22, but this will in all probability be postponed. Four white men convicted of murder were taken to the Chester Penitentiary, last week; ten Negroes had been previously sent up.

Eight Whites Now On Trial

Of the eight white men on trial this week, five have been identified and Prosecutor Farmer has announced that charges in this case against the other three will be dismissed. The men will however, be held on other charges pending against them.

Negro On the Jury

348 talismen were examined before the twelve men were accepted to try the cases. One of the jurors selected was Edward Sims, a Negro teamster of Belleville. It is said that Sims is so light in color that no notice was taken of his race.

Judge Crow permitted three white men to enter pleas of guilty, to the charges of rioting, last Monday and he sentenced each to 30 days in jail, the minimum penalty. The regularity with which these cases are being disposed of has caused much comment and there has been no lack of bitter expressions on the subject.

The Congressional Investigation

The Congressional Committee which is investigating the riots, in East St. Louis, has spent the past week probing into the corrupted condition of the present city administration. The political grafting of Mayor Mollman and his chief aid Locke Tarlton, has been a revelation to the Government Representatives and it is freely predicted that the testimony will be taken before the Federal Grand Jury.

Bundy's Bond Fixed by Court at $24,000

Chicago Defender

Bondsman Must Qualify for $48,000; Appeal Is Filed for Other Defendants

Dec. 22, 1917.

By J. M. BATCHMAN
Staff Correspondent

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Dec. 21.—Dr. Leroy N. Bundy, the prominent East St. Louis dentist, who has been in the Belleville jail for several weeks, charged with murder in connection with the killing of Coppedge and Wodley during the July riots, will be released from jail on bond if he can get a bondsman who can qualify for the sum of $48,000. There is no doubt but that the bond was set at this staggering figure simply to make it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for Dr. Bundy to gain his freedom pending the trial.

The bond is for two charges of murder at $10,000 each and an additional $2,000 for each of two conspiracy charges, making the total of $24,000 in all. The bonds are to be returnable to the March term of the Monroe County Circuit Court, to which Bundy has been given a change of venue.

Many person think that the authorities have given further evidence of their intention to make it as hard on Dr. Bundy as possible. The bond asked of him is so far in excess of that known in any other of these cases that there is no comparison. The Colored people feel this thing is unjust, not merely because of the fact Dr. Bundy is the sufferer, but because the apparent one-sided nature of the justice which has been meted out gives these cases an added racial character. They feel the results which should have been secured should have given more severe penalties to white men.

Appeal Filed

Through Judge Brown of Chicago one of the leading lawyers in the west the transcript for an appeal in the case of the ten men convicted in the first trial has been filed. It is the intention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which organization is making the fight for these men, to give the defendants the advantage of the very best for this purpose, and while the response has been nothing like it should be, the officers are grateful to those who have rallied to their assistance.

People Apathetic

It is difficult to understand at this point what ails the Colored people of the country. They either seem indifferent to their own welfare, or else they do not appreciate how seriously these riot trials affect their personal interests. They do not seem to know that if a reasonable measure of justice can be secured in these cases, and the hydra-headed monster, prejudice, defeated, the moral effect of such a victory would exert a wonderfully healthful influence on public sentiment everywhere. It is highly important that we should be generous in our contributions to this cause.

MORE THAN 100 INDICTED IN EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS

AUG 16 1917

RACE DISORDER DELIBERATELY PLOTTED, SAYS GRAND JURY.

Propaganda of Intolerance Spread by Agitators—Police Held Largely at Fault—Constabulary Recommended

BELLEVILLE, Ill., August 15 (by A. P.).—Sixty-eight indictments against 105 persons, the charges including murder, arson, conspiracy, rioting, and assault with intent to murder, were returned yesterday by the grand jury, which has been investigating the race riots in East St. Louis, July 1 to 3.

The report of the grand jury said: "We believe the riots, at least the occurrence which led up to them, were deliberately plotted. Indolent public officials heard the rumblings, but overawed by cowardly inclinations remained inactive.

"We have found it obligatory to indict a high police official. An attorney at law accused of making an inflammatory speech advocating mob violence, has been summoned by an indictment to answer the charge.

"We believe that the riot was caused by a propaganda of intolerance which the races were taught to have for each other. During the last two years there has been an influx of negroes estimated at 8,000. This influx was brought about largely through the advanced prices of labor and the demand for labor in East St. Louis. There is, we believe, sufficient work for those who desire to work and at good wages."

The report says that a strike was won at the aluminum works by white men, but that in February of this year, the same workers again struck for higher wages, and "the discovery was then made by the workers that the large influx of negroes had put them at a disadvantage in dealing with employers."

"That employers abused this situation," the report continues, "seems to us to be a warranted charge."

ACTIVITIES OF AGITATORS.

The report takes up in detail the growing antagonism between the two races thus made economic competitors, and says agitators worked to create trouble by spreading reports that both sides were arming. The report continues:

"On Sunday, July 1, a large number of negroes were attacked near the Free Bridge. Throughout the afternoon hundreds of negroes gathered at the premises of Dr. Bundy, a recognized leader of colored people, in East St. Louis. Whether Dr. Bundy and his followers were of the honest opinion that they were obliged to employ arms for protection or whether Dr. Bundy was the paid tool of the agitators, we were unable to discover.

"We are satisfied, however, that a wicked plot was formed to bring on the riot, the scheme being that if the police of East St. Louis could, by having their officers shot, be made to sympathize with the action of the mob, it could carry out its purposes without interference."

The grand jury recommended that there "should be a greater degree of tolerance between the white population and the colored population; that the whites should recognize that the menial services of the negro are necessary; that while the Caucasian is progressing as a skilled workman the negro is only developing, beginning with the unskilled labor hitherto performed by aliens.

"To establish a demand for skilled mechanics, unskilled labor must be performed, and the negro should be encouraged in his efforts. On his part, the negro should recognize that coöperation with the whites is indispensable to his success, and that his advancement lies in this direction, and not in listening to agitators of unrest."

The grand jury report recommends in sections from one place to another the establishment by the State of a constabulary of 1,000 or more trained State policemen, on constant duty, to be moved to enforce all laws, so that they would not be affected by local prejudice and opinion.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots – 1917

Militia In Control Of E.St.Louis

St Louis Argus. 7/11/17

Thursday evening, May 31, after three days of spasmodic rioting, everything seemed to be quieted down into East St. Louis. The trouble started nearly two months ago when the strike was called at the Aluminum Ore Works and strikers were displaced by Negroes. It is said that a movement was immediately set on foot by the unions to stop importation of the Negroes, because it was feared that they would be used by employers in the event of strikes which were scheduled to take place in the early summer. Several meetings have been held and everything that could be brought into play, except mob violence, had been exhausted. During these six or eight weeks of the strike, the Negroes were getting a firmer hold on the industrial situation; and strikers were getting weaker and hungrier each day. Many of the industries have declared against unions; and the Negro labor, honest and conscientious, was fast winning the hearts of the managers of the firms.

On Monday night a meeting was called at the City Hall by the strikers and an appeal was made to the Mayor to do something for the hungry crowd or something would be done by it. The blame for the situation was shifted from one source to another. Some said it was the manufacturers; others laid it on the Negroes; and still others said it was the railroad. So there was a division among them. It was suggested during the meeting to "get" the railroad men; and another was to "drive out the Negroes and we will get our jobs back with higher wages." This latter suggestion seemed to meet the popular chord. By this time the eloquence of the agitators had made the mob ferocious. Coincident with the dismissal of the meeting, a report was circulated, into the already inflamed minds of those present, that two Negroes had killed a white man. This acted as a signal to go get the Negro. The crowd marched to the intersections of all street cars which run into Broadway near the bridge, and there they gathered sticks, rocks and bricks and attacked every Negro seen coming or going, on the cars. The Negroes were caught unprepared to defend themselves; and most of them found on the streets were assaulted by the mobs. No fatalities were reported.

Argus Reporter on the Scene Early Tuesday Morning and mingled with the crowd that made up the mob and as they formed little groups and discussed their plans for the coming night, of course everybody with a white face was accepted as an enemy of the Negroes; and there was no hesitancy in telling just what they were expecting to do that night. Those that made up the mob showed their usual cowardice by urging the police and the city officials to disarm the Negroes. The police were the principal ones appealed to. In some instances the police were heard to say, "Boys, I am with you." This especially applies to the uniform men, as the plain clothes men seemed to try to do their duty by advising the mob to disperse; and on several occasions told them that the Negroes were arming themselves and "hell" would be to pay if they went down in the Negro settlement.

Negroes Being Searched.—The Negroes woke up to the situation Tuesday and fully realized just what they were up against, when all Negroes who attempted to cross the Mississippi River to St. Louis were searched for arms and it was stated that the Mayor of East St. Louis, at the request of the mob, had telephoned the Chief of Police of St. Louis to issue an order to prohibit the sale of arms and munition to Negroes. This order was soon put into effect and Negroes were refused arms at the stores, but somehow they seemed to find quite a large number anyway. Another difficulty met by Negroes was on their return to East St. Louis. Police searched every Negro who passed over the two main bridges; and as a result, many of them were caught with the "goods" on them. One auto of arms was sent by the way of the McKinley Bridge; and many other schemes were devised by the Negroes in their effort to protect themselves.

Beat at Own Game.—A little meeting was called and it was told how the Colored people were being discriminated against; and it was suggested that members of the colored race who were of light complexion could easily pass and repass unmolested; and that was a solution to the problem.

On Tuesday night one of the Argus reporters mingled with the crowd and saw the military men come on the scene. They, too, were seen and heard to say, "We don't have to see everything." Several military men were arrested by the E. St. Louis police plain clothes men for inciting the riot. The members of the mob only moved in a small area, for they were afraid. After several attempts to get a leader, it was suggested to go get "Ruby." Ruby seemed to be a notorious character; and Ruby came with a gun in her hands and the mob cheered and she started toward the Negro settlement. No one tried to disarm her, but she went a few blocks and when she was told that "death was down the hill" she stood and attempted to discharge the gun in the direction that she wanted to go, but the gun failed to go off. She turned and swore and threw it on the street and that was the end of "Ruby."

There has been much said about the work of the mob. What they did to the Negro was much exaggerated. As soon as the Negro was able to arm himself and protect his home, the whims of the mob were no longer a terror. One prominent colored man was heard to say, that "as long as the state or United States troops do not disarm us, we are able to take care of ourselves." He stated, however, that the Negroes were not given protection. The St. Louis Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took the matter up with the Governor of Illinois and made the charge that the Militia was discriminating in favor of the whites. It is also understood that a committee waited on the Chief of Police of St. Louis to protest against the discrimination on the part of the police in searching all Colored people returning over the bridge while the whites were allowed to go unmolested. The Chief promised to correct this condition.

AMERICAN WOMEN AS LYNCHERS.

Guardian 7/7/17

We give our editorial space to news and opinions by others of the race massacre at East St. Louis. The selfish greed of organized labor which not only seeks to set wages but to see that no Colored workers secure desirable employment is the main cause of the bloodiest of all notorious atrocities committed against Americans of Color in the United States of America. The heated reply to the protest sent to Samuel Gompers by the National Equal Rights League, Boston Branch, against the slaughter of innocent Colored men and women at East St. Louis, Illinois, begs the question where it does not in effect substantiate the League's accusation. The national secretary of the American Federation of Labor sends a reply which dwells upon the failure of the new Colored workers to join the unions. What has that to do with the massacre by the white workers?

The way was made the easier by the police and federal troops who first took weapons from the Colored people's homes and then supremely permitted the whites to murder the Colored.

But the worst development of all was that of white women into murderesses and lynchers even of Colored women. What next?

East St. Louis

TROOPS REMAIN IN EAST ST. LOUIS

The St. Louis Argus.

An Appeal By Business Men To Secretary Baker Brings Desired Results. Plants Operating With Full Force. Leading Citizens Say Place Is Safe But Employees Are Doubtful.

7/27/17

Last week when it was learned the troops would be withdrawn from East St. Louis July 25, to be mustered into the regular army, it caused quite a deal of unrest among the white as well as the Colored people of that city. As a result quite a number of Colored people moved their families away in anticipation of another outbreak.

The business men, becoming alarmed at the seriousness of the situation, immediately sent a committee to Springfield to consult Ajt. General Dickerson; also to Chicago to consult Major Gen. Barry, commanding the Central Army Division, and to Secretary of war Baker, requesting that the companies be permitted to remain.

The members of the committee wired the heads of the firms Saturday that their request had been granted and to give every assurance to their Negro employees that they would be amply protected and also give the matter the widest possible publicity.

This seemed to have an tendency to quiet things down and the plants have been working full force during the past week.

ARGUS REPORTER INVESTIGATES

After making several trips to the East Side and thoroughly investigating the riot and the conditions that led up to it, an Argus reporter finds, according to the best information obtainable, that it was a "hired''' mob, backed by the Police and City Officials, and that the labor unions saw their plans to tie up the big commercial industries would be futile unless they suceeded in dispensing with the Negro labor. There is also an idea prevalent among the manufacturers that German influences have been conspicuous around all plants contributing to the necessities of war.

Rev. De Shields, pastor St. Paul Baptist Church of East St. Louis, advised the people, in a sermon last Sunday, to return to their homes as he had received every assurance that they would be protected and those who had lost property, such as clothing and furniture, would be replenished free.

This opinion voices the sentiment of all the leading citizens, but the laboring classes are inclined to doubt, and are slow about returning.

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH

JULY 6, 1917

The Shame of East St Louis

To the Editor of the Post-Dispatch.

Carlos F. Hurd's article in today's (Tuesday) Post-Dispatch is a masterpiece of fact. There is not one word in it that is not expressed mildly. I congratulate you for being connected with a man so fearless, capable and honestly fair. I know—I saw.

As he said one round of steel would have stopped the whole thing at the start. But those who were in charge really encouraged the mob. Your estimate of 21 killed was strangely out of line, it was nearer 221.

What a difference in Mr. Hurd's fearless description of the "women of the baser sort" and a morning paper insult to the sainted Joan of Arc by speaking of these vile creatures as "Modern Joan of Arcs."

I am ashamed of my color, ashamed of my race, ashamed of my State and disgusted with my city and its spineless (or worse) officials.

Mr. Editor, if the Post-Dispatch has any influence, let it hammer ceaselessly for a real investigation and punishment of those guilty savages who are responsible for last night's murder and arson. Who are we to condemn Germany when we permit such outrages in the "Christian Land of Civilization." Last night I saw two grand schools and two fine churches in the light of the flames and I thought of how proudly we boast of our fine education and Christianity and love of humanity. It is to laugh.

EAST ST. LOUIS AT NORMAL STRIDE!

A Revulsion of Sentiment Among Financial and Civic Leaders Presages no Good for the Rioters

STATE TO MAKE A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION!

The Riots were Caused by the Resentment of Organized Labor to the Movement of Colored Labor to Meet the Stringency in the Labor Market, to do a Class of Work which White Men Refused to do—Large Packing Houses are Handicapped in Getting out War Orders for the Army and Navy.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., June 8.—East St. Louis has settled down from the orgy of last week, which was well colored by the press, though the conditions were such that should not obtain anywhere where the officials show a disposition to see that the precepts of the law are obeyed. For many years the east side has furnished entertainment for those who are disposed to lead the gay life, even when conditions in this city had been toned down to meet the demands of the public conscience. Naturally, where there has been a laxity in the enforcement of the law, it takes some time for any community to arise to meet changed conditions and it is easily responsive to outbreaks such as the riots which began last Monday. Now the reckoning must come and accounts be balanced.

Those in authority did not do their full duty by the colored people; discriminations were shown in making arrests and searching men and women for weapons. The white were not bothered much in this respect, though they were the aggressors and the colored people naturally feel that they did not get a square deal. The riots were caused by the resentment of organized labor to the movement of colored labor to meet the strengency in the labor market and do a class of work which white men refused to do; the influx of these people from the South was viewed with a sense of danger and after a period of agitation and a perfect setting of the stage, the affair broke out and where the law failed to curb the disorder, armed colored men met the mob with determined resistance to the extent the community viewed the situation with alarm and a revulsion of sentiment resulted. The papers of this city have been generous in their criticism of the affair, and are no doubt responsible for much of the awakening of the public conscience as the following editorial from an issue of the "Globe-Democrat" shows:

East St. Louis' Race Riots.

"Our information as to the new Negro migration from the South to the North has heretofore been voluminous, but virtually all from one end. The departure of the Negroes from Southern communities has been resisted, labor agents have been threatened with violence and laws of doubtful validity passed or recommended to hamper withdrawals, which have been left some sections short of help.

"In the East St. Louis riots we get a view of the migration from its other end. A meeting of union leaders at the city hall to protest against the Negro arrivals, estimated at 6,000 or 8,000 in East St. Louis in the last few weeks, was assured of the active co-operation of the municipal officials in discouraging the movement, but on dispersing the participants learned of a hold-up by a colored highwayman a few moments before. Attacks on all Negroes found on the streets and on Negro property were at once begun, continuing on the following night.

"If the coming of these colored laborers is to be resented as bitterly in Northern communities as their leaving is resented in Southern communities, how is the migration movement to be dealt with? In the interruption of European immigration these Negroes have been drawn from their former homes by a demand for workers in industries, many of which are important to war-making. How is the movement so to be regulated as to take only the South's excess of Negroes, without interfering with cotton and food production? Doubtless the problem of a proper distribution of civilian labor will assume even more serious phases before the war is over.

Should the influx of Negroes accentuate race prejudice and create at the North some of the evils heretofore distinctive to the South, a duty is imposed on the North to combat them much more effectively than the South has combitted them. A rioter declared Monday night that "there is no law against violence" in certain cases. Perpetrators of race outrages should be made to know that there is such law and that it will be drastically applied."

The riots have caused a withdrawal of a number of the more timorous laborers who recently arrived; the number, while sufficient to affect to an extent commercial life, has been of no such proportions as the influx. Sentiment among the colored people is toward remaining on the firing line until the situation solves itself, which it is rapidly doing. Business in a number of lines has been injured and the purchasing power of the population reduced so it shows in the weekly balances; the rioters have made no offer and are unable to replace them. Frank A. Hunter, general manager of the Swift packing plant, said: "We have lost 300 Negroes out of 700 we had working in our plant. If this thing keeps up we will have to close down, for the Negroes do work we cannot hire white men to do, and our skilled workmen cannot continue without some one to do the other kind of work." Robert E. Conway, of the Armour plant, said they had lost 100 hard working men who were as glad to get the good wages they paid as they were to get the workers. He continued, "We are working as fast as we can on contracts for the United States army and navy, and if a considerable portion of our force is driven out of the city it will interfere with the most important of all our war munitions—the food." Morris & Co. make a similar report. In this connection it will be interesting to consider how long the government can tolerate such a condition and what of the patriotism of those inciting the riot.

The St. Louis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is making investigations and preparing to add its quota to the effort to make a repetition of such a thing in this section dangerous if not impossible. The Illinois State Council of Defense has taken action and the labor committee, consisting of Dr. Frank Billings, of Chicago; John H. Harrison, of the Danville (Ill.) Commercial-News, and John H. Walker, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, are expected in East St. Louis in a few days to begin, what is said will be, a sweeping investigation to determine the causes of the riot and bring the persons responsible for it to justice. Mr. Harrison has the distinction of coming from a city which sent a carload of rioters to the Illinois penitentiary several years ago when the name of Sheriff Whitlock was fresh in the minds of the entire country, and his paper was stout in its denunciation of mobocracy and for complete justice and respect for the law. The others are of the highest reputation and are national characters.

The riot was a failure in so far as causing intimidation of the colored people was concerned; it has failed from an economic standpoint; it has fallen flat in that it aroused the champions of fair play, who are usually dormant under normal conditions. It has convinced the labor leaders that their cause cannot be promoted by appeals to prejudice and hampering the output of necessary commodities in such a crisis as the country is facing today. It has brought the sober thought of the city and country more forcibly to foresee that the Negro is destined to play an important part at home as much so as on the firing lines, if the allies are to dictate conditions for permanent peace with Germany; this cannot be done with curtailing the labor supply of any community and arousing racial antipathy. Good will result from the East St. Louis incident.

RELIEF FUNDS PAYABLE TO N. A. A. C. P.

The St. Louis Argus 7/6/17

Churches to Take Up Collection Sunday For Unfortunates

All persons desiring to make donations of clothing or money to be used in relieving the refugees from East St. Louis, should report same to Wm. H. Hoffman, Y. M. C. A., 2702 Lawton, or A. E. Malone, Poro College 3100 Pine Street. Nearly all the ministers of the city, and all are requested to, will take up collections Sunday in their churches and turn same over to the Association.

Refuse Drivers Donate $52.25

The City Refuse Drivers have shown their sympathy for the East St. Louis victims by raising $52.25 and distributing it among those known to be destitute. The committee consists of C. Cunningham, A. C. Cummings, C. Clements, Ed. Anderson, P. Gibbs, A. Edmonds, F. Green, Wm. Bates and J. Pirce.

FREE LEGAL COUNSEL OFFERED TO NEGROES OF E. ST. LOUIS

All whose homes were fired upon by the mob in the East St. Louis riot, or were injured or had relatives injured or killed, may get damages, free if wanted. Apply to William F. Fahey, Secretary Bar Association, Room 609, Third Nat. Bank Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

MURDER CHARGES FOR 6 COLORED, 4 WHITE

ISSUED BY CORONER'S JURY AT LOCAL INVESTIGATION OF E. ST. LOUIS RACE MASSACRE—GOV. LOWDEN PROMISES AID TO COLORED WHO LOST BELONGINGS—NATION-WIDE PROTESTS.

The Guardian, 7/28/17

Race News Column.

Four white men and six Colored are charged with murder in mittimuses issued by the coroner's jury investigating the race rioting in East St. Louis on July 2.

Gov. Frank O. Lowden has assured the Citizens' Committee composed of Rev. John W. Robinson and others that he would do everything in his power to aid the Colored citizens who lost their belongings during the riots at East St. Louis.

Gov. Lowden has signed a bill making it unlawful to produce moving pictures calculated to arouse race prejudice.

Protests in regard to the East St. Louis riots have been made by Colored citizens the country over. The Texas Negro Business League has appealed to the President. The Colored ministers of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware have drafted a memorial to Congress. Colored citizens of Springfield, Mass., have addressed vigorous protest to the President. New Yorkers held a great protest meeting and the Colored citizens of Worcester, Mass., passed resolutions at the A. M. E. Zion church, Rev. I. B. Walters, pastor.

Georgia.

The fight on the white "tenderloiners" who were sought to be moved into Colored neighborhoods, west of Broad street, by the police department, has been won to the great honor and splendid loyalty of the Colored citizens of Savannah, Ga.

The Georgia Sheriffs' Association has protested and asked relief from the unpleasant duty of having to ride in "Jim-Crow" cars while delivering Colored prisoners from one town to another.

Gov. H. M. Dorsey in his inaugural address said that more must be done for the education of the Colored people by the State of Georgia. Thousands have left the State he says and more will leave unless they are given a square deal.

Ohio.

Colored residents of Yorkville and vicinity have been threatened with lynching unless they leave the community. The U. S. has promised assistance for the Colored.

Paul Lawrence Dunbar Murphy, nephew of the poet, has been assigned to Wilberforce by the commission which has lately been reorganized and has in hand the establishment of a series of scholarships to bear the name of the poet.

Oklahoma.

W. Scott Brown of Muskogee shot and killed himself because he was unable to get a place as an officer in the army owing to the mis-sending of his papers for the iJm-Crow training camp. Brown served as a lieutenant in the 10th Illinois Immunes.

Texas.

Eight Colored men who walked from Longview to Dallas (125 miles) to enlist in the army were refused as the government "are taking no Negroes."

Henry Sawyer of Brooklyn, N. Y., was taken from the county jail at [illegible]ton and hung to a telegraph pole beyond the city limits. Sawyer was attacked by the wife of his employer for alleged impertinence. His effort to protect himself from her fury was charged as assault.

Indiana.

In South Bend, Indiana, a house containing twenty Colored laborers was on fire. The men who had trouble with them were arrested.

Louisiana.

In their efforts to check the migration of Colored labor to the North and East, planters in Shreveport, La., are being actively assisted by Sheriff T. R. Hughes and Police Chief J. J. Gray, who at night blocked plans for the exportation of about 200 to Pittsburg, Penn.

New York.

New York is violating the Civil Rights Bill with immunity. At Coney Island riotous disturbances are frequent because of discrimination.

Minnesota.

Gov. Burnquist has appointed Lawyer W. T. Francis on the Minnesota Public Safety Commission.

EAST ST. LOUIS WILL REORGANIZE POLICE SINCE NEGRO RIOTS

(Associated Press) 7-8-17

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., July 7—Plans for the reorganization of the East St. Louis police force, which has been demanded by business men as a result of the race rioting last Monday, took definite form today.

Banks of the city will advance the funds necessary for a doubling of the police force. The banks will make a long term loan to the city.

Conrad Reeb, president of the Southern Illinois National Bank and president of the East St. Louis chamber of commerce, is chairman of the citizens' committee of nine that has undertaken the work of reforming the city government.

The demand for a federal investigation of the riot and the causes that led up to it, became pronounced today.

It was recognized today that neither rioting nor the quelling of riots has removed the race antagonism that brought on the recent bloodshed.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

The Pogrom in East St. Louis

From the first to the third of July East St. Louis, Illinois, was in the hands of a mob and the scene of a race war between whites and blacks. By the time the authorities of the city and state had the situation once more under control twenty-nine persons, of whom twenty-five were negroes, had been killed, many scores were seriously injured and more than three hundred houses burned to the ground. The fighting began with an attack by a mob of armed negroes upon an automobile containing several policemen. In retaliation the white men of the city slums resolved to wipe out the negro quarter.

After a number of buildings had been fired the mob shot down the black men who tried to escape from the flames. Women as well as men attacked the street cars and dragged negroes from them to be beaten or killed in the streets. Many instances were reported of the cold-blooded murder of refugees by individuals who hung about the outskirts of the crowd or even kept aloof from the rioting altogether.

The massacre in East St. Louis was but the last and greatest of a long string of riots and disorders which have marked the relations between the two races for several months. In origin these troubles were due more to economic jealousy than to race hatred. The high wages in northern towns, due to war conditions, have drawn several hundred thousand negroes from the southern plantations to improve their fortunes by migration. East St. Louis received more than its share of the new supply of cheap labor. Labor union agitators spread the report, which was eagerly believed, that the manufacturers intended to displace white men by southern negroes who would work for lower wages and put up with less favorable conditions and to attain that end had sent agents into the South to persuade the negroes to come to East St. Louis. Almost as much resentment would have been shown under these circumstances if the immigrant laborers had been Chinese, European aliens or even native American "scabs." The evident intent of the mob was to establish a reign of terror which would frighten away the negroes who had come in search of work and prevent others from coming in their place. It is still a mystery why such an outburst of lawlessness was permitted to gather head in view of the many warnings of trouble which the authorities had received from previous troubles of the same character, tho on a smaller scale.

International Film

THE EAST ST. LOUIS REIGN OF TERROR

Twenty-five negroes were killed and a large section of the black quarters wiped out by fire in the three days' massacre of East St. Louis. The chief incentive seems to have been labor rivalry rather than race hatred

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis.

SCATTERBRAIN OR CRIMINAL STAR
RUMOR THAT PADUCAH WHITES
TO STAGE ANOTHER "EAST ST. LOU

At 2 o'clock this morning the rumor that the white men were going to run the negroes out of the city was still going the rounds, and it is doubtful if there was a negro in the city who was asleep at that hour. All are on their front porches and on the streets, wondering what is going to happen, and all are badly scared. Residents around Seventh and Eighth and Clark streets were all awakened by a negro boy who called himself "Oscar Mack" and "Oscar McCray," who told the negroes that there was a riot, and that all the negroes "had better get ready." The single negro spread his rumor for over an hour, and the police are trying their best to catch him.

Police Chief Graham is expected to issue an order this morning forbidding dealers from selling pistols or ammunition to negroes or whites for sometime, as it is thought that the badly-scared negroes will endeavor to purchase arms in the belief that they are to be persecuted and the whites because they fear attack.

Paducah's night life was greatly agitated last night about 11:30 o'clock when some blundering malicious fool started the rumor that the white people of Paducah intended to run all the negroes out of the city. The rumor spread with the rapidity of a prairie fire. Soon the counter-rumor was current that the negroes, fearful of hurt at the hands of the whites, were organizing to take the aggressive themselves, and the police station was swamped with call for protection and investigation. A careful round of the city was made by Police Chief Luther Graham, while all patrolmen were instructed to get at the bottom of the rumor.

The calls first began coming in to the police station about 11:30 o'clock. A majority of them were from negroes, who said that they had been told that the white people were going to run the negroes out of the city. Night Captain Will Poore told them all that such a statement was a mistake, without foundation, and the negroes were soon quieted. Over fifty negroes were seen walking toward the city limits, however, apparently hoping to escape the wrath of the white men by disappearing. Others hid in the hollows around outskirts of the city, thinking that they would be unharmed if away from their homes.

About midnight the "worm turned" and the rumor gained circulation that the negroes of the city were forming to protect themselves and to wreck vengence upon the white men who were supposed to be forming to run them out of the city. White people, when informed of this, began to call the police station for information and protection, but Capt. Poore informed them too that it was all the work of a practical joker and they were soon satisfied.

The police investigation, made under the personal supervision of Chief Graham, revealed that there was no disorder of any kind in the city. The rumor that the white men were going to stage another "East St. Louis" here apparently started in either Mechanicsburg or Jersey, and it spread with lightning swiftness over the entire city.

About midnight the police station was informed that the negroes were forming around Seventh and Adams street, but an investigation showed that not a negro was to be seen on that corner.

A News-Democrat reporter made the rounds of the city in an antomobile at 12:30 o'clock this morning, and few negroes were to be seen. Those who were seen were standing in groups of five or six, usually including two or three women, and they were talking about "what the white folks were going to do." All were scared, ready to run, and none had the remotest idea of taking the offensive. Very few white people were to be seen on the streets, and these was no indication however slight, to indicate that the white men of the city were contemplating any action towards the negroes.

ST JOSEPH MO PRESS
AUGUST 9 1917

RACE RIOT INDICTMENTS.

True Bills Are Returned Against 113 Men in Connection With Anti-Foreign Disorders at Flat River, Mo.

FARMINGTON, Mo., Aug. 9.—The grand jury of this county today returned 119 indictments, against 113 men in connection with recent anti-foreign riots at Flat River

RACE TROUBLES IN CHESTER.

IN some respects the so-called "race riot" in Chester is similar to that which recently occurred in East St. Louis.

WASHINGTON D.C. NEWS
JULY 27. 1917

Any one who travels between this city and Philadelphia, going through Chester, is impressed with the fact that the neighborhood is a tremendous hive of industry. As a consequence men from all parts of the country, attracted by high wages, have gone to Chester. Most of them have not as yet been properly assimilated as citizens.

One report concerning the trouble says that the rioting was between white men from the south and Negroes from the same part of the country. There has been a heavy influx of Negroes from the south and many southern white men have also come north to work. It is highly improbable, however, that the rioting as concerns the white men was confined by any means to white men from the south.

In discussing the East St. Louis affair it has been stated repeatedly that the root of the trouble was Negroes from the south going to that town and taking jobs held by white men or at least it was thought they would take them. But such an explanation could not, we think, be given of the Chester disturbance and we doubt whether it applies to East St. Louis. There are plenty of jobs in Chester for all kinds of men, both white and black. The so-called importation of Negroes from the south to the north has been due to the supply of labor here not equalling the demand. Many corporations have had great difficulty in securing help. They have tried to get it from any possible source.

The troubles in both cities, we think, must be explained on the ground of race prejudices or race antagonisms easily stirred where there are masses of men of different races. Then again many of these southern Negroes have exaggerated and false ideas of the north. In the south the lawless elements are held in check. Coming north this element among the Negroes,—there must be considerable of this element for men of that stamp like to wander around—get it into their heads that they have more of what they call freedom in northern cities, that they can do as they please. Hence they conduct themselves in a city like Chester as they would not dare to do in a southern city.

We are speaking of the lawless element, not the decent Negroes, for many of the latter class have also come north.

The consequence of the influx from the south has been felt not only about Chester but in New Jersey and in other places, in an increase in crime. The other day a New Jersey judge imposed a drastic sentence upon two southern Negroes convicted of crime.

The authorities of Chester and of other places where there has been a heavy influx of southern Negroes must assert themselves forcefully and impose severe setences upon law breakers. Only in this way can the idea be knocked out of the heads of the element we have been referring to that they can do as they please because they happen to be north of the Mason and Dixon line. It goes without saying that the law should also be as rigidly enforced against the disorderly whites, most of whom are only seeking slight provocation for attacking Negroes.

Beyond all this there is the task of adjusting these southern Negroes to their new environment. This is a task entirely too great to be solely undertaken by decent and law abiding colored people who live in the communities to which the southern Negroes go. They must have help from the white people, unprejudiced white people, in solving this problem.

Communities should not be disturbed by racial antagonisms especially at this time. And as we have said where conditions are such as exist in Chester and in its neighborhood the authorities must be constantly on the alert or rioting far worse than that which occurred at Chester is liable to break out.

ELIZABETH N. J. JOURNAL
JULY 30, 1917

ANOTHER RACE RIOT TRAGEDY.

The tragedy recently perpetrated in East St. Louis, where in a battle against the negro population of that industrial center several deaths resulted and much property was destroyed, has been imitated in Chester, Pennsylvania. The purpose of the Chester mob was fully as malign and determined, but the presence of the State police made the results less tragic. A white man was killed and a negro met death and several other blacks were grossly abused and injured.

There are different versions offered of the cause of the disgraceful affair. It is claimed that it was the outgrowth of an attack made some days ago on a white girl in a park by five Southern blacks. The girl was taken away from her fiance, it is alleged, by the negroes who assaulted her. The feelings of the white portion of the population of Chester were more deeply stirred, it is asserted, because the negroes involved in the affair were protected by politicians and let off in police court with light sentences.

At the bottom of the affair, it appears, however, is enmity stirred up by the importation of thousands of Southern blacks to work in the industries of that city. It is stimulated, it is asserted, by the lawless conduct of some of these newcomers. And their lawlessness is augmented by their introduction again to booze denied them in the South because of prohibition.

The pity of the affair is, the line has been drawn at color and not at conduct. Many innocent negroes, men and women in Chester as well as East St. Louis suffered from mob rage and violence. No distinction was made between good and bad negroes.

It is not unlikely that the coming of the Southern blacks will aggravate race troubles throughout the North, in the industrial centers where they are so much employed. The thing to do is to take steps to avert race feeling by removing conditions that cause it. The general public should become aroused to give attention to the conditions, industrial and otherwise, that have been created by this influx of Southern negroes. Care should be taken to provide them with surroundings that will influence them to conduct themselves well. For one thing they should be kept away from drink.

SERIOUS STRIKE IN MISSOURI MINES

Advertiser 7/31/17

FLAT RIVER, MO., July 14.—Three thousand armed men paraded the lead belt of St. Francis county, Mo., today and not a mine was working in the district.

The marchers insisted the mines remain closed and that all foreign born workers depart. The foreigners--men, women and children--were leaving today by every possible conveyance.

Officials of the Western Federation of Miners said the demonstration was controlled by Industrial Workers of the World.

No deaths from last night's rioting have resulted but scores of the foreign born miners are in a serious con-

(over)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

dition.

The gravity of the situation created here by trouble between American and foreign mine workers seemed increasing hourly this afternoon. A downpour of rain once drove the paraders to cover, but with clearing skies, the men gathered and voiced their determination to clear the district of foreign workmen.

TWO MEN KILLED IN A MISSOURI RACE RIOT

N Y C MAIL
JULY 24 1917

Malden, Mo., July 24.—Charley Postlewaite, white, and Sam Hall, negro, foreman of a clearing gang, were killed in a running fight at Risco, New Madrid county, seven miles east of Malden, yesterday, when a crowd of whites undertook to run negroes out of town.

Hall was running when shot, and as he fell he shot and killed Postelwaite. The negroes were employed by neighboring land owners and had gone to town to make purchases.

There is considerable race feeling, and most of the negroes are leaving the neighborhood.

DETROIT MICH. JOURNAL
JULY 5, 1917

Negro Mob Fights Police.

Five hundred negroes first bombarded with orpedoes and cannon crackers and then gave battle to a dozen police officers at Gratiot avenue and St. Antoine street, early Thursday morning. The police were sent to disperse the crowd that impeded traffic.

Wednesday the police found it necessary to disperse many crowds in the negro district that threatened disorder. These crowds gathered to discuss the East St. Louis riots.

RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH DENIED.

The Richmond, Va. Planet Barred From the United States Mails.—Must Not Condemn East St. Louis Riots in Conjunction With United States Officials.

Richmond, Va., Aug. 4, 1917—The Post Office authorities here held up the to-day's issue of the Richmond, Va. Planet, pending further instructions on account of the publication therein of an article from Uzziah Miner, former editor of the Howard University Journal, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Miner spoke for himself only and gave reasons for not entering the United States Army as a volunteer. He called upon President Wilson to speak out against the East St. Louis, Ill. riots as ex-President Roosevelt had done and wanted the Department of Justice to bring the guilty parties to a "strict accountability."

Editor John Mitchell, Jr. upon enquiry was informed by Postmaster Hay T. Thornton that the action was not taken on account of any editorial utterances, but solely on account of the matter contained in this contributed communication. An attempt to secure the return of eighteen sacks of mail to-day was without result and the information was given that a final decision in this matter would be taken up Monday.

Editor Mitchell is endeavoring to find o if the constitutional guarantees of citizenship have been suspended and by what rule the management of the paper must be guided in the absence of an established censorship by the Congress at Washington.

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

Many of Bodies Are Believed Consumed In Ruins of Houses

Tuesday Morning's Summary Shows at Least 20 Dead Many Wounded, With Fires Raging in Five Sections of East St. Louis; Exact Number of Dead May Never Be Known

7-3-17

(Associated Press.

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., July 3—At least twenty dead and many wounded, fires burning in five sections of the city, the mobs practically dispersed, was the condition here at 1 o'clock this (Tuesday) morning following the race riots which have prevailed here for the last 24 hours.

Estimates of the number of dead run up to 100 and higher but these estimates were purely conjectural. The exact number of dead probably never will be known, as it is thought that many bodies were consumed in the flames.

Adjutant General Frank S. Dickson of Illinois, arrived and took charge of the situation shortly after midnight this morning. He went into conference immediately with military and civil authorities to outline a plan of procedure today.

Rioters Are Dispersed.

At 1 a. m. the fires were practically under control of the firemen and the rioters for the most part had dispersed and gone to their homes. In answer to a question as to why the troops on the ground when the trouble developed did not use force to put down the rioting, General Dickson said the purposes for which the soldiers were sent here had been gained without firing a shot, and that wholesale bloodshed would have been the result of any firing on the part of the troops.

"Five hundred rioters, the ring leaders of the largest mob, I am informed, are now under arrest," said General Dickson. "This was accomplished by surrounding the rioters and forcing them to submit without shooting or employing the bayonet."

General Dickson said after the 500 were taken into custody the disturbance at once took on a less serious aspect.

Fifth Section on Fire.

Another negro district in the south end of the city known as "Reynolds Row," was reported burning at 1 o'clock this morning. This makes five negro quarters set on fire during the night.

Nearly 500 negro men, women and children are quartered in the city hall and the police station.

At frequent intervals all evening and until late tonight trucks brought negro refugees from burning sections to augment the groups at these refugee buildings, where a strong guard of troops was stationed.

C. W. Wallace, editor of a negro religious publication, gave a new version of the trouble.

Start of Trouble.

Wallace said he, a negro minister and a negro physician were returning from St. Louis last night when they saw white "joy riders" ride down a block in Market street inhabited by negroes and fire into the houses. The neighborhood aroused and the negroes armed themselves.

Wallace did not see the negro mob fire on an automobile filled with policemen this morning but he said a witness told him that the negroes thought when the police automobile stopped that it was the joy riders returning.

Negroes Reported En Route.

When a report came to military authorities that negro inhabitants at Brooklyn, Ill., a city entirely populated by negroes, were moving on East St. Louis, a truck full of guardsmen was sent to the "Black" bridge to meet any attack that might be attempted.

At the same time another truck load of soldiers was rushed to a corner near the postoffice where negroes, barricaded in upstairs quarters had been firing at soldiers standing guard in the street below.

The worst property damage was done along the tracks of the Southern Railway Company, where the Southern Warehouse and between 11(and 150 cars, many of them loaded were consumed by flames. The damage here was estimated at between $300,000 and $500,000.

The Broadway theatre, valued at $100,000, was entirely destroyed and at 11 p. m. the flames were moving steadily along the tracks, almost unhindered.

Soldiers More Active.

Colonel Tripp stated at 11:30 tonight that 23 companies of state troops would be in the city before midnight, all but three companies of which were then on guard. The combined strength of the troops to combat trouble tomorrow, he said would be several thousand. Colonel Tripp early tonight rescued a negro from the mob and City Attorney Fekete later rescued another.

After military rule had been proclaimed the soldiers put more vigor into their attempts to quell the mob.

Seventy five white men attacked a negro in front of a drug store down town and shot him twice and attempted to drag him to a pole. The troops charged wth fixed bayonets and the mob scattered.

With this show of force the rioters in part quieted down. Troops stood guard at all corners and kept the crowds moving. At 8:30 o'clock fire broke out in the district known as the "Valley." This fire came perilously near to the big railroad yards of East St. Louis. At 9 o'clock four more negroes were shot. At 10 o'clock it appeared as if the "Valley' district was doomed to destruction. This is the third large area to be burned. The property damage will reach many thousands.

Streets Light As Day.

Vast clouds of smoke rolled across the sky tonight from the burning district. The flames made some of the downtown streets as light as day and now and then a yelling mob rushed down a street in pursuit of a negro or in search of new excitement. National Guardsmen, loaded in automobile tracks, dashed after the mob. The shouting died down occasionally as bewildered people walked up and down the streets wondering where the last outbreak occurred.

The fires started about 6 o'clock this evening and spread rapidly. Soon flames visible for miles were shooting into the sky. Hundreds of negro women most of them carrying bundles that held their most precious belongings, and leading small children fled across the bridge to shelter and safety with friends on the Missouri side.

Telephone wires were cut early in the evening. As telegraph and telephone poles caught fire other wires went down.

Mobs Grow Larger.

The mobs in East St. Louis were swelled by hundreds of people who early in the evening crossed the river from St. Louis, Mo. This added such a menace to the situation that at 8:30 o'clock the bridges were closed. This forced hundreds of residents of suburban towns to stay in St. Louis for the night.

As soon as street car traffic ended at 7 a. m. crowds walked across the bridge into East St. Louis by the thousands.

The mobs got into a lynching mood tonight. One negro was strung up on a pole but was rescued just in time to save his life. Soldiers rescued still another negro who was being dragged through the streets.

RACE RIOTS
FRESNO CAL REPUBLICAN
JULY 4, 1917

If any one would gently risk imposing another race problem on this country, let him watch what we are doing in East St. Louis with the one we have. In that city there has recently been a considerable increase of negro population, due to increased industrial opportunity attracting immigration from the South. The war, with its shutting off of foreign immigration, has been the negro's opportunity, and East St. Louis was one of the places of it. Whether the negroes displaced any white laborers is disputed. Probably they did what the bottom class of European immigrants would otherwise have done, and their coming brought the same train of evils. The difference is in the remedy adopted. Because the undesired newcomers were negroes, the remedy was to burn their houses, hang and shoot them, and drive them out at the point of the gun.

This is not right nor just—but it is the way of the American mob, and it is bound to happen, whenever an economic struggle is also a racial one. When the race line is a negro line, the remedy is to stop or prevent it whenever we can—and for the negro to submit—as he does, whenever we fail. But if the race line were an Oriental line, the same thing would sometimes also get beyond us—and when it did the Orientals would not submit. If we had an Oriental race problem in the West, on the scale of the negro problem in the south, we should have to prevent these outbreaks, not merely most of the time, but all the time. Occasionally we would fail. Then diplomatic strain the first time; diplomatic crisis another time; diplomatic break some time—and then the crash. The long, slow process by which we are muddling our way through the negro problem could not be awaited. The caste system, by which we try to encyst the negro problem would not be tolerated. A proud and equal race, backed by a jealous and forceful government, would insist on justice. Until we are able to trust our own race to grant that justice, and both races to avoid mongrelization, we must keep the ocean between us, as a safeguard to us both, and as a measure of international peace and friendship. So long as riots like these St. Louis ones are possible, we must have no situation in which they would be fatal.

THE STAR PROVIDES NEW EVIDENCE IN RACE RIOT INQUIRY

Names of Two Alleged Mob Leaders and Witness Given to State

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 13, 1917

The [illegible]ished Assistant Attorney General C. W. Middlekauff, in charge of the investigation of the East St. Louis race riots which caused thirty-three deaths, with the names of two men who are alleged to have been leaders of the mob and the name of another man who witnessed the rioting and who can identify police officers he says were lax in performing their duty.

Middlekauff, addressing a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, said he expected little assistance from the East St. Louis Police Department in conducting the investigation.

One of the witnesses procured by The Star is an employe of the city of St. Louis, working on the Municipal Free Bridge. He witnessed the attack on a negro at Tenth and Piggott streets, East St. Louis, the Sunday before the rioting and saw other instances of attacks by whites on negroes that evening.

Saw Official Laxity.

On Monday of the riot this man witnessed an attack on negroes in the same vicinity. He is ready to testify that two patrolmen, one police sergeant and eight soldiers were in the immediate neighborhood and must have seen the attacks.

They made no effort to stop the rioters nor to make arrests. The man questioned the police sergeant about the occurrence. The sergeant the witness will testify, indicated that he was in favor of the activity of the whites.

The witness will be able to identify the police officers, he says.

Another name furnished by The Star is that of an alleged mob leader. It is charged that he urged whites to attack negroes Monday night and that the following day, after the negro exodus began, this man went

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

to the deserted negro homes and seized chickens which he sold. He is an East St. Louis merchant.

Wounded Man Is Named.

The other name is that of a man who attended the meeting at Labor Temple Hall the Monday morning of the riot. He was commissioned by a speaker to spread the report that another meeting would be held at the same place at 3 p. m. The man was to request those who attended to bring ammunition.

After the meeting he walked down Collinsville avenue advertsing the afternoon meeting. It was the same man who spread the report of the morning meeting, even going so far as to stop directly in front of police headquarters to invite persons to attend.

This man is said to be in a hospital with wounds in the back suffered on the night of the rioting.

Brigadier General Hill, chairman of the Military Board appointed by Governor Lowden to investigate the riots, said today he has the names of 100 witnesses to be summoned. He added the investigation probably will be of a general nature and not limited to military phases only.

State Board Arriving.

He and Major Richard Abbott, of Petersburg, were the only two members of the board in East St. Louis at noon. The others are expected during the afternoon. Maj. Edgar B. Tolman will be unable to be present because of his duties as a member of a registration board.

The Coroner's inquest yesterday was continued until Monday.

Mayor Mollman last night held a secret conference with members of the Police Board to learn their attitude towards their own resignations. Nelson A. Schein has indicated he will not resign. William Schmitt gave no indication of his position. The Mayor reaffirmed his determination to submit names of new members of the Board at Monday's City Council meeting.

Wallace C. Watkins late yesterday told a reporter for The Star that he had tendered his resignation from the board. He denied that he did so at the request of the Mayor. The action was entirely voluntary, he said.

PITTSBURG PA GAZETTE TIMES
JULY 4, 1917

East St. Louis Disgraces America.

At the bottom of the struggle for human rights must be recognition of the principle of individual rights. Liberty is not a question of color or tongue, nor can it justly be modified by considerations of race. When we cry for the freedom of humanity we exclude none from the benefits to be derived from the universal extension of the admitted rights of mankind. We declare our belief in brotherhood without distinction of race. And that cannot be limited, either. Brotherhood, if sincere, can know no geographical boundaries. Just at present we are preparing to remap considerable sections out of pure fraternal solicitude for the rights of millions in whom we have no personal interest. We are committed to an ideal. No price in blood and treasure can be too great to pay for its attainment. True, this leads us rather far afield. It severely wrenches some long held notions. But choice must be made between the ideal and the merely practical. We have made our choice, and we must prepare ourselves to stand by it, to support and defend it no matter where it leads. The world cannot be half bond and half free. We are fighting for universal freedom. Are we willing to accord it when we have won?

The uprising in East St. Louis, Ill., is but a straw in the wind showing how human passions run. In a small way, as in a theatrical representation, it discloses how disturbances that may become cataclysms, like the great war, originate. Selfishness, envy, suspicion, intolerance, fear, pride of race, greed—all these make up the sum of "man's inhumanity to man" that disgraces the civilization of which we boast, leading to serious questioning whether our civilization is worth while, after all. Race riots may become race wars, world embracing. The black men who are among us through no fault of their own, who are citizens equal under the law with the whites, assuredly are entitled to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" in this great land of freedom so long as they behave themselves. The riot of murder and incendiarism in Illinois cannot be condoned. Beside the blot upon our traditional fairness it makes a denial of the honesty of American professions to other peoples. This reversion to savagery when the nation is engaged in a war for humanity will cause questionings of the American character that cannot be answered to the satisfaction of foreign peoples to whom we offer our help as saviors.

As for the effect of the East St. Louis race riots on our own people, it will be very bad if the constituted authorities do not punish rigorously and impartially every offender that can be reached. Freedom in America must be a fact for the law-abiding of all races if it is not to become a by-word throughout the world that we are trying to provide with the blessings of liberty of which we boast.

UNIONS DENY BLAME FOR EAST ST. LOUIS RIOTS

SAY AUTHORITIES WERE LAX IN ENFORCING THE LAW.

N Y C [illegible]
NOVEMBER 5, 1917

Labor Organizations Feel They Have Not Had a Square Deal and Appeal for an Impartial Inquiry.

[Special Correspondence of The Evening Post.]

ST. LOUIS, November 3.—Organized labor, testifying before the Congressional committee which is investigating the July riots in East St. Louis denied the blame of the race persecutions. Harry Kerr, district organizer of the American Federation of Labor, emphasized to the committee that race prejudice was not used to drive unorganized labor out of the city and cited instances of assistance to the negro from the labor unions.

The labor unions feel that they have not gotten a square deal in the East St. Louis matter, and an appeal was made to the Congressional committee for impartial consideration.

Mr. Kerr explained to the committee the formation of the unions which control skilled labor, attributing the failure of the negro workman to obtain admission to these bodies to his inability to pass the examinations required by most of the unions. As the unions are autonomous bodies, the personal sentiments of the members direct the actions of each organization. The district organizer wished to make plain the fact that these sentiments weer not controlled by the American Federation of Labor.

There is no organization for unskilled workmen in East St. Louis. Owing to the large number of negroes who come into East St. Louis from the rural districts of the South, most of the colored workers are not eligible to the ranks of skilled union labor.

An attempt was made last August to organize a Federal labor union, and a charter was obtained for that purpose. Such a union has for its purpose the incorporation of unskilled labor, and would therefore include a larger number of negro laborers than can gain admittance to the crafts unions.

It was stated to the committee by other representatives of the labor unions that, owing to the loose political condition and the large migratory population which the city seemed to attract, there were habitually in East St. Louis two laboring men for every job.

MEETING PRECEDING THE RIOTING.

It would seem from the testimony of labor-union men that the meeting of May 28, which culminated in rioting, although planned by the unions as a consultation with Mayor Mollman concerning complicated labor conditions, at an early hour slipped from their control.

Upon their arrival at the City Hall, where the meeting was held, the unions claim they were greatly surprised to find a large crowd assembled to take part in the proceedings.

One labor representative told the committee that upon finding the meeting was acquiring a tone of levity incompatible with the seriousness of its purpose, he left the hall. Later in the evening, when the crowd had fully acquired the spirit which would result in mob activity, and had surged forth upon the streets in disorder, he made appeals that they should go home. The witness stated that he had his face slapped in reply. Immediately afterward, two soldiers whom he recognized as members of the National Guard of St. Louis called to the mob to follow them, and they left the vicinity of the City Hall.

The witness stated that he personally went to a point from whence the negroes would of necessity have to come in order to enter the business section of the city, and advised the colored people not to come down into the heart of East St. Louis, but to reach their points of destination by some less direct route. He continued this friendly assistance until one o'clock in the morning.

On the morning of July 2, finding a restless, threatening crowd gathered in front of the police station, about the automobile in which Detectives Coppedge and Wodley had been killed the night before, the labor leader suggested to the Chief of Police that exhibition of the bullet-scarred car might incite further difficulty, and upon this suggestion the car was removed to the station garage.

The American Federation of Labor was not connected with the strike at the Aluminum Ore Works, owing to the fact that the men of this plant were organized into an individual association which was not affiliated with the national body. This particular conflict lay between the managers and employees of the Aluminum Ore Works.

The committee has been unable so far to learn just who is responsible for the bringing of negroes to East St. Louis from the South. That such agencies were at work is practically certain.

One witness told of seeing a company of nearly one hundred negroes in the charge of a white agent standing on a street corner in East St. Louis. The date given was some time between the May and July riots. Upon conversing with some of these negroes, the witness said he learned that they were being brought up from Tuscaloosa, Ala., and were on their way to Gary, Ind. The suggestion of the witness to the Chief of Police that the destination and starting point of these immigrants under the direction of a white man ought to be determined was received with disregard.

Reduced railroad rates brought to East St. Louis, immigrants who upon their arrival had not a cent, and no other clothing than what they wore. Some of them were seen carrying a few poor articles in parcels, but the majority had no goods or baggage. Many of the men wore only a shirt and overalls, even after the weather had become wintry.

Numbers of these colored people were left stranded. One party stated that the white agent had brought them as far as Cairo, Ill., and then left them. They had no certain employment and no funds.

Testimony has been given before the committee that one carload of negroes which was brought up from the South to work in the Aluminum Ore Works refused to accept the jobs which they had come up North to take, when they learned that the reason for the vacancy of these positions was the fact that a strike was in process among the regular employees.

LABOR'S EXPLANATION OF RIOTS' CAUSE.

Union labor attributes the rioting of May and July to the lax enforcement of law by the local authorities, and the bringing in of negro labor by the heads of industries for the purpose of breaking up the labor unions.

The result of these combined conditions was crime which went unpunished, a large number of idlers of both races and ill-feeling produced by cut-throat competition and general lawlessness.

East St. Louis is composed almost altogether of laboring people. When labor representatives had appealed in vain to the Mayor and City Council for a consideration of their difficulties, the problems were carried to the State authorities. The State Council of Defence sent a committee to East St. Louis to investigate the situation, but the facts were not available.

Mayor Mollman, it is said, was warned that the prevailing condition must inevitably result in riots such as had taken place in Springfield, Ill. The Mayor accepted the warning, but took no action to improve conditions.

N Y C HERALD
JULY 19, 1917

ASK RACE RIOT INQUIRY.

American Missionary Association Writes Letter of Protest to Governor Lowden.

In a letter to Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois, the Executive Committee of the American Missionary Association has protested against the treatment of negroes in the recent race riots at East St. Louis, and asked that he investigate the circumstances, to the end that those responsible may be punished.

The letter called Governor Lowden's attention to the fact that "the rights and opportunities of a developing race are at stake," and demanded that the principle of common justice be extended to all Americans without distinction as to race or color.

Negro residents of this city will hold a mass meeting to-night in the Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, in West 13th street, to adopt resolutions of protest against the East St. Louis riot.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 7

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

RACE RIOTS RESUMED; 3 MORE NEGROES SHOT

JULY 3, 1917

Believed Dead May Number 100; Property Loss $2,000,000—Illinois Governor Orders Stern Repressive Measures.

Special Despatch to THE EVENING SUN.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 3.—There was a renewal of mob violence here early this afternoon, though 1,500 Illinois militiamen patrolled the streets while workmen searched the smoking ruins of the city for the negro dead, already estimated at 100 persons.

A mob shot three negroes and set several shanties afire and escaped the pursuing militiamen.

Gov. Lowden reiterated this afternoon that he did not intend to proclaim martial law to prevent a renewal of the race war. He held that such a step would weaken the local authorities in dealing with the situation. But the strongest possible measures will be taken to-night to prevent a recurrence of the fighting between whites and blacks.

"Use drastic measures if necessary to stop the outrages at East St. Louis."

This was the blanket order transmitted by Gov. Lowden to Adjt.-Gen. Dickson here shortly before noon to-day.

"I believe there are more than 100 negroes dead," Night Chief of Police Hickey said to-day. "We have 105 names on an incomplete list, but have not found all the bodies. I estimate the injured, whites and blacks, at 750, but any statement at this time can be no more than an estimate."

The fire loss probably will reach $2,000,000, Chief Hickey said. Fifteen square blocks are burned over.

"Black Valley," the negro residence district, which is just off the main street of East St. Louis, is a blackened ruin. Fire started by white rioters swept the area, which is half a mile square, and sixty or more houses were burned. It is feared that these ruins may yield the bodies of more than 100 negro men, women and children.

300 Hundred Persons Arrested.

During the rioting which began at 6 o'clock last night and lasted until after midnight 300 prisoners were taken by the police. They were lodged in the basement and upstairs room of police headquarters, and it was thought for a time the mob might turn its attention from the negroes and seek to rescue the prisoners.

Instead the arrests, when their number became known, seemed to cow the disorderly but leaderless men and women and the rioting died out as the flames of Black Valley lighted up the city. It is estimated that 10,000 men, women, boys and girls took part in the riots. They surged madly through the streets, shooting, beating and hanging negroes while armed militiamen looked on helplessly.

When darkness came the city's electric lights flashed for a moment and then went out. It was found that negroes had cut some of the feed wires to enable them to escape the mob and that the mob had cut others to enable them to escape the police and militia

Shot as They Escaped Flames.

When the torch was applied to the shacks in Black Valley the scene was indescribable. Members of the mob armed with rifles, shotguns and revolvers stood at the head of each street and as the negroes dashed out to escape the flames they were fired on. In one street seven bodies lay almost on top of each other to testify to the marksmanship of the rioters.

Those negroes who were able to escape the gunmen and the mobs which filled the adjacent streets were gathered in motor trucks by police and soldiers and hurried to the City Hall. By midnight there were 500 cowering men, women and children crowded into the building.

The property damage is now estimated at about $2,000,000. The Black Valley section consisted of shacks of one or two stories and the loss here was inconsequential.

Fire Still Burning.

Firemen aided by many units from the Missouri side carried on an unavailing battle against the spreading flames. More than fifteen blocks were burned. The Broadway Opera House was destroyed with a loss of $100,000. The Southern freight house was still burning early to-day and the loss is estimated at $250,000. More than 200 negro homes, shacks, tenements and apartment houses were burned.

Traffic across all bridges leading to the Illinois side was stopped. Militiamen held the crowd back with bayonets and there was a great deal of scattered fighting. A man on the bridge fired a fusillade of shots at a log floating in the river. He thought it was a negro swimming to the Missouri side.

At midnight word reached the rioters that 1,000 blacks from Carondolet, Granite City, Belleville and other points had armed and were approaching the city. For a time there was panic.

An attempt to obtain fire apparatus from St. Louis failed, as the Chief of the Fire Department refused to risk his men and apparatus because of the fury of the East St. Louis mob.

Several hundred whites who had barricaded themselves in a schoolhouse with their families, were attacked by negroes, but militiamen rescued them.

Praise for Guardsmen.

The conduct of the guardsmen brought nothing but praise. Many of them were under fire for the first time. Boys, dressed in overalls and street coats, evidently fresh from work, had only their rifles and cartridge belts. One of them, a raw lad of 18, was slightly injured while rescuing a dozen negro women and children.

He had lost his rifle, revolver and hat, but kept a mob at bay while he took the negroes to Police Headquarters. As they marched down the street, a white woman, dressed in a blood-spattered frock, hit one of the negro children over the head with an iron bar. The child was trampled under foot and appeared dead when placed in an ambulance.

Washington Watches Closely.

WASHINGTON, July 3.—Though the War Department is watching closely developments in the East St. Louis riots it will take no action. Major-Gen. Barry, in charge of the Central Department of the army at Chicago, has full power to despatch Federal troops to East St. Louis without authorization by the War Department.

GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE AMAZED AT RIOT FACTS

St. Louis Argus

Damaging Evidence of Political Rottenness In East St. Louis Given Before Congressional Investigators.

10/26/17

Mayor, Police And Militia Guilty of Neglect

"My God!" exclaimed members of the Congressional Committee, during the Government investigation of the East St. Louis riot, Monday afternoon. The committee had been listening in amazement at revelations being brought out by the testimony and the exclamation came just after Paul Y. Anderson, a reporter for a St. Louis afternoon paper had testified that city cases were sent to Justices of the Peace and it was customary for the Chief of Police to make notations on the case papers indicating what the sentences should be.

The Committee has heard with astonishment a mass of damaging evidence about the rottenness of East St. Louis. Anderson, among other statements, said: East St. Louis officials protected gambling; a secret inquest was conducted several days after the riot, reporters barred, and facts kept secret; Mayor Mollman made a physical attack on the reporter for publishing gambling facts; police and militia did not try to suppress rioters but smashed cameras and photographs that would give evidence; soldiers and police were cowardly and cruel. Anderson also said, his observation was that the mob leaders were men of the type who loaf around wine rooms and other dives and the riot was brought about by a long reign of lawlessness.

Other evidence showed that Negroes were assaulted en route between St. Louis and East St. Louis and while passing through the Illinois town. Packing house managers also testified to the serious interference with shipping. Col. Tripp, leader of the militia during the riot, said Mayor Mollman "abdicated" his office the day of the riot and was afraid to go out on the streets.

During the taking of the testimony the city officials have been severely criticized by members of the committee. Such remarks as: "I never heard of such a thing," "this is one of the most extraordinary and most serious things I ever heard of," and "it is almost incredible," have been frequently heard. No evidence has been obtained to prove that Negro strike breakers were imported to East St. Louis.

The committee was much perturbed over the threats of Justice of the Peace Brady against Anderson on account of his testimony. Brady will be required to stand trial before the bar of the House of Representatives early in December, on a charge of contempt.

EIGHT WHITES SENTENCED SO FAR

Eight men are on trial in Belleville, Ill., this week charged with arson during the East St. Louis riot. Eighteen persons have been sentenced to date: ten Negroes to 14 years each for the murder of a detective; three white men to 14 years, John Gow and Charles Hanna to 15 years, Harry Robinson, on a plea of guilty to five years. Robinson's plea was made after the jury failed to agree at his trial. Several witnesses who swore to Robinson being at other places during the time of the murder charged to him will have to face the charge of perjury since Robinson's plea. Two white women have been fined $50 each and will have to serve these fines in jail. One 17 year old girl was freed because of evidence she furnished the state.

The state, Thursday, dropped its charges of arson against 18 men because of the refusal of the Federal officials to permit soldiers wanted as witnesses to leave Texas to testify. Sixteen of these men will be tried for conspiracy. One woman was sentenced to thirty days in jail on a plea of guilty of rioting and a Negro, charged with being in the mob which shot a police sergeant, was declared insane and ordered sent to the asylum at Chester.

MILITIA'S PART IN THE RIOTS AT EAST ST. LOUIS

NEGRO WITNESSES IMPLICATE SOLDIERS IN SHOOTING.

Congressional Committee Hears Guardsmen Arrived in April Because of Anticipated Railway Strike

NOVEMBER 3, 1917

[Special Correspondence of The Evening Post.]

ST. LOUIS, October 30.—Upon request of the Congressional Committee, which is in East St. Louis for the purpose of investigating the July riots, several innocent negroes who were wounded by the soldiers upon that occasion have appeared and related their experiences.

One of these was Mineola McGee, a colored chambermaid twenty years old, who had her right arm shot off by a sol-

dier on the morning of July 3. As her place of employment was some distance from the heart of the city, where the rioting of the day before had taken place, this girl had escaped injury on that day.

Upon the morning of the third, several police officers and soldiers were sent by the authorities to close a saloon which it had been reported was remaining open in spite of the order for the closing of all saloons which had gone out at two o'clock the day before.

Upon approaching this saloon, the officers found a group of negro men playing cards in the rear of the place. In view of the occurrences of the day before, the negroes fled precipitately at the sight of the men in uniform. The party of officers consisting of three policemen and seven or eight guardsmen, then emptied their revolvers into the crowd. Two negro men were killed. It was learned later that none of the negroes was armed.

The police officers are now under indictment for murder, and are being held for trial at Belleville, Ill. The military authorities maintained that the soldiers acted under orders from the police officers, and the former were not punished for the occurrence.

COLORED GIRL'S STORY.

The white woman for whom Mineola McGee worked was the wife of the proprietor of this saloon. The colored girl had been out in the yard back of the house, and was returning indoors when she heard shooting. Turning to look back, she saw a policeman and a soldier. According to her testimony, the soldier raised his rifle and shot her in the arm. She was taken to the hospital, where the limb was amputated above the elbow. A negro laborer who lost both his brother and his wife in the riots on July 2 was also shot in the leg by a militiaman.

In a number of towns in the southern part of the State of Illinois a negro is not allowed to get off the train, and many of the members of the companies sent to East St. Louis to quell the rioting were citizens of these towns.

It has been stated to the commitee by a real esate dealer of East St. Louis that two companies of State militia were brought to East St. Louis from the northern part of the State in April, when it was understood that a strike would take place among the employees of the street-railway company. As many as possible of these Guardsmen were quartered within the precincts of the car company's barns, the remaining number pitching their tents at a convenient distance.

At the time of the May riots, when Mayor Mollman asked that these troops should assist in restoring order in the city, Col. C. P. Cavanaugh, the officer in command, refused to grant the request, stating that the mission of these companies in East St. Louis was of another character. After the May riots Col Cavanaugh stated that, should another like occasion arise, he would callcipal consciousness of the large probout his troops. At the time of the Julylem with which she has to deal and a deriots, although Col. Cavanaugh was outtermination to handle the issues involved of the city, the officer in charge didin such a way as to prevent any repetiorder these companies into active ser-tion of class or race conflict.
vice. Other industries under the special protection of these Guardsmen were the Aluminum Ore Company, the packing houses of Swift, Armour & Morris, and the National Stockyards.

LABOR SITUATION.

C. B. Fox, superintendent of the Aluminum Ore Co., which is a subsidiary of the Aluminum Co. of America, told the committee that though himself a member of the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, he had never heard the labor situation in the city discussed by the members of that body. The chief function of the Chamber of Commerce, according to Mr. Fox, has been to get new industries to establish plants in East St. Louis.

The Aluminum Co. of America is capitalized at $20,000,000, and has an investment of $80,000,000. The East St Louis plant is valued at over $1,000,000. The function of this industry which employs more than two thousand men is the refining of bauxite ore, from which aluminum is made. The crude ore is shipped into East St. Louis from Bauxite, Ark., refined and shipped to other plants owned by the Aluminum Ore Co.

Like other large industries in East St. Louis, the activities of the Aluminum Ore Co. were severely hampered by labor conditions following the riots of July 2 and 3. In spite of complicated labor conditions in East St. Louis, the Aluminum Ore Co. has persisted in keeping open shop. Following the strike of April, 1917, wages were increased 33 1-3 per cent. and hours shortened from nine-hour shifts to periods of eight and one-half hours.

Mr. Fox told the committee that Philip Wolf, a leader among the strikers in his plant, had approached the assistant superintendent of the Aluminum Ore Co. with an offer to keep the American Federation of Labor out of the industry upon payment to him of the sum of $10,000. His offer was not accepted.

The impartial methods pursued by the Congressional Committee have elicited commendation from many sources, and have doubtless been instrumental in enabling the representatives of the Federal Government to determine the facts of the situation in East St. Louis with a fair degree of accuracy.

Several citizens of East St. Louis have stated in their testimony that they now recognize the lack of force and administrative ability which the city has manifested in managing her affairs in the past, but feel that the occurrences of May and July have created a muni-

Selection of Jury Is Begun in Court

THE PUBLIC ASTONISHED

Can't See Why Cases of the Whites Should Be Tried After Race Cases

BY J. M. BATCHMAN
Staff Correspondent

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 5.—Immediately after the East St. Louis riots there was a feeling that justice would never be done in the case. In the weeks since then there have been some surface indications that some effort might be exerted to give the people of the Race justice, because of the fact that scores of persons were indicted. It was natural to expect that some Race men, in their zealous effort at self-protection, would commit some excesses under the excitement of the moment which would jeopardize their freedom. That this was so was evidenced by the number since arrested. However, when the cases were called, the fact that the men of the Race were called first for their defense did not look good to the casual observer, because, if anything, they are least to blame if indeed they are actually and morally guilty.

On Monday Judge Crow refused a continuance, asked by the state in the East St. Louis riot cases, in the Belleville circuit court. The impaneling of the jury for the trial of thirteen Race men charged with murdering Policemen Coppedge and Wodley on the night of July 1, was begun. The continuance was asked by James A. Farmer of Belleville, special prosecutor for Attorney General Brundage, because Dr. L. N. Bundy, charged with being one of the leaders, was still in Ohio and successfully resisted all efforts at extradition, thanks to Governor Cox, who has always been a "Negro's friend" when he was in the right.

The killing of the policemen was charged to Bundy and eighteen other Race men, a thing that the majority of Race people in this city believe to be a plain frameup, especially in the case of Bundy, and doubtless in many of the others, if in fact any are actually guilty of this foul murder.

In the prosecution the state is represented by Farmer, C. W. Middlekauf, William Trautman, Don Dietrich, Roy Woods and State's Attorney Schaumleffel. After the jury is selected it will be determined whether the men will be tried together or separately. It is expected that their attorneys will ask for separate trials.

There are 144 persons under indictment, the charges ranging from rioting to assault with intent to commit murder. Against some there are several charges and each person has a right to ask a separate trial on each charge, so the snow will probably fly before the full outcome of the matter of justice to the Negro" can be actually determined. After 142 talesmen had been examined a jury was obtained to hear the cases against thirteen charged with inciting the recent Race riots in East St. Louis.

After only five jurors had been obtained in two days Circuit Judge George A. Crow announced that the court would remain in session all night unless a jury was obtained. Twelve men had been accepted at 9 o'clock.

Following the trials of the members of the Race the cases against more than 100 white men under indictment will be taken up. Three circuit judges will hear the cases against the whites, each holding a separate court.

SENTENCE MURDERERS ON ILL. MASSACRE.

The Guardian

SHULZ CONFESSES AND PLEADS GUILTY TO CONSPIRACY AND ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO MURDER—SENTENCED ONLY 1 TO 14 YEARS IN PENETENTIARY IN LATTER AND 5 YEARS IN FORMER COUNT—39 ARRESTED, 9 OF THEM COLORED.

8/25/17

Belleville, Ill., Aug. 18.—S. L. Schulz of East St. Louis, who was indicted on charge of rioting, conspiracy and assault with intent to commit murder by the Grand Jury that investigated the recent race riots, pleaded guilty in the circuit here today to conspiracy and to one count charging assault with intent to murder.

He was sentenced to an indeterminate term of one to 14 years in the Chester penitentiary on the latter charge and to five years' imprisonment on the conspiracy charge. Both sentences are to run concurrently.

The specific charge to which Schulz pleaded guilty was that he struck with a club a white man named Murphy when the latter attempted to rescue a colored man whom the mob was clubbing to death.

—G—

17 Arrested Upon Race Riot Charges.

East St. Louis, Ill., Aug. 16., 1917:—Police officers and a prominent politician were among the seventeen men arrested today on charges varying from rioting to assault to murder in connection with the race riots here in July, in which more than 100 white and colored persons were killed. Of the 105 persons indicted by the grand jury 39 have been taken into custody, 30 of whom are white men. The indictments were returned against 32 white men and 23 colored.

Scathing criticism by the grand jury of the attitude of the police toward the "campaign of intolerance," which was blamed for the rioting, had an expected sequel in the arrest of five policemen on duty at the time of the strike.

Thomas Benton, for many years a leader in county politics, was arrested on a charge of assault to kill. He is the owner of two saloons and has been a candidate for sheriff.

THOS. WALKER, ESQ.

of Washington, D. C. Race Loyal Treasurer of National Equal Rights League which held national race Congress, Sept. 18.

VINDICATION

NO GUILTY MAN SHOULD ESCAPE.

Every man who participated in the East St. Louis mobbing of negroes should be punished to the full limit of the law. No doubt there are lawless negroes in East St. Louis, as there are lawless white and black men everywhere. But the courts are open, and no one can justly say that a guilty negro is likely to escape conviction. There is much greater danger that black men will be unjustly convicted than that guilty ones will be permitted to escape.

The threat made by Boston negroes that "twelve million negroes" will rise in rebellion is absurd and unwise and will serve only to add fuel to the lawless flames. But there is no denying that these are not times in which to create or to cultivate divisions among Americans. We may need every negro soldier we have before we are through with the war, but whether we do or not a nation which has just gone to war to promote justice among nations should not tolerate mob violence against its own citizens.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

Mr. President, Why Not Make America Safe for Democracy?

Amsterdam News By MORRIS. 7/18/17

(Reprinted from the early editions of July 5.)

"Before I speak of justice and liberty to Russia we should do justice within our own household. There has been an appalling outbreak of savagery in the race riots in East St. Louis, race riots which, as far as we can see, had no real provocation, and, whether there was provocation or not, waged with such appalling brutality as to leave a stain on the name of America.

"It behooves us to express our deep condemnation of acts that give lie to our words. It is our duty to demand that the governmental representatives whose business it is shall use with ruthless sternness every instrumentality at their command to punish murder, whether committed by whites against blacks or blacks against whites.

"When we applaud the birth of democracy in another people, the spirit which insists on treating each man on the basis of his rights as a man, refusing to deny to the humblest the rights that are his, when we present such a greeting to the representatives of a foreign nation, it behooves us to express our deep condemnation of acts that give the lie to our words within our own country.

"It behooves us to say that it is impossible that there should be a justification for mob violence, for brutality and murder in this democracy."—Theodore Roosevelt at the Carnegie Hall meeting last night to welcome the Russian high commission to the United States.

THEY GOT FOURTEEN YEARS.

The Freeman 10-13-17

Doubtless a shock ran through Negro communities when they learned that ten out of thirteen of the Negroes who were on trial for the murder of Detective Samuel Coppedge on the morning of July 2, last, were convicted and sentenced to fourteen years each in the pentitentiary. This is the first echo of the East St. Louis, Ill., riots, and surprising because of the large number of persons who must suffer.

We are not going to challenge or question the wisdom of the court. If we get it to rule in all instances, when the white mob operates and when the Negro mob operates, and with equal promptness, vigor and fairness, then the situation is ideal.

The white men are now being tried. And there is but very little to be said if anything at all further than making the facts known until the courts will have decided as it concerns them.

We, at this time, are of the opinion that there has been a thorough probing and full of earnest meaning, and to the end that communities will not be shot up and burnt up with impunity in the future. The situation will be greatly restored in event the probe has not fallen short of the white men. That stern lesson which has been read to Negroes is no less necessary to be read to white men. Negroes or white men need not expect to do wrong things with impunity, expecting to be saved by popular approval, if the stability of government is to remain.

What was done in East St. Louis was an insult to the laws of the country, to the courts the nation's judiciary whose being is to still strife among their fellow men. The genius of this country has thought out adequate modes of stilling strife, administering justice—adjusting the differences between men—every conceivable difference, consequently the unauthorized citizen has no part to play in the scheme of adpudication for fear he may be depleted of his just deserts. It is this thing, this known fact of safety which so greatly riles the thoughtful when outbreaks come. They view it that any outbreak is an assault on the stability of the government and which stability concerns every amn.

It is a hard fact that the known imposition on Negroes eternally does not help in mitigating the offenses they so rarely commit. Here is a chance for the display of that conserving principle of equity which tends to equalize conditions, results and so forth. But they will not be disturbed if they find the courts vigilant in ferreting out guilty white men, for in that case the result will be most salutary as between man and man rather than between races.

It may be that the condition will never be ideal, but the friction can be greatly reduced. It must be reduced if we are to have anything like harmony in this country. One has only to observe and reflect to be informed along this line. We feel that the courts that are trying the white men of the East St. Louis riots are zealous for cauterizing the condition, burning it out by a judicial severity which will not be tempered because of the complexion of the men tried.

BUSINESS MEN WIRE LOWDEN

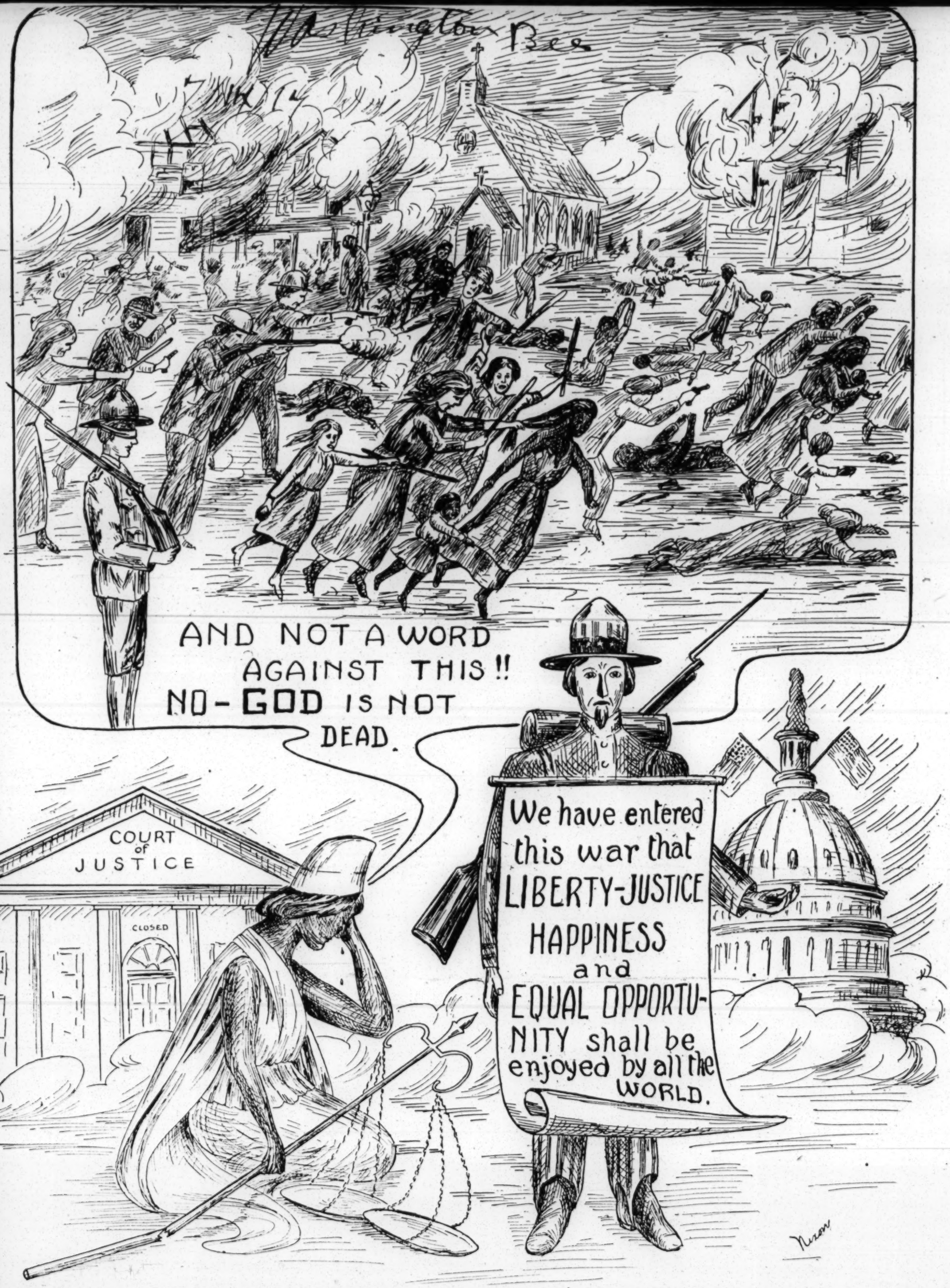
CHICAGO ILL. NEWS

JULY 5, 1917

Commend East St. Louis Action; Hope Guilty Will Be Punished.

The action of Gov. Lowden in rushing the militia to East St. Louis, Ill., to quell the race riots and destruction of property that have attracted the attention of the nation, was commended in a telegram sent to the governor to-day by the Illinois Manufacturers' association. The message was signed by Samuel M. Hastings, president of the organization, and John M. Glenn, secretary. It read as follows:

"Your prompt action in sending the militia to East St. Louis to preserve order is commended by the Illinois Manufacturers' association, acting through its directors. We hope that every effort will be made to punish those who have been instrumental in inciting race prejudice as well as those guilty of the outrageous crimes committed. Every man is entitled to the constitutional protection and we earnestly hope that no effort will be spared o preserve the good name and honor of our state."



East St. Louis Riot. This is American Civilization.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PFL 7

Riots — 1917 — East St. Louis.

NOT BELGIUM, NOR THE BATTLE FIELD OF EUROPE, BUT AMERICA

Defender 7/14/17

Rear of Third street, East St. Louis, Ill., showing result of mob rule and violence, aided by the police and soldiers of neighboring towns who refused to do their duty. The twisted iron bed posts are plainly seen. No bullet scarred fields of Europe present a more pitiful sight. Photo taken especially for Chicago Defender by International Film Service

RUINS OF THE BROADWAY THEATER

Defender 7/14/17

Within these walls members of the Race barricaded themselves in a desperate attempt to save their lives, but after their ammunition was exhausted the building was set afire by the mob. Several died in the flames, but many made their way to safety. Many whites were killed, but they were covered with blood and were written up in the "dailies" as "mulattoes." Photo taken especially for the Chicago Defender by International Film Service.

"I AM INNOCENT OF LEADING RIOT" SAYS DR. BUNDY

East St. Louis Dentist In Jail On Account Of Riot Says He Is Persecuted Man. Victim Of Low Petty Politics. Has Exhausted Financial Resources. Appeals For Aid.

INVESTIGATION BY THE GOVERNMENT

Congressional Committee Has Power To Find Out Causes If Inquiry Shows That Travel Was Made Unsafe Or Shipments Delayed On Account Of Riot.

Dr. Leroy N. Bundy, charged with being the leader of a number of Negroes in an alleged plot to rise and massacre the whites of East St. Louis, was taken to Bellville, Ill., from Cleveland, Ohio, last Sunday and landed in the county jail. Dr. Bundy had been brought back on a requisition honored by Gov. Cox of Ohio.

A committee of men, consisting of Doctors Gordon, Phillips and Williams, representing the Medical Forum of St. Louis, visited Dr. Bundy Monday. The Dentist was broken in spirit and declared he had been financially ruined on account of his legal fight in Ohio.

In speaking of his case Dr. Bundy said: "I am a persecuted man; the charges against me are absolutely false. I never entertained any crazy notion like this and I never had the slightest idea that the Negroes would do anything like this. Like every other Negro in East St. Louis, I knew there was trouble brewing for us but I went about my business and was not engaged in any plots or schemes to provide weapons as is charged, and I was not the leader of any armed mob of Negroes, nor at any time knew anything about any kind of plot, and nobody, black or white, can truthfully say that I urged our people to arm themselves or to do anything that was against the law.

"I am the victim of dirty, low, petty politics. My relatives and friends have exhausted their financial resources for me and I now need assistance from others. If members of my race will come to my aid and secure council to defend me, I can establish my innocence. Without their help I can do nothing."

At the meeting of the Medical Forum, Tuesday night, the organization subscribed $25. Individual members also signified their intention to subscribe personally. The money will be given to W. H. Huffman, 3137 Pine Street, to be used by the N. A. A. C. P., in Bundy's defense. An appeal is made to others to contribute through the same organization.

Ten Negroes and three white men have been sentenced to 14 years each on account of the riots of July 1st and 2nd. Three whites are on trial now for killing two Negroes and one white man. 38 white men and several Negroes are in jail and 48 white men and 4 white women are out on bond awaiting trial.

Government Starts Inquiry

The Inquiry Committee of the National House of Representatives opened its first session in St. Louis Wednesday to investigate the East St. Louis riot. If the committee finds that travel was made unsafe and that interstate freight shipments were delayed on account of the riot, it is authorized to proceed and bring out the causes. The committee will have no difficulty in establishing these facts.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis

The Illiniois, 7[illegible]/17

MILITIA LEADERS ASK TO BE HEARD

AT RIOT INQUIRY

[illegible] POST-DISPATCH

OCTOBER 24, 1917

Adjt.-Gen. Dickson and Col. Tripp Appear, Following Criti-cism of Guardsmen's Course.

IMPORTATION OF NEGROES

Congressmen Try to Find Where 5000 to 8000 Who Reached

East St. Louis Got Jobs.

Adjutant-General Frank Dickson of the Illinois national guard, and Col. Stephen O. Tripp, who led the militia force which was in East St. Louis at the time of the race riots, voluntarily appeared before the Congressional Investigating Committee in East St. Louis today and asked permission to testify as to the conduct of the troops during the rioting early last July.

In the investigation which has been under way several days, many witnesses have testified that the militiamen were inefficient in suppressing the rioting. Members of the committee several times have criticized the militia for its conduct while the rioting was under way.

One point to be investigated is the reason for the release of more than 100 men arrested on the night of the riot by Col. Tripp and a squad of national guardsmen. Apparently only two of those arrested were [illegible]

Inquiry Into Negro Importation.

The congressional committee made ineffectual efforts yesterday to obtain facts about the importation of negroes to East St. Louis from the South during the nine months preceding the riots early in July.

John D. Roche, supervisor of the American Steel Foundries, testified that his company had employed fewer than 100 additional negroes in the last year. He admitted, however, that the influx of negroes to the city had been large enough to excite his attention, and that he had heard general comment on it.

"Where did these negroes go?" asked Congressman Cooper. "Mr. Conway of Armour's says he didn't get them, and Mr. Paton of Morris' testified they didn't come to his plant. There has been testimony indicating that between 5000 and 8000 negroes came into this city between September and July. What became of them?"

Roche replied he did not know.

Men at Furnaces Work 12 Hours.

The committee inquired closely of Roche about the wages and working conditions at the American Steel Foundries. Roche testified that melters, the men who work in the glare and heat of the furnaces, stripped to the waist, are on duty 12 hours a day, and get about $6 a day. They go on at 7 a. m. and get off at 7 p. m., he said. Many of them live a mile from the plant.

"These men have to get up about 5 o'clock, and they can't possibly eat supper and get to bed before 9," Congressman Cooper said. "That means practically 16 hours a day is devoted to their work. It means a man can spend no time with his family except Sunday. It is a pretty hard life, isn't it?"

Roche said the company wanted to put on three eight-hour shifts, but the men objected to it. In reply to Congressman Foster, however, he pointed out, the shortening of hours would have meant a reduction of wages.

Congressman Cooper said that the British Labor Commission had found that men who worked short shifts not only did better work, but that the net product was greater. Roche agreed. "Then why don't you establish shorter hours and better wages at your plant?" Cooper asked. Roche replied that he had no such authority.

Negro Clergyman Testifies.

Testimony that both Mayor Mollman and Gov. Lowden were warned that negroes would be attacked, and that the warnings were given between the May riot and the July massacre, was given yesterday afternoon by Calvin Cotton, a negro clergyman. Cotton said no response was received from Gov. Lowden and that Mayor Mollman admitted his inability to save the situation. Mollman, the witness related, pleaded that he was "catching hell from everybody—the business men, the laboring whites and the negroes." This was soon after the May riot.

R. J. Boylan, a newspaper reporter, corroborated testimony previously given by Paul Y. Anderson, a Post-Dispatch reporter, that the mobs were composed of lawless characters who frequented various saloons and dives. He described East St. Louis barrel houses where, he said, "whisky could be bought for a nickel a throw before the war began." Further inquiry along this line brought forth a description of the once notorious "Monkey Cage," where, the witness said, "St. Louis society people, yeggmen, pickpockets, thugs and respectable East St. Louis citizens assembled to enjoy themselves."

Congressman Cooper learned, from Boylan, that the salaries paid to policemen before the riot were $70 and $80 a month. The witness said it had been purely accidental when a good policeman had been found.

Well-known East St. Louisans owned many of the buildings containing lawless saloons, where crime was bred, Boylan testified. He added that they absolved their consciences by renting them through agencies.

"I should think they would need to have consciences before absolving them," Congressman Cooper remarked. "It seems that you have no civic centers where young men and women could amuse themselves, except the 'monkey cages.' There is plenty of money in this city, and lots more in National City, and yet your policemen got $80 a month, and your public facilities for diversion and recreation were practically nil. I cannot understand it. Is there such thing here as civic pride?"

Freeman 7/14/17

"INVISIBLE HAND" DIRECTED RIOTS, SAYS GRAND JURY

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
AUGUST 15, 1917

Report on East St. Louis Race Outbreak Condemns "Indolent Public Officials."

AGITATORS UNMOLESTED

Even Mob Violence Was Advocated by Speaker in Mayor's Presence.

The St. Clair County grand jury, in its report, made public last night, says that after hearing all the evidence it believes the East St. Louis race riots were deliberately plotted and there is room for a grave suspicion that a "shrewd, criminal, invisible hand" directed all the moves of the plotters for weeks prior to July 2, when the rioting reached its climax in whouesale slaughter and arson.

This, the report says, would have been impossible but for the supine tolerance of "indolent public officials" who heard the rumblings, but remained inactive because they were "overawed by cowardly inclinations." The jury expresses its opinion that the hand of a strong and fearless public official could have restrained these atrocities.

As to the nature of the conspiracy charged in some of the indictments the report says:

"We are satisfied that a wicked and malicious plot was formed to bring on the riot. The scheme of the mob leaders appeared to be that if the police force of East St. Louis could, by having their officers shot, be made to sympathize with the actions of the mob, it (the mob) could carry out its purposes without interference.

The immigration of 8000 or more negroes from the South and their displacement in the places of white workmen in East St. Louis industrial plants is held to have been the basic cause of race intolerance which led to the rioting. It is asserted in the report that "engendered with false fears, negroes wantonly murdered policemen bent on aiding them," and that "a rival flame of passion" caused white men to murder negroes.

The report recites that about a year ago the workers at the aluminum reduction plant in East St. Loouis went on strike for more wages and better working conditions. The employers acceded to these demands, ending the strike.

Conditions at Aluminum Plant.

In further reference to conditions at the aluminum plant, the report continues:

"In February, 1917, the same workers again struck for higher wages, but the employers at the plant refused to accede to the demands, and, by the interposition of the United States Court by way of injunction, defeated the aims of the strikers. The discovery was then made by the workers that the large influx of negroes had put them to a disadvantage in dealing with employers.

"That employers abused this situation seems to us to be a warranted charge. Every community should assure good living conditions to all, without regard to racial questions, but the intent of employers to place the workers of one race at a disadvantage by notoriously favoring workers of another race must draw down condemnation."

The report asserts that a new form of aversion to the negro was caused by the changed industrial conditions and it tells of the mass meeting of May 28, when a delegation of more than 500 white men called on Mayor Mollman and demanded that the influx of negroes be stopped.

Speech Advocated Mob Violence.

"The denunciations were bitter and inflammatory," the report asserts, "and one of the speeches, in particular, advocated mob violence. The threats pronounced in the presence of the Mayor ought to have placed the officials on their guard, but when the crowd left the city hall and walked up the streets of East St. Louis a number of negroes were attacked and the riot of May 28, 1917, broke out—all within half an hour after the speakers had finished."

After this meeting and throughout June, according to the report, agitators worked among the people and tried to stir up bad feeling. This agitation went on among the whites and the negroes until members of each race thought members of the other were plotting to massacre them July 4. As that date approached there was increased unrest and apprehension.

The report tells how negroes, after being attacked near the Free Bridge approach, July 1, gathered at the premises of "the recognized leader of the negroes in East St. Louis." The story of the killing of Policemen Coppedge and Wadley by negroes at 1 a. m. July 2, and it is asserted that the policemen had told the negroes they were there to portect them, as well as white citizens.

Leroy N. Bundy, the negro dentist who was arrested in Cleveland Monday, charged with being a fugitive from justice, is believed to be the man mentioned in the report as "the recognized leader of the negroes in East St. Louis."

Tells of Firing From Autos.

The report tells that about the time of the killing of the policemen it was reported that white men in two automobiles had driven through the streets and fired shots into the windows of negroes' homes. The two automobiles, says the report, drove up in front of the Commercial Hotel, controlled by a leading politician, and the occupants entered the hostelry. It should have been apparent they had been employed on some lawless errand, for these two machines were riddled with rifle balls and buckshot. Yet there were no arrests."

The report recounts that in the forenoon of July 2 a meeting of white citizens was held at Labor Temple Hall without police interference, although the march to the hall began at the police station where the crowd had viewed the automobile in which the policemen were shot to death. At the meeting a chairman was appointed, and upon adjournment those present were told to return at 3 p. m. armed with guns. Attacks on negroes began soon after this meeting.

The grand jury describes the rioting later that day as "one of the wildest scenes of human carnage and destruction of property recorded in Illinois history." It asserts nearly 100 persons were killed and 245 buildings were burned, while, "with a few exceptions, the police stood by and made no effort to curb the fury of the mob."

Favors Armed Peace Guard.

It is recommended in the report that the Governor organize an armed body of peace guardians, partly mounted, to be known as State police or constabaulary, the duty of which shall be to go wherever needed and put down riots and disturbances which the local police cannot suppress.

The grand jurors signing the report were: Warren Hamill, foreman; R. E. McDonald, J. H. Batdorf, Chas. Hoehn, J. C. Bocquet, A. E. Schaefer, William Tsetzil, Joseph E. Biebel, Fred Groh, Fred A. Schwinn, Geo. Bollmeier, John Donovan, Louis Schaubert, E. A. Muskopf, Adolph Knobeloch, John G. Hoff, John A. Belchert, George Niess, F. M. Shepard, Dan A. Schafer, H. Galen Schmidt, Martin H. Eckert, Joseph Vonnahme.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

The Negro Riots as Seen by a Negro

The Result of a Longing for Wage and Social Betterment on the Part of the Southern Colored Workman, Who Is in the North to Stay, Says the Editor of the New Age

By Fred L. Moore

WHY there were race riots in East St. Louis and in New York, why negroes must be able to "go where they will in search of employment, freely and not in jeopardy of their lives," involves indeed the elevation of the negro citizenship to a higher level of living and wages to support it. But it involves also the aid of the white citizenship toward the equal protection of all citizens under the laws, the maintenance of an equality of rights, an equality of footing. Those who misunderstand the matter, including those Southerners who pretend they "understand the negro better than the Northerners do," continually confuse "social equality" with equality of civil rights. We want equal privilege to work, to education, to join unions, to sanitary living, to military service. The riots in East St. Louis and in New York were not, as alleged, "promoted by Germans," but were due to the lack of equality under the law.

In New York there have been two so-called race riots in the San Juan Hill district, which is between Columbus avenue in the West Sixties and the Hudson River. In that neighborhood there are 20,000 negroes and some 70,000 whites. In the first disturbance a negro entered a bar and was told that the drink he asked for "would cost him fifty cents." It was said the negroes of the neighborhood rallied about with knives and razors and threw broken bottles. That was not borne out by the evidence. What trouble there was arose because white men were trying to enforce the Southern rule of "no social equality," meaning by "social equality" the civil right to buy goods where white men were purchasing the same kind of goods. Yesterday's outbreak in the same neighborhood was because some uniformed soldiers of the Fifteenth New York Regiment (colored) stood on a corner and one delayed moving on when ordered by a policeman. I have not found that this man went beyond his rights in protesting. But there was trouble, and he and a comrade were sentenced to ten days' imprisonment for disorderly conduct, while a third was held for attacking a policeman with a potato knife. We propose to look into this quarrel. The East St. Louis riot was due to negroes from the South being mixed in with white strikebreakers in beef packing plants, and the resentment of the Jewish labor unionists at their intrusion.

500,000 Came North as Labor Was Scarce

Within a year or so 500,000 negroes have migrated North. We have tried to impress on those who wanted to come that only such as were efficient and intended to be good citizens and improve themselves were desired. The reason for this wholesale migration I believe was not to swell the Republican vote in certain Northern districts. If they arrived last year in March they were not eligible to vote last November. Neither was it due to German influence. Many Germans travelled through the South, but no German could influence a negro against the United States. The migration which still continues is owing to these facts: Common and much skilled labor in the North has been dependent more than most people realize upon foreigners who did not naturalize. When the war broke out in Europe they were called home. Northern mines, factories, railroads, hotels, restaurants, packing plants, etc., fell short of laborers. They looked about. The least fully employed men were the negroes of the South. So first the railroads sent for them, and then the others.

Tired of the South

Another impulse to migration was the recent lynchings in the South. Negroes moved North because they were tired of being lynched, tired of low pay, tired of discriminations, and because the national Administration had added to these discriminations. There had been separation of blacks from whites in Government offices. In some Southern cities the postmasters instituted for a while two separate mail delivery windows—one for blacks and one for whites. To an extent surprising to a Northerner there continues on Southern railways rules which compel negroes to enter a train by the front door and white people to enter by the rear door. Negroes are not allowed in sleeping cars. Educated negroes and Northern negroes had to sleep sitting up in ordinary coaches. When I was there I travelled by automobile. But suppose, not knowing the rule, I had entered a train by the rear instead of the front? The conductor very likely would have thrown me off and I would have suffered broken bones perhaps. In some towns the street cars reserve three seats for negroes, the rest for whites. In others more seats for negroes, and a few for whites—according to the local population. It is entirely different from the first come first served principle in street cars in the North.

There had been a frightful lynching at Waco. At Abbeville, S. C., a reputable farmer had been killed because he was a "fresh negro." Then there was the lynching at Memphis. The authorities of Shelby County, Tenn., the county in which Memphis is situated, recently arrested a white slacker. According to the Memphis papers, this man, Spencer Aroowood, white, twenty-four years of age, had never read a newspaper, in fact, can neither read nor write, and had never heard of registration or selective conscription. Here is a case of ignorance which scarcely could be duplicated in the whole colored populace of Shelby County. Colored people were victims of that grade of white intelligence. They would go to bed not knowing whether they would awake alive—so great was prejudice, so lax was their protection under the law. Some mighty fine whites did not approve it. But they were in the minority, and when an election came along some were not above rousing the prejudice against the negro if it enabled them to ride into power.

Unions Resist—So Negroes Will Have Their Own

These were the reasons for the movement north. The movement could have been stopped by higher wages, better school facilities, and equal opportunities and equal protection. The law serves the negro as against the negro, but when it comes to law for the negro against a white the law is often ineffective in the South. Can you wonder they had the impulse to migrate?

That they began taking the easiest way to better wages, better schools, more equable treatment? Booker Washington once said the negro race was a child race. The effort has been to bring it up to maturity, to educate it, to train it, give it pride in itself. Most white people in the South tried to discourage that, tried to get in the way. Especially the poor whites and hill billies who were jealous of its rise. When negroes began to come north to work on railways, the police of Southern towns interfered, sometimes tearing up the railway tickets. But negroes then began to buy short trip tickets, and gradually arrived north. Once they arrived we—the National League on Urban Conditions—began to classify them according to occupation and special skill and to place them in jobs suited to their capabilities. Many were found to be skilled and intelligent laborers, and could replace those who had been called to Europe. Soon the labor unions resisted. They had not allowed negroes into the unions generally, yet opposed their entrance into certain trades because they were not union men! Several unions now admit negroes. All should do so. We realize that the negro must get a decent wage or he cannot progress, cannot support the white standard of living. The negro standard must be raised—the white standard must not be lowered—therefore we are forming negro labor unions for all skilled trades We don't intend by them to antagonize employers, only to coöperate with them while insisting on a living wage.

Negro Ministers Change Their Preaching

The progress of the negro is well known. In fifty years, with not very good chances for education, he has reduced his percentage of illiteracy from ninety per cent to about thirty per cent. Our religious preachers are not now talking so much of the hereafter as they are of the present. They are preaching efficiency and better conditions here on earth and less about being happy in heaven. We aspire to live in a higher state now. Among negroes who have come to New York and whom you see running elevators and operating switchboards and serving as hallboys in apartment houses there are many who are doing this at low wage merely to meet expenses while they are studying to become electricians, chauffeurs, mechanics, doctors, dentists and so on. On the Connecticut tobacco fields there are 2000 young negroes this summer. They are students, and in the autumn will use their earnings to go back to training and technical schools. Schools now maintained exclusively by negroes are supported by $500,000 annual voluntary contributions from the race. This is apart from other moneys paid in the form of taxes. The determination of the negroes to help themselves must not be mistaken. Nor of patriotism, and devotion to country. Why if enlistment tomorrow were placed on a non-color line basis, the Army and Navy quotas would be filled in a day! The only New York regiment which has filled its ranks and has a waiting list is the negro regiment, the Fifteenth.

Want Equal Chance in Army and Navy

In the Navy enlistments are mainly restricted to scullion places. It remained for Baltimore to make the bald announcement that negroes were not wanted under any consideration, in the following circular printed in red ink:

ENLIST TODAY
IN
UNITED STATES ARMY
FOR THE WAR ONLY

The fact that you have registered in compliance with Conscription Law makes no difference. You still have the right to volunteer your services.

Pay $30 per month and up. MUST BE WHITE, between the ages of 18 and 40. Cavalry, Infantry, Field Artillery, and Medical Department are still open. Quartermaster Corps, Bakers' Corps, Signal Corps, Telegraph and Wireless Operators only. No consent of parents or guardian necessary.

BE A PATRIOT

If you want to fight for your country, enlist today. Apply to your postmaster or any of the following recruiting offices.

We are the only race which came to the United States by special invitation. We ask of South or North merely treatment as American men and American citizens who have no other allegiance.

Southern White Doesn't Know Negro

The South is now feeling the loss of the migrated labor and is saying "The negroes should return; we understand them better than the North does." Nothing is further from the truth. The South has seen more negroes than any other section, but knows less about them. What the negro knows about the Southern white is really something deep and various. Negroes live in Southern households, do the work there, are familiar with the whole history of those households, even receive their confidences. But what do the white households know of the families of their negro help? Nothing. They do not know the negroes' home life. We know the Southern white, but the Southern white does not know the negro. There are more white people in New England who know about the bitter sufferings, the deep human longings, the swift advancement and real achievements of the negro race than there are in the whole South. If white Southerners think the negroes who have come North and have been in a few quarrels are eager to get back to Dixie they've got a great deal to learn. The white South needs to know the negro inside as well as on the outside.

General Betterment from General Fairness

The main lesson for all is that the negro must in his labor and his civil life be accorded the treatment of a man and a citizen. It is for the good of all. It is for the orderly well-being of all. In the South they mostly are kept in segregated districts. There are no lights, no sanitation, except such as the negroes of the segregated settlement may contrive for themselves. All the conveniences with which the rest of the town may be equipped end at the border of the segregated district. This is not healthful for the community generally. Let me cite this illustrative story: A lady of nice consideration said: "Manda, I'm not going to send you my wash to do this week because my children have scarlet fever, and I don't want your children to get it, so I'll have the clothes fumigated." Replied the colored woman: "You don't need to worry about that, m'am; my children had the scarlet fever three weeks ago."

PUNISHMENT FOR [illegible] G NEGRO QUARRELS

[illegible] TRIBUNE
JULY 9, 1917

Bluejackets at the Great Lakes Naval training station who pick quarrels or offer unprovoked insults to Negroes, either in Chicago or on electric cars on the north shore, will be arrested and punished if complaints are made to the naval authorities at the station. A statement to this effect was forthcoming from Capt. W. A. Moffett.

Negroes whom bluejackets have encountered on the cars have been ordered in some instances to get off, Capt. Moffett said, and offensive remarks made to them.

Negroes employed at Fort Sheridan as cooks at the training camp complain that they have been attacked on the cars lately by bluejackets, and in other instances have been taunted and threatened with ropes. Negro women claim they have been insulted.

RUTLAND VT HERALD
JULY 14, 1917

The Negro Problem.

The "problems created by the influx of negroes from the south" are not new or intricate. They can be solved, so far as violence is likely to arise from them, by maintaining the peace and enforcing the laws impartially and all the time. In every instance in which disorders of long duration have afflicted American towns and cities, the cause has been the same; corruption and weakness where integrity and strength are needed.—New York Sun.

Former Negro Inhabitants of "Black Valley"

What Call Readers Think

N Y C CALL
JULY 14, 1917

NOT BASICALLY A QUESTION OF "MORALITY."

Editor of The Call:

Your editorial of July 9, in which you are trying to justify Mr. Gompers' explanation of the East St. Louis massacre of Negroes, will, I hope, finde very few adherents among Socialists.

Mr. Gompers' explanation of the reasons for the attack on the Negroes is not more than mere humbug. Who else is responsible, if not the A. F. of L., for the fact that millions of unskilled workingmen have remained unorganized? Has the A. F. of L. ever attempted to organize them? On the contrary, it always discouraged the organizing of the unskilled laborers. Having surrounded itself with a Chinese wall of craft unionism, the A. F. of L. left the unskilled workers at the mercy of the employers; and the employers have tried hard to make the best use of the situation.

And now an outpouring of condemnation is on the lips of the "old man" for the unfortunate beings whose only crime is that their skin is black and who have just as much right to live and exist as Mr. Gompers himself.

True Socialists always have looked with suspicion at Colonel Roosevelt's radical phraseology. Still, they have courage enough to admit when he is right. And in his skirmish with Mr. Gompers on the platform of Carnegie hall Mr. Roosevelt was right when he condemned the bloody pogrom on the unfortunate Negroes.

Here are a few extracts of an editorial in the Jewish Daily Forward, which was published a few days ago, commenting on the Roosevelt-Gompers skirmish:

"To our deepest sorrow, a lesson in humanity had to be taught by a capitalist ex-president, by an outspoken representative of the ruling class, to the president of labor, the official representative of the oppressed and exploited.

"To Socialists and workers it was a painful scene to witness, how Colonel Roosevelt, the representative of the capitalist class, has given such a powerful moral beating to the leader of organized labor; the representative of capital was this time morally stronger than the representative of labor. But there is one consolation left—not organized labor, not the morality of the workers, has been beaten, but Gompers himself, the official representative, who falsely expressed the spirit and morality of the workers, in whose name he spoke. As the morality of the workers is: No excuse can be found for massacres."

I, for one, heartily agree with the opinion of the Jewish Forward. Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL DOVITCH.
2011 Monterey avenue, Bronx, N. Y.

[Editor's Note.—May we point out to our correspondent that there was no editorial "trying to justify Mr. Gompers" in The Call; and, further, that we distinctly asserted explanation was not justification. Gompers, though his own conduct and labor policy is, to some extent, responsible for the killings, at least did try to explain, while the other man would tolerate no explanation at all; he merely "denounced." Gompers did not get very far, because the other cut him off; but, even if he had been allowed to proceed, he could not have "justified" the policy of the A. F. of L. in neglecting to organize Negroes. But that does not in the least controvert our statement that he was right when he declared that the killings had an economic basis, however much his own policy might have been in stupid opposition to that fact. Roosevelt was not "wrong" in "denouncing," but he was guilty of using denunciation to dodge or hide the plain fact of the fundamental economic base of the situation.

And let us say further to our correspondent that if there were a million Roosevelts, each with a million times his power of "denunciation," it would have no more effect in stopping such things than the baying of a pack of hounds has on diverting the moon from her course. The question may be superficially moral, but it is basically economic, and until that is recognized, and action taken accordingly, the Negro will be victimized in this manner; and so, too, will the white man.

If our correspondent can make any "justification" of Negro killings out of this plain statement of fact, then either he does not understand the English language, or we do not know how to use it. Come, friend Dovitch, is it really impossible for you to grasp this point of view?

The Jewish Daily Forward is preaching "morality" in its comment. Ours was purely economic. We don't and won't preach sermons on such matters. That preaching has gone on for generations, but it has not saved a single Negro from the slaughter, and it never will.

But if you like the Roosevelt way, be it so; he will keep on "denouncing" while Negroes are being continually massacred. If that pleases you, and that is all you want, you will get it, while the killings go on just the same. We were trying to point out the underlying causes which must be dealt with before the effect can be eliminated, and if you can see nothing in that but "justification" our attempt is useless.—Editor The Call.]

FOUR TALESMEN UNCHALLENGED ON RIOT JURY

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
OCTOBER 2 1917

22 Peremptory Challenges for Acknowledged Race Prejudice Indicates Panel of 500 May Be Needed.

Race prejudice against negroes, acknowledged by twenty-two talesmen examined yesterday at Belleville in the selection of a jury to try thirteen negroes charged with inciting the East St. Louis race riots by killing Detective Sergeant Samuel Coppedge last July, indicates the possibility that a panel of more than 500 will have to be drawn before twelve jurors are selected.

Counsel for the defense issued peremptory challenges against the twenty-two acknowledged race prejudice, and at the close of the first day only four talesmen were unchallenged. The Illinois law permits twenty peremptory challenges by both the State and the defense in a trial involving capital punishment, and, as there are thirteen defendants, each side may peremptorily challenge 260 talesmen, a total of 520.

It is predicted by counsel on both sides that the jury will not be selected before tomorrow afternoon, and neither side would be surprised if the examination of the panel consumed the entire week.

Acknowledgment of race prejudice yesterday by talesmen was usually made in an indirect manner, as: "I have no love for negroes" or "it would take a great deal of evidence to convince me that the defendants were not guilty."

Several Negroes on Panel.

The jury panel presented in Judge George A. Crow's court yesterday consisted of ninety-four men, several of them negroes, taken from a list of registered county voters selected by the St. Clair County Board of Supervisors last September, at a time when Fayette Parker, one of the negro defendants was a member of the Board of Supervisors. At noon Judge Crow summoned a special venire of fifty men to appear this morning for jury service. Sheriff Melvon must select the special veniremen, and he may impress any qualified citizen in St. Clair County.

The four jurors who were not challenged by either side yesterday were Fred C. Hockmann, real estate dealer; Charles Goeddo, lumber dealer, and Frank C. Blackensnip, brick contractor all of East St. Louis, and August Fuchs, a plumber, of Belleville.

The riot trials, involving 144 indictments, of which fourteen defendants are negroes, promise to break all records, in Illinois courts at least, in the matter of numbers of witnesses to be heard and length of time of trial.

WHITE PLAINS (N. Y.) ARGUS
JULY 3, 1917

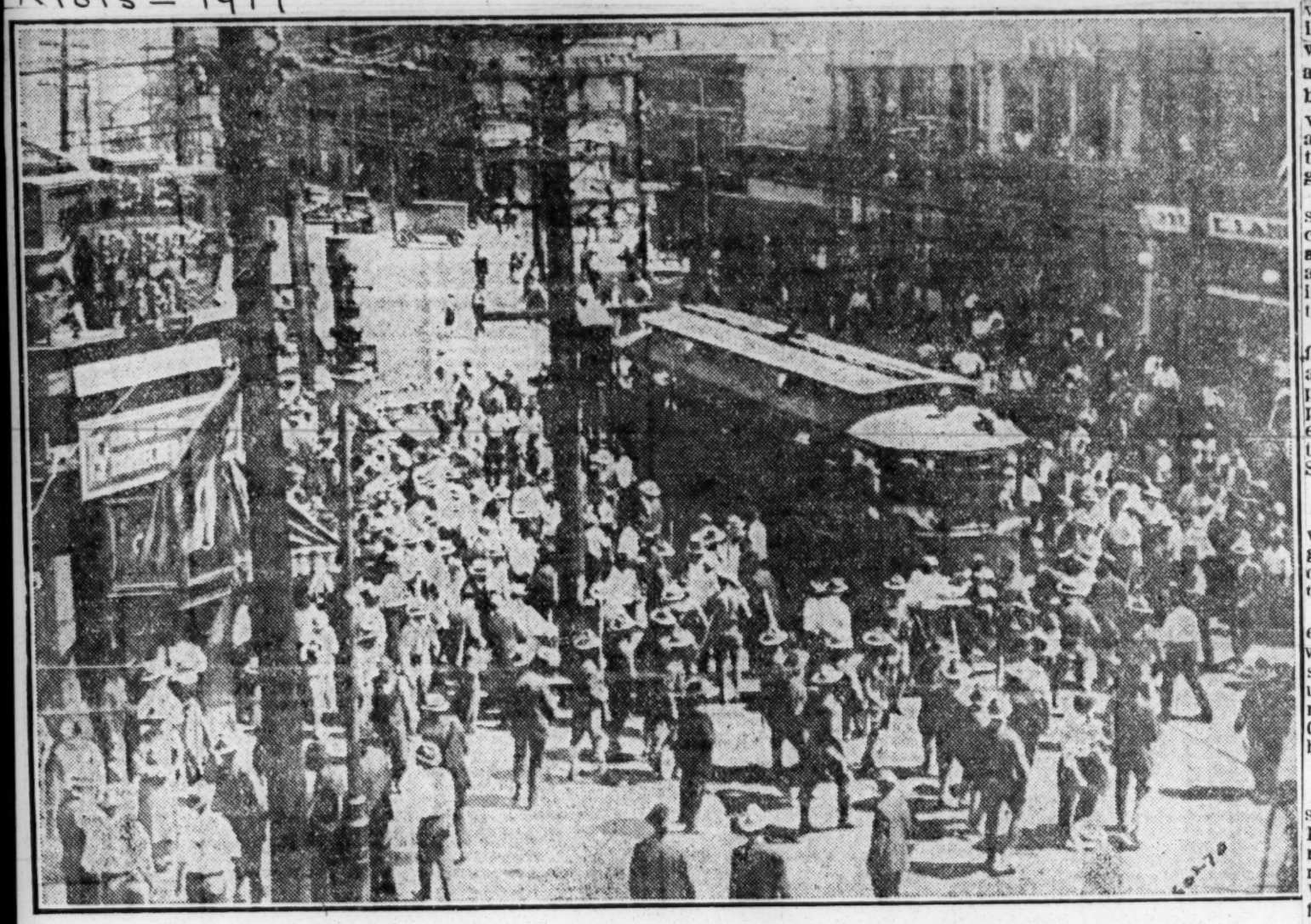
RACE RIOTS REGRETTABLE.

Race rioting in East St. Louis is one of the regrettable incidents of the day's news. It seems the white workingmen and women of St. Louis resent the importation of colored labor from the South and as a result the incensed whites and the negroes have come to armed clashes. Death has come to many and the torch has added to the horror. At least $3,000,000 of property has been burned and half a hundred are reported as being shot.

It is truly lamentable that such things can transpire in civilized communities. If the Master's teachings could only be followed, coupled with a little charity and common sense, riot and bloodshed would never be resorted to to settle economic conditions, however unsettled by unexpected conditions. Several thousand soldiers have been called out to preserve order.

Riots – 1917

East St. Louis



An East St. Louis Negro Pummeled While the Militia Look On

An Infuriated Mob Has Caught This Man in Front of a Street Car, and Wreaks Its Will Upon Him While the Guards Listlessly Watch the Outcome — One of Many Such Incidents During the Race Riots

Wherever Colored Men Made Stand Cowardly Whites Retreated, Consistently Refusing Anything Like Equal Battle—Only Lone Men and Defenceless Women Murdered—Many Whites Killed!—Police and Militia With Foreign Scum—Germans Taste American Blood

East St. Louis, July 10.—It was not all a massacre of lone colored men and defenceless women and children in this town. At times the whites ran up against a group of blacks, armed to the teeth and ready to sell their lives dearly. Then it was that the true courage of the white mobs was demonstrated. For still outnumbering five to one the organized blacks the white mobs discovered an engagement elsewhere and backed away, leaving the ground to the colored men.

Lest your correspondent be doubted in the statement of what he saw with his own eyes, I will give here a quotation from the St. Louis Republic (white) of July 3: "Thousands of Negroes, far from being cowed by the method of the white man's revenge, continued fighting back all day and far into the night. That more than 100 of their race had been disposed of during the day appeared not to enter into their calculations at all." Such is the tribute of a white paper to the black men who refused to be cowed by white cowards!

Lone Men and Women Victims.

It can be truthfully said that the only victims of the murderous and cowardly white mobs were lone black men and defenceless women and children. Sometimes it is true a group of six or ten colored men was set upon and murdered, but in every instance of this kind the blacks were either unarmed or afraid to fight. Those that fought generally escaped with their lives. The white mob was out for FUN, not for FIGHT.

Colored Rescue Attempted

And when word reached East St. Louis that the colored men of Belleville, Brooklyn, Cahokia, Alton, Granite City, Venice and East Carondelet were mobilizing to invade the city to avenge the deaths of their fellow blacks—a life for a life—genuine fear was apparent among the white mobs and feverish demands were made that the militia and police of the city guard the approaches to the city.

But this word could not be substantiated, except at Brooklyn. This colored town, where the population is almost entirely black, was up in arms against East St. Louis, but no organized effort was made to strike back at the whites.

When word of the riots reached officials of the Illinois Steel Company and the Commonwealth Steel Company at Granite City, they refused to permit their thousands of colored employes to leave the works, for fear they would join their friends in East St. Louis.

Attack Women.

One white mob chased a colored woman at the Relay Depot. White girls and women were brandishing clubs and calling on the mob to kill the woman.

A lone colored man was encountered and shot to death. A colored man was dragged off a street car, beaten, shot to death, and his face trampled upon by white men and girls. The mob then chased a black man down Collinsville avenue. He was caught beaten and shot.

Meet Black Wall.

The mob then turned back down the street, and at the mouth of "The Black Valley" encountered a colored mob of fifty men. The whites then numbered about 500. But THE WHITE MEN TURNED BACK, refusing the challenge to battle of the colored man when organized to defend his life. The whites were not after a fight with men of the race that fought at San Juan Hill, at Carrizal and a hundred other battlefields! All they were after was FUN, and this was best offered by LONE colored men or defenceless colored women and children. In front of the Illmo Hotel this same mob encountered a lone colored man. "Bravely" they gave chase, the cowards who had refused battle to 50 colored men, though outnumbering them 10 to 1!

Germans Their Allies!

The foreign-born scum of East St. Louis were supported by American police and militia in their murderous and cowardly attacks on American lives! **German enemies of the United States were their allies!** In fact everybody with a white skin, police, militia and enemies of the United States! One German, scarcely able to speak English intelligently, boasted "that he got two." In his hand was a pick-axe dripping with blood.

Another instance of the cowardice of the whites occurred on Tenth street, where colored men had barricaded themselves. The mob with characteristic bravado threatened to go toward Tenth street. They started, halted, each one looking out of the corner of his eye for men who would go to the front. None moved up to the perilous position. The crowd hesitated, halted and then milled back. A shot now and then from a rifle in the colored tenements whizzed by. Then someone set up the shout, "Let's go back and clean up Third street!"

Militia Let Them By.

At Third street, near City Hall, the mob was faced by a cordon of soldiers who, however, after such arguments as "it's the blacks we are after, stand by and let us pass. We're born white and we'll stay white," weakened, lowered their bayonets and left the street open.

Other soldiers answering fierce taunts from the mobs, answered that they, too, were in favor of killing the blacks and weren't going to interfere.

Scores of whites and blacks are dead and many more still in the hospitals to-day. Quiet reigns in East St. Louis!

Indict Mayor In Race Riot In Illinois

Montgomery Advertiser

Nov 17

(Associated Press)

BELLEVILLE, ILL., Sept. 8—Mayor Fred Mollman of East St. Louis and his private secretary, Maurice Ahearn, were indicted today in connection with the grand jury inquiry into the recent race riots in East St. Louis.

Indictments were returned against 37 other persons in connection with the riots, but their names were not made public as the caplases for their arrest have not been issued.

Score The Mayor

The grand jury submitted a report, scoring the mayor for alleged dilatoriness in taking means to curb the rioters, who took part in the slaying of negroes on July 2, and recommended that he be removed from office.

"Mayor Mollman" says the report, "must be judged by his actions as proven by the evidence. If his failure to give directions to the militia and if his failure to call upon the sheriff, and to deputize citizens who offered their services, were the result of a lack of ability or of fright the office should be taken from him and given to an efficient person.

"If the failure to act was because his sympathies were with those who sought to drive the negroes out of East St. Louis he should make room for a chief executive who is in avor of enforcing 100 per cent of the laws.

"The law abiding citizens and industries, and the respectable laboring men should unite and demand the resignation of the mayor as the greatest good he can do his city."

Malfeasance In Office

The specific charge against the mayor is malfeasance in office, based on his alleged negligence at the time of the riots. The charge against the mayor's secretary is that of conspiracy with the rioters in that he ordered the police and militia to destroy cameras "thus preventing moving picture men from photographing the mobs."

"No man", says the report, "gave greater assistance to the rioters and assured them more safety from prosecution that did Ahearn when he ordered that photographers be denied their free rights to take pictures."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

A Vain Refuge for Twelve East St. Louis Negroes

Pursued by the Mob They Made for This Opera House, Which Was Soon Set Afire. In a Short Time the Building Collapsed. All Were Killed

Women and Girls Brave Stench of Burned Flesh to Poke About Fire Ruins

Boys Kick Remnants of Human Bodies Around in Streets and Militiamen Make Sport of Grewsome Finds.

ST LOUIS MO DEMOCRAT
JULY 4, 1917

As a GLOBE-DEMOCRAT reporter yesterday afternoon walked about the devastated district in East St. Louis, in the belt lying south of Broadway and between Fifth and Eighth streets, the wind, wafting the smoke of the still smoldering embers of the conflagration of the night before, bore to his nostrils an entirely unprecedented smell—acrid, pungent and indescribably sickening.

The first intimation as to the source of the fumes—which of themselves, without any explanation, made the stomach retch—came as he was passing along Railroad avenue, a block south of Broadway, between Sixth and Seventh streets.

On both sides of Railroad avenue lay the ruins of burned cottages, and in the ashes were articles such as were indestructible in the fire, like cook stoves, other iron utensils, and in one case the framework of a piano. The intensity of the heat of a few hours before was proved at one place by a cascade of molten glass. And over all the waste drifted that biting, loathsome smoke.

Torso of Human Being.

At the place mentioned the reporter saw a khaki-clad soldier, who was displaying some find to a pair of friends. On approaching nearer it proved to be a cinder, probably 2 feet long. The soldier turned it over with his foot.

"There's one nigger," he said, "who will never do any more harm."

The cinder had been the torso of a human being, and the outlines of the viscera still were distinguishable.

This horror soon became a center of attraction for scores of sightseers, who came on foot or in automobiles. It was not until 2:30 p. m. that an ambulance arrived, and its appearance was a magnet to draw a still larger crowd—probably 200—in which at least half were women and girls, and a considerable proportion were children.

Attendants from the ambulance approached with a stretcher, and one of them, grasping with his naked hand a bone that protruded, thrust the mass into the stretcher. Not a man or boy, not even a woman or a girl, paled a shade of color. As the ambulance, with its grewsome freight, wheeled into Broadway, it met a truckload of militiamen, who saluted the other vehicle with shouts of merriment.

Boys Kick Flesh About.

In the meantime a walk of a block east brought the observer to another gathering of men and women, boys and girls. A foot-long piece of baked flesh was being kicked about, with the object of discovering whether it was that of a man or dog. At last a few hairs seemed to prove it was canine flesh.

But a few feet away lay what was incontestably the ribs from the breast of a human being. This fragment also was turned over by the feet of the same sort of singularly cool and callous seekers of the morbid. They would have displayed no more emotion had they been examining a cut of beef in a butcher shop. It was true it was only the men who stirred up these hideous relics; but the women and girls stood close by and eyed the disclosures with inextinguishable avidity.

Then up spoke a pleasantly smiling youth.

"That's nothing," he said. "Go around to Eighth street and Broadway, where that nigger barber shop was, and you'll see a fellow's brains strewn on the ground."

Past the shells of buildings, including that of the Broadway Theater, the way led. One had to clamber down a declivity on the east side of Eighth street, and the direction was made clear by the women and girls, who were ahead.

Nose Only Guide Needed.

In a moment one needed no other guide than the nose, which was saluted by a stench so piercing that sturdy men were not ashamed to take to flight, and to abandon themselves to the revulsion of their stomachs.

The brains were there. So was a brown, oily, oozy mass. The smell exhaling from it was one which could scarcely ever be forgotten. It reminded one with frightful poignancy of the description given by war correspondents of the odor rising from "No Man's Land," between the trenches. The half-liquified mass lying there, covered with ashes, was, as certain evidence showed, once a man.

These were the relics that lay on the surface. No effort has as yet been made to explore the ruins. Persons on the scene, whose red and sleepless eyes seemed to qualify them as judges, were of the opinion scores more of such appalling cinders lie beneath the ashes of the negro settlement.

Says East St. Louis Mayor 'Laid Down'

N Y C TRIBUNE
OCTOBER 26, 1917

Guard Commander Tells of Executive's Action During Riots

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Oct. 25.—Colonel Stephen Tripp, a member of the staff of Adjutant General Dickson of Illinois, to-day testified at the Congressional inquiry into the East St. Louis race riots of last July that he believed Mayor Mollman of East St. Louis "lay down" while the rioting was in progress.

"I concluded that certain political influences were inducing him to keep out of it," Colonel Tripp said in reply to a question by Congressman Raker. Colonel Tripp had previously testified that Mayor Mollman had designated City Attorney Fekete as his representative in handling the situation.

"Who ordered your men scattered out along the streets in bunches of two or three?" asked Congressman Raker.

"It was done on the orders of City Attorney Fekete," replied Colonel Tripp, "and was against my judgment. But we were instructed to take orders from the Mayor."

"What were you doing at the City Hall for four hours in the morning while two men were being shot within a block of you?" asked Mr. Raker.

"I was mapping out a plan of campaign for the day," replied Colonel Tripp.

"A plan of campaign for sixty militiamen!" said Congressman Cooper. "You could have planned half the battle of Verdun in that time."

When Colonel Tripp was asked why more rioters were not arrested he replied that Guardsmen arrested more than five hundred, but that the police released four hundred of them.

General Dickson said: "I was here during the May riots, and when I arrived during the troubles in July I saw that nothing had been done since May. The average business man in times of such trouble plays both ends against the middle and avoids taking a decided stand for fear of injuring his business."

Maurice V. Joyce, a lawyer, told of seeing negroes being abused while soldiers stood by and failed to interfere.

CHARLESTON S C EVE POST
JULY 4, 1917

A JOB FOR THE CENSOR

When the list closed yesterday afternoon there were twenty-seven known dead in the East St. Louis negro hunt, among them a two-year-old girl. Seventy-four wounded had been found. More than three hundred houses had been destroyed. New fires were lighted later and the drive was resumed, so the score should not be regarded as complete. "Bits of clothing taken from dead negroes," says the reports, "were shown by souvenir hunters." On Fourth street three white men saw a negro apparently dead lying in a gutter. By the glare of a flashlight it was discovered he was still breathing. Two of the men fired shots into the wounded man's head. White men and women attacked a young negress. "Let the women have her!" cried the men, and the women tore off the victim's garments. One of them swung a club and hit her in the mouth. Another held her hands that the blow might be more effectively repeated. A white woman wrestled with a soldier for his rifle, to get at an old negress he was protecting. The women seem to have had a more active part than is usually taken by or accorded to them in race riots or simple lynchings. The East St. Louis affair might almost be said to have reached the dignity of a massacre.

It is to be hoped that the United States censorship has been more efficient as to this affair than it seems to have been with respect to purely military information, which has escaped so freely to the foe. Every possible diligence should be used to prevent details of the East St. Louis demonstration reaching the despoilers of Belgium and the persecutors of Armenia. It might give comfort to the enemy.

Riots — 1917 East St. Louis

REMARKABLE FOREWARNING TO PRESIDENT AND PEOPLE OF U. S. A. ON INDIFFERENCE TO LYNCHING

The Guardian 7/14/17

Address of Wm. D. Brigham in Faneuil Hall, Boston, at National Colored Liberty Conference, June 13, 1917, Less Than Three Weeks Before Awful St. Louis Race Massacre.

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen:

One of the daily papers a week or so ago in speaking of a telegram sent the President of the United States, protesting against the recent lynching in Memphis, Tenn., said it was sent by Allen W. Whaley, William D. Brigham and William Monroe Trotter, **"three prominent Boston Negroes."** Now, if anybody thinks I am a prominent Boston **Negro**, he has another "think" coming to him. But whether I am a prominent Boston Negro, or an **obscure** Boston white man, since the day, when as a boy, I read "Uncle Tom's Cabin" with tears coursing down my cheeks, up to the moment I sent the latest telegram to the President,—my heart has always beat for **liberty** and **freedom, equality** and **justice.**

Democracy Begins at Home.

In the midst of this World War of which we are now a part, opinions seem to differ as to whether this is an opportune time for Colored American citizens to assert their rights. I am here tonight to say that for one I think this is **just the time.** While we are on our way to secure **world democracy,** especially in the case of Europe, it might be well to **pause** long enough to do a little towards securing some of that democracy here **at home.** One of the **best places to have democracy is in the army,** and that is one of the last places where any **caste** should be allowed.

Should Say "White Men Wanted."

On Boston Common you may see the sign, **"Men Wanted."** But when a **Colored** young man applies, of acceptable physique and suitable education, he is told, "We are not enlisting you people." Ought the sign over the tent to read **"White Men Wanted"?** .To what family do the 12,000,000 Colored citizens belong? Are they **animals?** Another sign reads, "Men with **Red Blood** Wanted." What sort of blood courses through the veins of this audience here tonight? And of the twelve million people of African descent in this country. As late as in this morning's paper was a notice: United States Marine Corps—under it the Latin motto "semper fidelis," and which said, "Five hundred **red blooded** young men wanted at once to enlist for the war only."

Colored Battle Heroes.

If a Colored man is good enough to shed his blood on the fields of France, he is good enough to be accepted as a **volunteer.** And I call your attention to the fact that it was a **Colored man** who, when he released his dying grasp upon his country's flag as he fell at Fort Wagner, gave the flag to **another Colored man,** Sergeant Carney, who said, "The old flag never touched the ground, boys"—and the reason the flag did not touch the ground was because it was held aloft **by one Negro** who passed it as he gave up his life into the hands of **another Negro.** I think it is especially contemptible to use a person when you want to get him to do something for you and then forget him afterward. The War of the Rebellion was won by the aid of the Colored troops and without them, as Lincoln said, it could not have been won, and they should have justice done them while they are living.

Justice Defined.

There is a pledge of loyalty to our flag which is repeated by all the school children and by a great many organizations, which is: "I pledge allegiance to my flag and to the Republic for which it stands—one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." It is a fine thing to have this pledge of loyalty which has been defined to be **"fidelity touched by emotion,"** repeated all over our land, but isn't it about time to do something practical to bring about **justice** for the twelve million citizens of African descent? And what is the meaning of the word **"Justice"?** Justice has been defined to be **just treatment,** and refers more especially to the carrying out of law. There are **three** kinds of justice—**commutative** justice, which gives every man his own property, including things pledged by promise; **second, distributive** justice, which given every man his exact deserts; **third, general** justice, which carries out completely all the ends of law.

Want Flag To Stand for Something.

We all reverence the flag, but we want it to stand for something. The flag reminds us of citizenship in this great country and of what Wendell Phillips once said: "When I stood upon the pearly shores of Genoa and gazed upon that magnificent ship of the line, 'The Ohio,' her graceful masts tapering toward the sky, the translucent waters reflecting her majestic form, **I thanked God** that I was an **American citizen**—but when I thought that from underneath those decks there should boom forth a salute to uphold American slavery, I hung my head in shame for my country." What would he say of the lynchings today?

"Flag of the heroes who left us their glory,
Borne through our battle fields' thunder and flame,
Emblazoned in song and illumined in story,
Wave o'er us all who inherit their fame."

Opposes Quiet Submission.

I want especially tonight to awaken, if I can, the **public conscience** in the matter of **lynching,** and to protest against some of the things which the head of Hampton Institute says in the recent number of "The Southern Workman." It seems to me that the policy of **"quiet unpretentious service"** is, as Dr. Grimke says,—a pernicious, un-American, unmanly heresy of quiet submission to wrong. What God directed His prophet to do was to **"cry aloud**—spare not—lift up thy voice like a trumpet and **declare unto My people their transgressions** and to the house of Jacob their sins." It is, says Dr. Grimke, because **white** people think **Colored** people are **different** from themselves. They think that the Negro is made of a little different clay and therefore that it is all right for him to quietly submit to what white men would not be **expected** to submit to and would NOT submit to without the most vigorous protest. Rights are to be demanded —Privileges are to be requested.

The Forewarning.

One of the most awful things recently done was the burning alive of a Colored man without trial by jury two weeks after the alleged crime was committed, in Memphis, Tenn. When Eli Persons, was lynched, **humanity** was lynched with him—**justice** was lynched with him—**Christianity** was lynched with him, and the TORCH THAT LIGHTED THE FUNERAL PYRE, WHICH BURNED HIM WHILE HE WAS YET ALIVE MAY ONE DAY LIGHT A CONFLAGRATION WHICH CANNOT BE EXTINGUISHED.

This is the telegram to the President about the Memphis lynching.

To the President, Woodrow Wilson,
White House, Washington, D.C.

Associated Press reports the mutilation and burning alive of a Colored man without a trial at Memphis, Tenn., and that mob intends to burn two more. We call upon you as head of the Federal Government to make every effort to stay this further blot on the civilization and humanity of this Christian nation. Our laws forbid the burning alive of rats in a trap. We implore you, while saying much for justice and humanity for foreign nations to speak out for justice to 12 million Colored American citizens and to stop stirring of resentments. America is rivaling Germany and Turkey in barbaric atrocities. Will you do something?

Boston Branch National Equal Rights League, Allen W. Whaley, William D. Brigham, Wm. Monroe Trotter.

Story of Sending the Telegram.

I happened to be sitting one afternoon in the Guardian office a week or two ago when one of the clerks in the office brought in the evening papers containing the account of the burning alive without any trial of the Negro Eli Persons. It was at once suggested that we send a telegram of protest to the President of the United States. Someone present said, "Do you think he would pay any attention to it?" and I said "No, we might as well send it to the King of Siam as far as its receiving any attention from the present incumbent of the White House." But now see what happened and this shows **the value of protest.** The telegram was published the next morning in the Boston Post, which had a circulation that morning of over a half a million copies, and also in the Boston Herald. But best of all the Associated Press sent the telegram all over the country and about the second or third day after this, we began to receive letters from the South in opposition to it and in praise of it.

Answers from South.

An editorial over a column long was sent to us from a Lynchburg paper against the telegram and wondering that we had the presumption to address so august a personage as the President of the United States upon so trifling a matter as the roasting to death of a human being. We received a letter of appreciation from a man in Georgia; also one from a Colored man in a prison in Jacksonville, Florida where he had been sent for urging Negroes to come North; also a letter signed a "Citizen of Memphis" probably one of those valiant souls in the mob, telling the three of us who signed the telegram to mind our own business and the people of the South would solve "the Negro problem," for you know many people of the South say that it is solved by the supremacy of the white man. The letter from Memphis telling us to mind our own business was not so far out of the way after all for that is precisely what we were doing, it being a part of our business to protest against the lynching and murders of the South.

Quotes Louisville News.

May I also read you these words of approval from the "Louisville News"?

"We give honor to the Boston branch of the National Equal Rights League for sending to the President of the United States immediately upon learning of the Memphis outrage a telegram of protest and a call upon him to put Federal machinery to work to stop lynchings. As far as we know that **was the only telegram or protest made to any authority** where if we, the race, were on the job the White House would **have been literally bombarded by protests from organizations and individuals.** We have got to learn the value of protest and we must keep eternally at it. Again we thank the National Equal Rights League for seeing its duty and doing it."

Not One Word By President Wilson On Lynching.

The President of the United States who is a great letter writer has, if my memory serves me correctly, never uttered **one syllable** either of **spoken** word or **written** speech against the lynching of the South, or of **sympathy** with those who are thus bereaved, or made the slightest allusion to this condition of things which rivals Germany and Turkey in barbaric atrocity. In this matter of lynching, we must all do what we can to arouse the public conscience.

Wendell Phillips' Vow.

In regard to the return of Anthony Burns the fugitive slave Mr. Phillips said: "I went over in my mind the history of Massachusetts. I thought of her schools, her colleges of learning, her churches, her courts, her benevolent and philanthropic institutions, her great names, her Puritans, her Pilgrims, and I was obliged to say, "Burns, there isn't humanity, there isn't justice enough here to save you; you must go back! Then I vowed anew," Mr. Phillips said, "before the everlasting God, that I would consecrate all the power he had given me to hasten the time when an innocent man should be safe on the sacred soil of the Puritans."

May I ask all those present who are willing to do so to rise in their seats and to take Mr. Phillips' vow only substituting the word lynching for the return of the fugitive slave? (The audience rose and unanimously agreed to do this.)

North and South Both Blamed.

Only about one fifth of all the lynchings in the South are for alleged attacks on women. Others are for resisting arrest, speaking disrespectfully to white people, quarrels over wages, etc.

North and **South** are equally guilty before God, the South that it permits lynchings and burnings to go unpunished when the participants are perfectly well known—the North that it takes so little interest in such a blot on its boasted civilization and the Church that it does not speak out for justice for those for whom Christ shed His blood on Calvary's Cross.

"I urge you to **fight for your rights.** A minister once took this text from Hebrews: "That those things that **cannot** be shaken, may remain." He said, **first,** there are some things that cannot be shaken,—**second,** there are some things that **ought** to be shaken,—**third, we are the people to shake them.**

Federal Law Against Lynching.

We need a Federal law to prevent lynching. Keep always in mind the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to

the Constitution,—the 13th, which destroyed slavery — the 14th, which made the Colored race citizens and said that no citizen should be deprived of life or liberty—and the 15th which gave the ballot to the Colored men of the South.

Let All Share Liberty.

In the Republic of France, across the seas, Colored people are not discriminated against. It is no wonder that the **Kaiser Wilhelm** sent a statue now in the city of Washington, of his ancestor Frederic the Great, personifying military splendor and success, while the Republic of France sent a beautiful statue of **"Liberty enlightening the world,"** which beautifies New York Harbor. But let us, while praising liberty, see that it is shared by all in this country.

On the Virginia side of the Potomac River is the cemetery at Arlington where lie sleeping side by side, thousands of black and white citizens and those of all nationalities who fell in the Civil War. Many stones are pathetic, one is marked "Unknown—5914." Nothing is known of this hero but the number given him. As James G. Baine once said: "The sight of those thousands of stones makes no democratic voters."

"On farm's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread
And glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead."

How Race Discrimination Works in South.

My youngest son who returned from a visit to Washington a week or two ago said that when the electric car which left Washington had crossed the Potomac River into Virginia, the conductor came in and changed the signs which previously read "White" (over the seats) to "**Black and White**" and those of darker skin were obliged to sit in the rear part of the car. Of course those familiar with the law entered the car at the rear and were not humiliated by the change—but imagine Clement Morgan the orator of his class at Harvard, Professor Pickens, an honor student at Yale,—William Monroe Trotter, a graduate of Harvard and a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society,—and our well known Boston lawyer, Wm. H. Lewis a former Assistant Attorney General of the United States, Edgar Benjamin, Butler Wilson, Williams and a score of others, happening to be seated in the front part of the car being approached by the conductor who would saw to them, "Gentlemen," no, he would **not say "gentlemen,"** but he would say "You people must go into the back seats"—and they would say, "Why?" and he would say, "Why, on account of the tint of your skin," and they would say "Why, our skin is the **same color** as it was when we entered the car on the Washington side of the Potomac," and he would say "Can't help it, the laws of Virginia are that white and Colored must be segregated."

No Segregation There.

It seems almost laughable that such human distinction should be made, and some of you may not think it important enough to note, but to me it carries out the idea of the South that Colored and white people are essentially different; but we shall all of us **some day, or some night,** cross **another river,**—not the **Potomac,** but the **River Jordan,** and as we pass through the gates into the City we shall hear Him Who said once: "One is your Master ,even Christ, and all ye are **brethren,"** and Who said, "In My Father's house are **many mansions,"** and they will **not** be segregated in any particular part of the Heavenly City, but you and I will join the song of triumph and sing together the **endless hallelujah.**

Until then, let us remember, even in the darkest hour, that it is as true **now** as it will be **then: "The Lord God omnipotent reigneth!"**

RIOT DEFENDANT TESTIFIES HE SAW THREE MEN SHOT

LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
EMBER 17. 1917

Joseph Dickerson Denies He Took Any Part in East St. Louis Disturbance.

Joseph Dickerson, 24 years old, one of the five defendants on trial in the Circuit Court at Belleville on charges of conspiracy in connection with the East St. Louis race riot, July 2, told yesterday how Fred Moore, an acquaintance, was shot and killed as they stood talking at Broadway and Eighth street the night of the riot.

Dickerson also told of having seen two other white men shot at the same corner after Moore's body was taken away. This is the only disturbance he saw during a tour of the downtown district in the early part of the evening, he testified. Court was adjourned, following his testimony, until Monday.

Dickerson was the fourth defendant to testify during presentation of testimony for the defense yesterday. Richard Brockway, another of the defendants, will probably be placed on the stand Monday. The other defendants who testified yesterday were John Tish, James W. Andrews and John Johnson.

Says He Watched Fires.

Dickerson said he spent from 8 a. m. until 6 p. m. in the store of the Union Furniture Co., 231 Collinsville avenue. In the evening, after supper, he went out to watch the negro houses and Opera House burning on Broadway, he testified.

"After I left Eighth street I walked to Fourth street and Broadway," Dickerson told. "There I saw the body of a negro hanging from a pole. There was a large crowd there and 15 or 20 militiamen were dispersing them. Then, with Sam Morgan, whom I met there, I went up Collinsville avenue to Missouri avenue.

"We then went over to Second street. There I helped a woman carry her furniture out of her house The house was burning.

"I was not near Walsh's undertaking parlor the entire day nor at any time was I south of Broadway. I didn't even see the negro hung on Fourth street south of Broadway, much less take part in hanging him. Nor did I chase a negro into the undertaking parlor."

Try to Prove Alibi.

Joseph Moxley, a negro janitor, told previously of having been chased by a mob and identified Dickerson as the man who tried to seize him after he had fled into the undertaking parlor. This, Moxley related, took place in the morning. Dickerson's attorneys say they will place witnesses on the stand to show that Dickerson was in the store all morning.

Dickerson was also identified by William Aldridge as the man who aided in hanging the negro on Fourth street. Dickerson testified yesterday he worked with Aldridge three years ago and they quarreled. There has been bad feeling between them since, Dickerson related.

Samuel Morgan of East St. Louis corroborated Dickerson's testimony of their meeting and also told of having walked about with Dickerson until they went home about 11 p. m.

Mrs. Tampie Dickerson, Dickerson's mother, who has attended each session of the trial, took the stand in her son's defense. She did not know where Dickerson went the night of the riot, but said he came home to lunch and supper the same as usual.

Seven witnesses testified yesterday during the hearing of the defense for Andrews. Elmer Taylor, a blacksmith, said he was in Andrews' blacksmith shop working with Andrews, all day. Andrews left two or three times, Taylor said, to go to the corner saloon for a drink. He told of Andrews asking a mob operating near the shop to go away and not destroy the peoples' houses.

Negro Corroborates Story.

He corroborated Andrews' testimony about taking in several negroes, two of them women with their two children, and protecting them.

John White, a negro laborer, corroborated Andrew's testimony that Andrews took his wife and he in for the night and sent them to St. Louis the next morning.

Other witnesses who testified and corroborated parts of Andrews' testimony were: John Keefe, a saloon keeper; William Watson, a negro teamster; Mrs. Elner Taylor, wife of Andrews' helper, and William Whatley.

FOURTEEN YEARS NOT ENOUGH FOR WOOD AND KEANE

The St. Louis Argus 10—

Prosecutor Argues that Greater Punishment Should be Given Men Charged with the Murder of Scott Clark in East St. Louis Race Riot, July 2.

10/12/17

Jury Convicts Ten Negroes for Killing Detective July 1. Given Fourteen Years in Penitentiary. Three Men Freed.

Prosecutor James A. Farmer, in his speech for the prosecution Thursday afternoon in the first of the East St Louis riot cases, the trial of Wood and Keane for the murder of Scott Clark said that, in view of the enormity of the crime and the conclusiveness of the evidence, sentences of 14 years in the penitentiary would not be sufficient punishment for Wood and Keane He did not say what punishment the State would ask. The death penalty for murder is still in force in Illinois An acquittal in this case, Farmer said would mean that the wanton slaughter of an unoffending Negro is not a punishable offense in St. Clair County.

The two defendants were positively identified by witnesses as the ones who dragged Clark through the streets at the end of a rope and hung him on a pole.

Mrs. Iva Clark, widow of the murdered man, told a pitiful story of the brutal attack on herself and her husband. The jury was expected to get the case Friday. More than a hundred men and women are to be tried for participating in the horrible massacre at East St. Louis the night of July 2.

JURY CONVICTS TEN NEGROES

After a deliberation from 11:30 p.m., Saturday, October 6, to 2:15 p.m., Sunday, the jury at Belleville found 10 of the Negroes who were tried last week for the killing of two policemen July 1, guilty and sentenced them to not less than 14 years in the Penitentiary, the minimum sentence possible for murder in Illinois. Three of the defendants were acquitted.

The men convicted are: Fayette Parker, member of the St. Clair Board of Supervisors, O'Faniel Peoples, George Roberts, Horace Thomas, Marshall Alexander, Dee Smotherman, Albert Hughes, Charles Foster, Will Palmer and Bud Townsend.

The acquitted are: Guy Moore, Thos. Tackett and Lester Fowler.

NEW MILFORD CONN GAZETTE
[illegible] 6, 1917

KILL NEGROES IN RIOTS.

Hundreds Shot or Hanged by East St Louis Mobs.

Mobs in East St. Louis, Ill., burned negro dwellings and killed the occupants. More than 100 negroes are reported shot or hanged. Eight companies of soldiers were practically helpless to quell the disorder, and six more companies were ordered to the city.

Fires which the fire department have been unable to control were started in the negro section. Negroes were shot by the mob as they ran from their burning dwellings, and at least two are said to have been forced alive back into the flames.

N Y C MAIL
AUGUST 17, 1917

GUARDSMEN INDICTED AFTER RACE RIOTING

Negro

East St. Louis, Ill., Aug. 17.—Deputy sheriffs were to leave here to-day to serve capiases on sixteen members of the 3d Illinois Field Artillery stationed at Springield, it was asserted. The troops are said to have been indicted by the St. Clair county grand jury for alleged participation in the race riots.

RACE RIOTERS IN UNIFORM.
E WORLD
OBER 20, 1917

All Wore Blue Shirts, Congressional Investigators Hear.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Oct. 19.—The Congressional committee conducting an inquiry into the recent race riots in East St. Louis to-day began an effort to determine whether all the rioters wore distinctive garments so they could be recognized by one another.

Frank J. Cunningham testified that all the rioters he saw wore blue shirts. A witness yesterday testified to the same effect.

Robert E. Conway, General Manager of the Armour & Co. packing plant, declared the trouble was due to agitators among striking employees of the Aluminum Ore Company. When an injunction was issued against the strikers interfering with negroes employed as strikebreakers, the disturbance began, he said.

He testified operations were seriously curtailed for days after the riots.

N Y C HERALD
JULY 14, 1917

Seven Men Arrested on Murder Charge in the East St. Louis Rioting.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Friday.—Two white men and five negroes were arrested on a charge of murder to-day after the adjournment of the Coroner's inquest into incidents of the recent race rioting. The inquest will be resumed Monday. The State's Attorney, Mr. Schaumleffel, declared that the evidence presented justified the charges. Other arrests on a similar charge are expected.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis.

INFLUX OF NEGROES CAUSE OF LAWLESS OUTBREAK

East St. Louis Labor Leader Declares Many of Blacks Were Imported; Large Employers Say Most of Them Came Voluntarily

ST. LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 3, 1917

A Post-Dispatch reporter today interviewed labor leaders and large employers of labor in East St. Louis for an expression of opinion as to the cause of the race riots, which have grown out of the large influx of negroes from the South in the last 12 months.

Michael Whalen, City Clerk of East St. Louis, and also president of the Central Trades and Labor Council there, stated that the riots are the result of a growing impression during the last year that the big employers of labor were determined to make East St. Louis "a negro town," and in so doing destroy labor unions.

"Last summer," Whalen explained, "4500 white men went on strike in the Armour, Swift and Morris packing plants. Eight hundred negroes, imported from the South, took places in these plants as strikebreakers.

Negroes Brought From South.

"The negroes came from the South in box cars and some in day coaches. Their work at the packing plants was the loading of box cars, the handling of crates of meat and lard, and pushing trucks

"When the strike was ended, the 800 negroes remained employed at the packing plants and that many white men failed to get their jobs back.

"Since then negroes have been coming continuously from the South to East St. Louis. They arrive principally on Sunday nights, when three or four day coaches loaded with them arrive here. Many negroes bring their families."

Whalen asserted that among the big employers who had laid off white men and employed negroes were the Swift, Armour and Morris packing plants, the Aluminum Co. of America, the Missouri Malleable Iron Co., the American Steel Foundries, and the Cotton Seed Oil Co.

Many of Arrivals Get No Work.

At least 2500 negro men, Whalen estimates, have come to East St. Louis from the South in the last year. Many of these, he pointed out, failed to obtain work. They lived with friends, he said, and then citizens began to experience frequent highway robberies, burglaries and similar crimes. Residents learned that many of the new arrivals brought with them, as baggage, only revolvers and razors.

"The people became exasperated at these conditions," Whalen declared, "and determined to drive these negroes out of town to protect themselves and their families."

Whalen said there was no difference in pay for white and the negro labor, being $2.50 a day for either for a 10-hour day. White laborers, he said, for a time had voiced no objection to working alongside the negroes in the industrial plants. The principal objection to negro labor, however, as stated by Whalen, is that the negro will not unionize and will not strike.

It was recalled by Whalen that about 20 years ago the East Side packers brought into St. Louis large numbers of foreigners as laborers. Many of these are Polish. Since then, he asserted, the Poles have become strong unionizers, have educated themselves and their families, have become good citizens, and always have led in the unions demands for proper wages and hours. Now, Whalen insists, the packers are trying to supplant these foreigners with negroes.

Vean Morse, superintendent of the Armour plant, made a general denial of Whalen's statement that the packing plants had imported negroes from the South, or had authorized labor agencies to send them to East St. Louis.

R. F. Rucker, superintendent of the aluminum ore plant, declared that since the war began large numbers of foreign laborers had left East St Louis to work in Eastern munitions plants at higher wages. The number of foreign laborers in East St. Louis, he estimated, had been cut in half in this way. As a result, he pointed out, negroes came voluntarily from the South. Upon arrival at East St. Louis they wrote their friends and relatives, telling of the opportunity of employment at good wages, with the result that other negroes followed. He thinks the negroes selected East St Louis because it is one of the largest industrial cities on the Mississippi River and because negroes "always follow the Mississippi River in going North."

Rucker denied that labor agencies had been retained by large employers of labor to bring negroes to East St. Louis. He also insisted that negroes had not replaced white men at the aluminum plant, except during the strike, which was settled last week. At this time, he says, the number of negroes employed in the plant is no larger than it was before the strike.

Negro Influx Once Investigated

When the Illinois State Council of Defense met in East St. Louis to investigate the large influx of negroes from the South, following the first riots of May 28-29, Robert E. Conway, general manager of Armour's, and C. B. Fox, general manager of the Aluminum Ore Co., also explained that they thought the negroes were attracted to the city by glowing letters from their friends and relatives who had preceded them here.

MOLLMAN'S TALK IN SOUTH TAKEN UP AT RIOT INQUIRY

ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
NOVEMBER 1, 1917

Labor Organizer Cites Glowing Accounts He Gave of Chances for Negroes in East St. Louis.

BUSINESS AGENT HEARD

Congressmen Try to Find Out Why Someone Didn't Demand Enforcement of Order.

The first testimony throwing light on the charge that Mayor Mollman made statements in the southern states encouraging negroes to go to East St. Louis, prior to the race riots of May and July, was given yesterday by Harry Kerr, organizer for the American Federation of Labor, before the Congressional Investigating Committee, in session at the Federal Building in East St. Louis.

Kerr testified he had clippings from New Orleans papers of about April 29, in which Mayor Mollman was quoted as saying in interviews that "2000 negroes are coming to East St. Louis every week; there is plenty of work; a strike is on at the Aluminum Ore Co. and one expected by the street car company, and the only trouble the negroes will have is in getting houses."

Summarizing Kerr's statements, Congressman Cooper said, "Here, you have a Mayor of a city, with labor troubles on and others pending in his city, himself down South telling about the great number of negroes entering his city, of strikes and anticipated strikes, which meant, of course, men had left their jobs, and more were expected to, all of whose places could be filled. Did you gather that these statements, if generally circulated through the South, would lead negroes to come here?"

Effect of Mayor's Talk.

"Well, I don't like to charge the Mayor with anything I am not sure of," Kerr said. "The statement might have been a 'booster' talk, for the purpose of praising the city, and it may have been to encourage negroes to come here."

"What effect would it have if a Mayor of a northern city would come here and make such statements as Mayor Mollman is quoted as making?" Cooper asked. "Well, he probably would induce the same kind of men to go to his city as came here," Kerr agreed.

Members of the committee inquired closely of Kerr and other witnesses about a resolution introduced by Maurice V. Joyce at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce, proposing action to stop the negro influx. Kerr said the resolution was tabled. . a de

He closed his testimony wit' East S nunciation of St. Louis and he testi Louis newapspers, which, sed to giv fied, had consistently refus ns a square East St. Louis labor unions had been deal. He said the a an opportunity repeatedly refuse sitions on big labor to state their posing the stand Kerr issues. After last intended to include said he had notch in those accusa- the Post d uded that "the Post-Dispatch that ever has given us fair buncment." trea

Business Agent Testifies.

Earl Jimmerson, business agent of E Meat Cutters' and Grocery Clerks' the Un, said the race troubles and Unio labor troubles were largely due also e inefficiency and corruption of to th and county officials. Sanitary city ditions were described as "awcos," and the witness said he had seen barefoot children in dilapidated houses at Christmas, eating molasses, bread and coffee for their principal meal.

"In normal times the average yearly wage of common laborers at the packing houses is $500, at the most," he said. "They didn't live—they exist."

"Did you ever hear of any of the managers of these plants, or the large financial powers who control them and live elsewhere, making any investigation of the living conditions of either white or black employes?" inquired Cooper. Jimmerson said he had not.

The witness described the Chamber of Commerce as "the heads or officials of large plants or business houses, and their attorneys."

Congressman Foss asked if any laboring interests were represented in the chamber. Jimmerson laughed loudly. "Oh, no—they don't want us there," he said.

Negro Vote Big Factor.

Asked by Congressman Raker if the negro vote is an important factor in East St. Louis politics, Jimmerson replied: "It is the deciding factor in the city elections. The election goes the way a big majority of negroes go, and the negroes go for the man who has the most money."

"Who has been having the most money?" Raker asked. "Well, Eddie Miller used to handle them pretty well, but Locke Tarlton had been getting them lately," Jimmerson said.

"Oh, Locke is handling them now, is he?" "Well, I wouldn't say he is handling them, but they voted his ticket the last time," was the answer.

Edward Miller formerly was secretary to Congressman Rodenberg. Locke Tarlton is the intimate friend and adviser of Mayor Mollman, as well as being president of the East Side Levee Board. Mollman carried virtually all the negro precincts at the last election.

Raker inquired why the State's Attorney had not investigated official corruption in East St. Louis. Jimmerson related that Schaumleffel asked the County Supervisors to abolish the office of Second As-
s Attorney, a po-
. Parden, a negro
aleffel said, ac-
son, that Parden
arges of revolver
..., against negroes, to charges of disorderly conduct, and getting the cases dismissed or having small fines imposed in the East St. Louis justice courts. The office was abolished.

"Sheriff Did What He Could."

Inquiring about other county officers, Congressman Raker asked what the Sheriff had done to stop lawlessness. Jimmerson said he believed the Sheriff's deputies had taken whatever action they could.

"What did the Justices and the Constables do on the day of the riot—hide?" Raker asked. "I didn't see them," the witness said. "They don't usually do police duty. They don't get straight pay."

"Well, do they get any crooked pay?" Raker asked. Jimmerson explained that he meant they were paid fees instead of a salary.

"What I have been trying to find out for two weeks is, why somebody here doesn't try to enforce the law," Raker declared. "Three of this committee walked down the street today, and we had not gone a block before we were accosted and asked for money by a man who was ragged and dirty and drunk as a hog. Testimony indicates that these were the kind of men who led the rioting—these barrel-house loafers.

"Don't you know that if the police rounded these fellows up and got them out of town or made them work there would be a wonderful improvement in 10 days?" Jimmerson agreed.

"You are a representative citizen, why don't you go down to the police station and demand it?" Raker inquired. "I got punched in the jaw last night for arresting a pickpocket six months ago," Jimmerson replied. "I'm tired of taking the initiative in

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

things around here. I am going to let her drift, and keep my mouth shut." He added, on further questioning, that he would explain the jaw-punching incident to the committee privately.

Orc Plant Rifles Traced.

Congressman Cooper then inquired of Jimmerson concerning the rifles sent to the plant of the Aluminum Ore Co. during the April strike. Jimmerson testified that E. M. Sorrells, who supplied them, was assistant secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and an officer of the local government rifle club, and that J. E. Weinel was president of the club. Sorrels and Weinel entered the employ of the aluminum company soon after the strike, Weinel receiving $200 a month, Jimmerson said. He testified he believed the rifles taken to the plant were Government rifles.

Jimmerson then told of the importation of cots and revolvers at the packing plants during the strike there last summer. It was reported that the revolvers were distributed indiscriminately among the strike-breakers. He gave the opinion that many of these revolvers were used by the negroes to commit the series of crimes that followed.

"I went to the packing houses many mornings and found 300 to 500 men standing at the gate looking for jobs," Jimmerson related. "The man who hired would come out, look them over, pick out the big, husky negroes and let the rest go."

In answer to a question by Congaressman Raker as to whether any official had ever been prosecuted for malfeasance or misfeasance in office in East St. Louis, Jimmerson told of the indictment of Stephen Le Page about two years ago, on charges of embezzling $42,000 of school funds, and pointed out that he has never been brought to trial.

He then told of the Post-Dispatch investigation of graft in East St. Louis four years ago, with the resulting indictments, and pointed out that nobody was ever punished, although, he said, "they took everything but the city hall. They left that because they couldn't carry it away."

"A most remarkable example of government of the people, by the people and for the people," remarked Congressman Cooper.

Congressman Raker asked if there was any law against carrying revolvers in East St. Louis. Jimmerson replied that there was, but that nobody paid any attention to it before the riots.

"We all carried guns, even to myself," Jimmerson confessed. "Your life wasn't safe a minute at night. Guns were popping around here all the time. Believe me, the battle of Flanders had nothing on this place."

Jimmerson estimated that 16,000 to 18,000 negroes came into East St. Louis between September, 1916, and July, 1917. He said he heard, after a conference of the heads of large plants, held at the aluminum plant last spring, that 15,000 additional negroes were to be brought in.

Strike Leader Questioned.

Philip Wolf, former head of the striking employes of the Aluminum Ore Co., resumed the stand today. He told of the two strikes at the plant, in October and April, and said that white men were replaced by negroes.

White strikers from there were unable to get work at other large plants for unexplained reasons, he said, and had to leave the city.

Money was offered to workmen, Wolf said, by the company to prevent the organization of unions among the company's employes. Men in the employ of the concern who were known to be affiliated with a "protective association" formed among the workers, were discharged. Refusal of the company to re-employ them, the witness said, brought on the strike, which preceded the race rioting.

FEDERAL RIOT INQUIRY LOOMS

ST LOUIS MO REPUBLIC

JULY 4, 1917

U. S. District Attorney Karch Makes Personal Investigation Into Circumstances.

The unreserved indifference displayed yesterday by State, county and city officials to the demands of prominent East St. Louisans that an investigation of Monday night's rioting be begun at once led to the belief last night that the Federal Government may prosecute all who are known to have participated in the outbreaks.

United States District Attorney Charles A. Karch was an eyewitness to much of the rioting Monday night. He was on the ground early yesterday. He has made a close examination of the situation and is keeping in close touch with the handling of the cases in the Justice courts.

Karch declined to state last night whether the Government will become active in the event that public dissatisfaction is created by the State or city prosecution.

There were expressions of surprise from many influential East St. Louisans when they were informed that Hubert E. Schaumleffel of Belleville, State's Attorney of St. Clair County, had dismissed rioting charges against 137 men arrested in a body at Fourth street and Broadway by soldiers Monday night.

Attorney General Edward J. Brundage holds the power to prosecute in the event that any State's Attorney fails to perform his duty. In the last six months Brundage has gone over the heads of more State's Attorneys than any of his predecessors. He has paid no little attention to St. Clair County.

WON'T INDICT RIOTERS.

Investigators will be sent to East St. Louis by Brundage, it is said, and if indictments fail to follow the local investigation of the rioting they will produce evidence.

City Attorney Thomas L. Fekete, Jr. was present in the court of Justice E. E. Clark when Schaumleffel dismissed the cases. He took no part in the interrogation of the accused.

He and Schaumleffel, before going into court, asked Col. S. O. Tripp, who caused the arrest of the alleged rioters, what he intended to do in the way of prosecuting.

"We are not under martial law," declared Col. Tripp. "That is not a matter for me to decide. I brought these prisoners in and you know what was in progress at the time. Now it is up to you to deal with them in court."

"But we did not witness any unlawful acts committed by them," protested Schaumleffel. We cannot file complaints against any person for committing crimes that we did not see. We would be liable on our bonds.'

Schaumleffel later told a reporter for The Republic that he did not think the State could do much in the way of prosecuting the rioters, as "no Grand Jury would indict them."

"As a State's Attorney and public official, I will have to do my duty, but I know where public sentiment was in the rioting," he added.

Schaumleffel questioned the accused men, ordering some to get on the witness stand and interrogating others after he had told them to "beat it."

Of 11 men arrested on arson charges, but nine were held to the Grand Jury. They are: George Prince, Henry Steiger, Paul Gassoway, Charles Gasser, Alber McCabe, Wille Thomas, Leonard Rial, Harry McClure and R. H. Kelly. All were released on bond.

A blanket inquest into the deaths of 27 negroes who were murdered Monday afternoon and night will be started at 8 a. m. to-day by Dr. C. P. Renner, Coroner of St. Clair County.

Dr. Adrian De Haan requested that the Chief of Police ascertain why East St. Louis negro detectives had not reported the well-founded rumors that the blacks intended an uprising.

"They patrol the negro districts and should have known in advance that such an outbreak as that in which Coppedge was killed was coming," he told Coroner Renner.

THE EAST ST. LOUIS MASSACRE.

The massacre of colored men, women and children at East St. Louis, Illinois two days before the celebration of the American Declaration of Independence is without a parallel in the history of this country. On the afternoon of July 2, 1917, the bloody work began and the estimate is that from one hundred to three hundred colored people perished, many of them being burned to death by a mob of white men and women, who coolly witnessed their dying agonies and in many instances added to their miseries. The account paralyzes the comprehension of the thoughtful and reflects upon the civilization in this country.

East St. Louis is in Illinois, but right across the Mississippi River is St. Louis, Mo. One is virtually a part of the other. In Democratic Missouri, the colored people were being protected, while in Republican Illinois, they were being ignominiously slaughtered.

Probably many Missourians took a part in the massacre, but the Illinoisans were in the National Guard deputized to defend these helpless American citizens. Talk about Belgium, what chapter in its history will surpass in horror the plain recital of the Associated Press correspondent as he tells the story?

The American sense of justice has become brutalized. These colored people were not of the worthless type. They did not belong to the hoodlum elements. They were not crap-shooters, gamblers and the proprietors of "blind tigers." They were of the industrious sort. Men were there, who had brought with them their families, living together in lawful wedlock and the little crying urchins with fire behind them and a mob of white men and women in front of them, with prayers upon their lips for mercy and pleas for help and safety, died in the most revolting manner and in the most painful agony.

The crime surpasses human understanding. Where was the Governor of Illinois, then? Certainly, he was in telephonic communication with the authorities at East St. Louis. We know where he is now, but death has taken place. The people are being laid away in their graves and silence reigns. Where was the Eighth Illinois Regiment? What service was that crack regiment rendering in Chicago, when their people were being slaughtered in East St. Louis, Illinois? We have radical opinions as to the remedy for evils of this character. Investigations that follow do little or no good. The punishment should be meted at the time of the outbreak.

After nearly three hundred colored people have been killed, the members of the National Guard are given orders to shoot to kill. The white mob did this before the orders were given to the soldiers of Illinois and the mute faces, the mangled bodies, the little babes cremated in burning buildings tell the whole story. It is a gruesome story and its reality adds to the horrors of the crime committed.

It seems to us that the troops sent abroad are needed here. Colored men have recently returned from Mexico, where they distinguished themselves and thousands have offered their lives to the service of their country, which country does not move to protect them until scores of them have been ignominiously tortured and butchered.

It will not do, gentlemen. This crime is too heinous for it to be passed by with an exclamation of horror or with a few lines of condemnation. There is an electric chair in the State of Illinois and it should be used energetically and fearlessly until every white man and white woman guilty of complicity in this merciless massacre have been made to pay the penalty of this heinous exercise of depravity which has staggered humanity. Citizens, regardless of color should make the demand that this course be followed and every effort should be made to make this "crime of the century" so odious that a repetition of it in this country again will be impossible.

These are troublous times and colored men might as well make up their minds to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Firearms are expensive, but they can be secured and "a man's home is his castle" as much so in the Southland as it is in the Northland.

To carry these unarmed, helpless, praying, good-natured colored folks from their homes in the Far South to die in this northern land was almost as much a crime against humanity as was their massacre a withering blight upon our present day civilization. Colored folks going North should see to it that conditions are favorable.

It is a long way to a realization of all of our hopes, but sometime, somewhere and in some way, God will aid us and help us, if we show a rigid determination to aid and help ourselves. This latest tragedy should be condemned from every pulpit in the land and, the sermons upon it should last for not less than six months. The colored newspapers of the country should take it up as a subject for comment for at least a year to come. We have stood many things, but this latest manifestation of heathenism, savagery and fiendishness is without a parallel in the history of this country.

Riots—1917

Newspaper Reporters Are Barred from East St. Louis Inquest Into Race Rioting

Juryman Is Said to Have Suggested that Press Be Admitted if Members Would Agree to Have Stories Censored.

Continuing the policy of secrecy adopted by the authorities of East St. Louis and St. Clair County in connection with the investigation of the race riots of last week, Coroner Renner yesterday ordered newspaper reporters excluded from the inquest being conducted into the death of the negroes and white men killed during the rioting.

While the inquest was being conducted behind closed doors in East St. Louis, a movement was started in Washington for an investigation of the riots on the part of a joint committee of Congress.

Representative Dyer of St. Louis introduced a joint resolution in the House for a congressional inquiry, and at the same time Senator Sherman of Illinois submitted a resolution from the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce deploring the riots.

It also was announced yesterday that it was probable Attorney General Brundage of Illinois would arrive in East St. Louis today, and he probably would assume personal charge of the criminal investigation growing out of the riots.

The exclusion of reporters from the inquest is in line with the policy of secrecy adopted from the first by East St. Louis regarding the inquest. Newspaper men investigating the riots have been handicapped in obtaining information, and newspaper photographers were arrested when they attempted to take photographs.

Newspaper Reporters Barred.

Three newspaper reporters made an effort yesterday to attend the inquest. They were asked by Coroner Renner to withdraw and did so. Later they returned and when asked to withdraw stated that they considered the inquest an open affair and would not leave the room unless ejected. Renner called State's Attorney Hubert E. Schaumleffel on the telephone and on returning to the room announced it was the order of the state's attorney that newspaper men should be excluded. He was told by the reporters that they would stay until he placed himself on record by ordering their ejection. Renner then called Sergt. Jack Healey, who led the reporters out of the room.

James Farmer, former state's attorney of St. Clair County, said yesterday the coroner had no authority to exclude newspaper reporters and told of one case where an effort was made to keep him out of a room where an inquest was being held. He refused to depart and upon looking up the law the coroner decided not to insist on his going.

Rules It Should Be Open.

Attorney Dan McGlynn said that a coroner's inquest is like any other court proceeding in regard to being open to the public.

Circuit Judge George A. Crow said that if a mandamus was obtained from his court that the coroner would have five days in which to answer and by that time the inquest would be over.

It was suggested to reporters by Joseph N. Keys, one of the jury, that a compromise might be effected if the reporters would allow their stories to be censored, or at least would agree to not use names to the detriment of the investigation.

On the jury are: Charles Hissrich, former election commissioner; Charles Hauss, hardware dealer; Charles Scherer, clerk; Joseph N. Keys, school treasurer; Alcnzo Brichler, undertaker, and Theodore Smith, deputy marriage license clerk.

The jurymen seemed much relieved when Renner won his point for a secret inquiry into riots in which all of the United States is interested.

City Held Up to Scorn.

One of the Committee of One Hundred said yesterday afternoon: "All over America East St. Louis is being held up to scorn because of last week's happenings. Now comes a coroner who ignores law and precedent by ordering a secret inquiry. The outside world has a right to suspect that there is something wrong and that the coroner is trying to cover it up."

During the short time that newspaper reporters were allowed to hear testimony given before the coroner's inquest yesterday, Lieut. Col. E. P. Clayton was the chief witness. He was second in command last Monday to Col. S. O. Tripp and told of outrages committed on Broadway.

He spoke of one instance in which a policeman had arrested a man who was taken away from the officer by the rioters. This incident was told Lieut. Col. Clayton by a man who pointed out the rioter who had escaped from the officer.

East St. Louis

Holster but No Revolver.

The witness said that when the man was pointed out to him, he personally arrested him. At the police station a search showed that the prisoner had a holster, but no revolver.

The witness told of having an inadequate force to meet the emergency and of the action of the police he said that "the situation seemed to be beyond their control."

Each witness was asked for the names of those who did the killing or who were riot leaders. In nearly every instance the witnesses could not give the names nor more than a meager description of the leaders.

The saloons of East St. Louis will reopen tomorrow morning at 5:30 o'clock and will be allowed to remain open until 9:30 p. m.

This same arrangement will be in effect Thursday and after that day, providing conditions remain favorable, the saloons will be permitted to do business as usual, from 5 a. m. until midnight.

Beer Deliveries Today.

Brig. Gen. Henry R. Hill, who issued the order in regard to saloons, says if liquor is sold to an intoxicated man the place will be closed at once and will remain closed. Breweries will be allowed to resume deliveries to residences today, and the billiard halls may resume business this morning.

The saloons were closed at 2 p. m. Monday, July 2, and but few instances have been reported of failure to obey the order.

C. W. Middlekauf, assistant attorney general of Illinois, is in East St. Louis on business connected with his office and will remain for several days. Yesterday afternoon he went to Belleville to appear in the Circuit Court against certain saloon keepers outside the limits of East St. Louis who have violated an injunction restraining them from continuing to sell liquor.

Grand Jury Inquiry Monday.

He said yesterday the riot investigation before the grand jury would not be taken up until next Monday.

James H. Wilkerson, first assistant attorney general, will come down from Springfield today to look over the situation. Upon his arrival the matter of the secret inquest by Coroner Renner will be presented to him with a view to getting some action by the state authorities either in the form of an order to make the hearing open or to impeach the coroner for what appears to be an effort to prevent the public from knowing the facts.

Dyer To Demand An Inquiry Into East Side Riot

Washington, D. C., July 4.—Representative L. C. Dyer, of St. Louis, announced tonight that he would introduce in the House a resolution calling upon the President to direct the Secretary of War to send an army officer to East St. Louis to investigate conditions there and report whether the Illinois authorities were capable of protecting life and property in the event of a continuance of a recurrence of the race riots.

Mr. Dyer expressed the opinion the President has the power in time of war to use the armed forces of the Federal Government to put down riots whenever the state authorities show their inability to cope with the situation. He charged that Illinois had demonstrated it could not protect either life or property in East St. Louis, and contended the President should take control.

The St. Louis Congressman said it was a disgrace that a great state like Illinois should have permitted the outrages of the last few days in East St. Louis, and asserted it was subject to the condemnation that had been heaped upon Southern states which had failed to stop lynchings.

"I understand," said Mr. Dyer, "that Gen. Barry, commander of the Central Department of the Army, stood ready and stands ready to aid the Illinois authorities in preserving order in East St. Louis. He was empowered by Secretary Baker to act immediately upon receiving a request for assistance from Gov. Lowden. The request was not made. Had it been, Federal troops would soon have stopped the rioting and would have prevented destruction of property."

Mr. Dyer said his interest in the situation in East St. Louis was not partisan, but he feared if such riots were permitted they might influence like disturbances in St. Louis. He also desired to put a stop to all outbreaks that might tend to encourage the belief abroad that the uprisings were due to the war.

GOMPERS IS SILENT REGARDING CONTROVERSY

NO STATEMENT ABOUT INCIDENT WITH COLONEL ROOSEVELT.

N Y C POST
JULY 7. 1917

Discussion of East St. Louis Race Riots at Russian Reception Set Carnegie Hall in Uproar.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, who intimated last night in a heated controversy with Col. Roosevelt that he had information which would justify the action of labor men in connection with the race riot in East St. Louis, could not be reached to-day. Mr. Gompers remained in seclusion in his room at the Continental Hotel, denying himself to all visitors.

It was during the public welcome to the Russian Commission last night in Carnegie Hall that Mr. Gompers made reference to a telegram he had received from the secretary of the Federation of Labor in Illinois, "explaining the whole matter of labor conditions in St. Louis."

The incident between Col. Roosevelt and Mr. Gompers grew out of remarks made in the course of the former's speech of welcome to the Russians, when he said:

"Before I extend my greetings to these envoys, I want to say a word to you, a word I should not leave unsaid. Before I speak of justice and liberty to Russia we should do justice within our own household. There has been an appalling outbreak of savagery in the race riots in East St. Louis, race riots which, as far as we can see, had no real provocation, and, whether there was provocation or not, waged with such appalling brutality as to leave a stain on the name of America.

"It behooves us to express our deep condemnation of acts that give lie to our words. It is our duty to demand that the governmental representatives whose business it is shall use with ruthless sternness every instrumentality at their command to punish murder, whether committed by whites against blacks or blacks against whites.

"With this brief eulogy of my fellow-citizens, now to the business of the meeting."

When Mr. Gompers's turn to speak came, he said:

"I join with you," nodding towards the audience, "and with him," turning towards the Colonel, "in expressing my detestation of the brutalities committed in the East St. Louis race riots. However, I wish that I had with me a telegram received only last night from Victor Olander, secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor, which explains the real cause of the trouble."

Mr. Gompers then condemned the men who had been bringing negro labor North "in an effort to undermine working conditions," and compared their activities to the work of the "dark forces of autocratic Russia."

When Mr. Gompers had finished, Mayor Mitchel stepped forward to present Ambassador Bakhmetieff, but Col. Roosevelt jumped up.

"May I say a word?" he asked sharply, and then plunged into a further denunciation of the riots; aiming his remarks more at Mr. Gompers than at the audience.

"How can we apologize for the murders committed on these helpless men?" he cried. "In the past I have heard these same excuses advanced for pogroms by the Russian autocracy. I would do everything for the laboring man except that which is wrong," shouted the Colonel, his

face crimson. "I don't give a snap of my finger for any telegram from the head of the strongest labor union in Illinois."

Uproar in the audience drowned much of what followed, as Col. Roosevelt stepped in front of Mr. Gompers, and, shaking his finger, addressed him face to face. Mr. Gompers was soon on his feet, too, and an angry discussion followed, until Mayor Mitchel finally induced the two men to resume their seats.

EAST ST. LOUISANS WANT RIOT INQUIRY BY JUDGE LANDIS

LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
LY 8, 1917

Department of Justice Order Probably Needed to Place Him in Charge.

STATEMENT BY MOLLMAN

Attacks Maurice V. Joyce With Others, but Avoids All of Main Issues.

An inquiry by a Federal grand jury into the East St. Louis massacre of negroes, the grand jury to be impaneled preferably by Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, is being advocated by residents of that city, who desire to see the inquiry made in more thorough fashion than, they believe, local authorities will be able to make it.

An order from the Department of Justice probably would be required to bring about the impaneling of such a grand jury, and to place Judge Landis in charge, as he is not regularly assigned to that district. He held court in East St. Louis a few months ago, and his spirited denunciation of the lawlessnes which he then found there attracted wide attention.

Judge Landis called the city officials before him and demanded their reason for permitting saloons to remain open on Sunday. He made their duty so unescapably plain that, since that time, there has been a degree of enforcement of the Sunday law.

Confidence in Landis.

A lawyer, who asked that his name not to be used, said yesterday to Post-Dispatch reporter that he believed Judge Landis, if commissioned to handle the investigation of the race slaughter, through the impanelling of a special grand jury, would "turn the thing upside down."

The same lawyer said there were witnesses who could give valuable information in such an inquiry, who at present can find no one to whom to give such information, while some others are unwilling to come forward as witnesses, because they do not believe a local investigation will have any result. These witnesses, he believes, would appear if a Federal investigation, which would give promise of obtaining results, were started. He said he knew personally of such witnesses.

A Post-Dispatch reporter learned last night from one of the men engaged in the work of reorganization, that Mayor Mollman was asked Thursday by the Committete of Public Safety to call for the resignations of the Fire and Police Commissioners, Wallace Watkins, Nelson A. Schein and William Schmidt. The Mayor refused to agree, and Watkins and Schein went before the committee Friday.

Clean Sweep Said Needed.

They protested vigorously against being ousted, and insisted they wanted to enforce the law, but "had been hindered." Their only superior is Mayor Mollman. They protested that they could do the work if given a free hand. The committeemen insisted, however, that a clean sweep was necessary to restore public confidence. The matter was left unsettled, and will be submitted to the Committee of One Hundred Monday afternoon.

The three downtown banks agreed yesterday to supply the money necessary for reorganizing the police department and adding as many more policemen as are considered necessary. There are now 65. It is probable the number will be increased to 125.

It was learned that the reorganizers want new Police Commissioners because they desire the immediate removal of Chief of Police Payne, Night Chief Hickey and Chief of Detectives Stocker.

Citizens' Committees to Report.

Conrad Reeb, president of the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, yesterday announced the names of the members of a Committee of One Hundred, which was authorized by a vote of 300 business and professional men at a mass meeting Friday afternoon. The various sub-committees that have been investigating and making reports to a Citizens' Committee will be retained, and will make all their future reports to the Committee of One Hundred. The first meeting of the large body will be held Monday afternoon in Beatty's Hall.

All the work of relief, reorganization and investigation that has been conducted by unofficial bodies, will be taken over by the large committee. The avowed purpose is to carry out the spirt of the proclamation adopted Friday afternoon. This will include carrying on of prosecutions against rioters of both races.

A Post-Dispatch reporter learned last night that Mayor Mollman had failed to sign the proclamation, although he voted for its promulgation at the mass meeting. Despite efforts to keep it secret, it also was learned that Mayor Mollman had not promised the co-operation which the committee desires of him, and that he even wrote a letter asking that the plan be changed by appointing a committee of three, subject to his approval, to work with him. Members declared that the proposal would be rejected flatly.

Mayor Issues Statement.

A typewritten statement, signed by Mayor Fred Mollman was handed out at the Mayor's office yesterday for publication, giving the Mayor's position and activity in connection with the race riot. The statement was not given to the Post-Dispatch, Mayor Mollman having consistently refused to make a statement to the Post-Dispatch. It contained 2500 words.

The statement attacks Maurice V. Joyce for asserting, in an interview printed in the Post-Dispatch Friday, that the trouble evolved out of a long-standing condition of lawlessnes in the city, and also criticises County Judge Joseph Messick, who has asserted that the administration has been inefficient.

The statement says that Joyce, at the beginning of the present year, devoted much time to trying to induce Mayor Mollman to grant a license for a saloon in a building which Joyce owned at 9 North Main street. The license, it says, had been withheld because the tenant had permitted women of questionable character to frequent the premises. After Joyce had obtained a new tenant for the place the license was granted, the statement alleges. It also assrts that Joyce pleaded with Mayor Mlolman to grant a license for a saloon in property he owned at Main street and Broadway and that Joyce once was attorney for a brewery.

The statement continues with a long tirade against Judge Messick, commenting on various phases of his political activities, some of which had no apparent connection with race trouble. It did state, however, that the Police Board had been handicapped in its efforts to discharge inefficient men, because the Trial Board, of which Judge Messick is a member, refused to confirm the sentences of the Police Board.

Cannot Discharge Policemen.

It is a well-known fact that, while the Police Board cannot discharge men from the force, it has forced men out of the service by continually suspending them, after the Trial Board refused to remove them permanently. The statement ignores that fact, and attempts to place the responsibility for an inefficient police department on the higher board.

Joyce, who is wealthy, and who has been a leader in virtually every enterprise for bettering conditions in the city, was indignant when he heard of the charges. He denied that he had ever asked Mollman for any special favor, and said he always had been anxious to have no tenants who were not acceptable to the city authorities.

"If I thought anybody believed that statement I would go to the city hall and give that German a punch in the nose," Joyce told a reporter.

The Coroner's inquest into the deaths of the 31 negroes killed on the streets or in their homes by rioters Monday afternoon and evening, will be resumed tomorrow. It has not been announced whether the session will be secret, as was that of Friday.

Two members of the Coroner's jury seen yesterday by a Post-Dispatch reporter, denied the statement of Chief of Detectives Stocker that they asked to have the inquest conducted in secret. One of these jurors, Theodore Smith, a real estate man, said Chief of Police Payne, Chief Stocker and Coroner Renner told the jury the inquest would be secret, and warned them not to repeat the evidence.

The apparent reason of the police officials for the unusual procedure of a star-chamber Coroner's inquest is the desire to keep from publicity the evidence showing that policemen were inefficient and indifferent while the massacres were going on, and that they are giving no help now in the effort to find the guilty men.

Police Evidence Meager.

Policemen who were questioned at the inquest said they could not give the names of any of the rioters, who did their murderous work in daylight and frequently in the policemen's presence. No name of any of the hundreds of rioters was brought out at the inquest. Negro witnesses were more ready to talk than the white men questioned, but little of values was learned from them. One negro said he saw L. R. Bundy, a negro dentist, at Tenth street and Bond avenue, early Monday morning, as armed negroes were dispersing after the killing of Detective Coppedge and the mortal wounding of Detective Wodley. Bundy has been sought by the authorities for several days.

Nothing was said at the inquest, according to members of the Coroner's jury, to afford any foundation for the incendiary story printed in yesterday morning's St. Louis Republic, about a massacre of white women and children, plotted by negroes to take place at the time of a Fourth of July picnic. The Republic article made it appear that this matter was testified to in the secret inquest.

The Rev. Thomas W. Wallace, a negro, editor of a paper and pastor of the St. John's A. M. E. Church, made the first public statement of the negroes' side of the trouble, when he, with John Schmoll and Charles Nagel of St. Louis, appeared before the Committee on Prosecutions at the Chamber of Commerce rooms yesterday afternoon to make arrangements for the return to East St. Louis of 3000 negro residents that they said are refugees in St. Louis.

Altercation Starts Shooting.

Wallace said a white man was shot by a negro in an altercation near the Free Bridge approach Sunday evening. Later, he asserted, an automobile load of white men, returning from a roadhouse at Falling Springs, rode along Market avenue, firing revolver shots into the houses of negro residents. His own houes was hit, he said.

Negroes in the community spread an alarm, and banded together at Tenth street and Bond avenue to protect themselves, as they feared a recurrence of the riot of a month before, he said.

"When the white policemen appeared in the automobile in citizens' clothing, the negroes thought they were another party of joyriders," he declared, "and it was then they fired on them."

The minister did not comment on the statement of the occupants of the machine to the effect that the slain ofcers exhibited their stars and explained who they were before the shots were fired, and was not questioned by the members of the committee. It is expected he will be called before the coroner's jury when it resumes Monday. He admitted there were lawless negroes in the city, but pointed out that the same was true of the whites, and declared the law-abiding members of his race had no sympathy for them.

Red Cross to Suspend Negro Relief Tuesday Night.

The Emergency Committee of the St. Louis Chapter of the Red Cross, which has charge of the relief for negro refugees from East St. Louis and vicinity, adopted a resolution yesterday that after Tuesday night the municipal lodging house will be closed and the Red Cross will not care for the refugees further.

The action was taken on the strength of a letter from J. N. Fining, Secretary and General Manager of the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, stating that the Chamber of Commerce and the East St. Louis Citizens' Committee has received assurances that the negroes would be protected and could return to their employment in the East St. Louis industries.

Negro Pastor Advises Refugees to Return to East St. Louis.

The Rev. B. W. Stewart, negro pastor of Grace Afro-American Mission, 152[illegible] Morgan street, addressed the negro refugees at the municipal lodging house yesterday and urged them to return to East St. Louis, now that order has been restored.

"In view of the assurance given employers" he told them, "every man, woman and child, with thanks in their hearts for the refuge and hospitality of St. Louis, should return at once to their homes and employment without a moment's delay." Stewart's address was epitomized in a circular and distributed.

AUGUST 13. 19[illegible]

ARRESTED AS RACE RIOTER.

Colored Dentist Held in Cleveland for East St. Louis Police.

CLEVELAND, Augus 13 (by A. P.).—An echo of the East St. Louis race riots last month was heard here to-day when police arrested Dr. Leroy N. Bundy, a colored dentist of that city, as a fugitive from justice. The East St. Louis police requested Bundy's arrest in connection with the murder of two men during the race riots.

Bundy denied that he was implicated in any violence during the riots.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots—1917

"SWING LOW, SWEET CHARIOT" INTERPRETED

WILL ALLEN WHITE READS SORROWFUL MEANING INTO OLD SONG

Shame, Indignation, and Wrath Predominate in Editorials on Massacre of Blacks When Nation Is Fighting for Freedom of Mankind

N Y C POST
JULY 11, 1917

WILL ALLEN WHITE,
In Emporia Gazette.

If the black man loafs in the South, he starves. If he works in the South, he is poorly paid, more or less in kind—chips and whetstones—and his wife becomes a "pan toter." If he leaves his low estate in the South and goes to work in Northern industry, he is mobbed and killed.

He was brought to these shores from Africa a captive. He is held by his captors in economic bondage to-day—forbidden to rise above the lowest serving class. He is herded by himself in a ghetto, and if, while he is there, he revert to the jungle type, he is burned alive. If he tries to break out of his ghetto, and, by assimilating the white man's civilization, rise, he is driven out by his white brothers.

If he goes to school he becomes discontented, and is unhappy and dissatisfied with his social status. If he does not go to school and remains ignorant, he is then only a "coon," whom everybody exploits, and who has to cheat and swindle in return, or go down in poverty to begging and shame. There aren't ships enough in the world to take him back to the land of his freedom; there isn't room enough for him here except on the crowded bottom round of the ladder, and there always the grinding heel of those climbing over him topward is mangling his black hands.

Race riots, lynchings, political ostracism; social boycott; economic serfdom. No wonder he sings:

"Hard trials,
"Great tribulations,
"Hard trials—
"I'm gwine for to live with the Lord!"

No wonder as he looks dismally back at the forest whence he came, and dismally forward to the hopeless sea into which he is slowly being pushed, he lifts his plaintive voice in its heart-broken minor and wails:

"Swing low, sweet chariot, comin' for to carry me home!"

"Home" is about the only place he can go, where they don't oppress him.

(Vicious politics made such crimes possible, according to Henry M. Hyde, correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune*, in his study of antecedent conditions.)

This was more than a race riot—though never at one time in the South were so many black men and women deliberately murdered in cold blood.

It was more than an economic war between whites and blacks—though white union workmen and black immigrants were aroused to savage antagonism by corrupt and cunning men who made victims of them both.

It was the inevitable, perhaps, at the end, even the arranged and desired result of a long-continued course of vicious politics which has made East St. Louis probably the worst governed city in the United States.

All the facts which are presented here—and more—are in the hands of Gov. Lowden, who may be trusted to bring the whole story into the light. When that story is finally printed, it should serve as a flaming warning to all the cities of the country, particularly to those which have recently been inundated by hordes of ignorant negroes from the South.

First of all, to correct and make complete the story of what happened on Sunday night, when this last horror of East St. Louis first burst into flame:

One has read that the bell of a negro church suddenly rang out its rallying cry; that 200 armed negro men, marching two abreast, started a raid on the heart of the city; that they were met by a motor car filled with police officers, two of whom were shot and killed by the black rioters.

So far the story tells the truth. But it does not tell the whole truth, nor does it begin at the beginning of what happened on Sunday night—to say nothing of the long and shameful record of the previous months.

East St. Louis

Perhaps an hour before the fateful tolling of the church bell—it was long after dark on Sunday night—a Ford automobile, occupied by four men, was driven rapidly through some of the more respectable negro districts. The four men yelled, cursed, and fired revolvers right and left. Some of the shots are said to have entered adjacent dwellings, and even the church whose bell was rung later.

At the ringing of the bell—evidently a preconcerted signal—the armed negroes assembled and started their march downtown. Then the police automobile appeared. It was also a Ford car—note the make. There were also four men in it, police officers in plain clothes, citizens' clothes.

The negroes refused to listen to explanations and when the car turned fired a volley at the fleeing officers. Detective Coppedge was instantly killed and the other three men were shot in the back, one of them dying last night.

By way of evening the score the savage white men of East St. Louis have butchered probably more than a hundred negroes—have burned scores of negro houses, and have driven probably 5,000 black men, women, and children into terrified and—to a large extent—piteous exile.

It is true that so far only thirty-seven bodies have been identified as the remains of human beings. But in the black embers of a single dwelling no less than five bundles of bones have been discovered, and one of the city detectives boasts that he knows of one hole in Cahokia Creek which hides half a dozen black corpses.

It will not do to lay the blame for all that has happened this week on the sudden influx of negroes from the South. Black men and women are old citizens in and about East St. Louis. Only two miles north of the city limits has stood for a dozen years the separate town of Brooklyn, which is the only exclusive negro community in the State. Brooklyn has 3,000 negro citizens and a black mayor, city officials, and police force. Normally negroes vote the Republican ticket, but at the last Presidential election four-fifths of the votes in Brooklyn were cast for Woodrow Wilson. That fact may as well be borne in mind.

Also there have been for years large negro settlements in East St. Louis proper. The black valley, which was burned to the ground on Monday night, has long been notorious as one of the toughest districts in the State.

(Of the accounts of eye-witnesses to the massacre, none was more graphic than that of Carlos F. Hurd, reporter of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.)

For an hour and a half last evening I saw the massacre of helpless negro at Broadway and Fourth Street, downtown East St. Louis, where a bla skin was a death warrant.

I have read of St. Bartholomew's nigh I have heard stories of the latter-d crimes of the Turks in Armenia, a I have learned to loathe the Germa army for its barbarity in Belgium. Bu I do not believe that Moslem fanaticis or Prussian frightfulness could perpe trate murders of more deliberate bru tality than those which I saw commit ted, in daylight by citizens of the Stat of Abraham Lincoln.

I saw man after man, with hands rais ed, pleading for his life, surrounded b groups of men—men who had neve seen him before and knew nothing abou him except that he was black—and sa them administer the historic sentence o intolerance, death by stoning. I sa one of these men, almost dead from savage shower of stones, hanged wit a clothesline, and when it broke, hang ed with a rope which held. Within few paces of the pole from which he wa suspended, four other negroes lay dea or dying, another having been removed dead, a short time before. I saw the pockets of two of these negroes search ed, without the finding of any weapons.

ROCK DROPPED ON NEGRO.

I saw one of these men, covered with blood and half-conscious, raise himself on his elbow, and look feebly about, when a young man, standing directly behind him, lifted a flat stone in both hands and hurled it upon his neck. This young man was much better dressed than most of the others. He walked away unmolested.

I saw negro women begging for mercy and pleading that they had harmed no one, set upon by white women of the baser sort, who laughed and answered the coarse sallies of men as they beat the negresses' faces and breasts with fists, stones, and sticks. I saw one of these furies fling herself at a militiaman who was trying to protect a negress, and wrestle with him for his bayonetted gun, while other women attacked the refugee.

What I saw, in the ninety minutes between 6:30 P. M. and the lurid coming of darkness, was but one local scene of the drama of death. I am satisfied that, in spirit and method, it typified the whole. And I cannot somehow speak of what I saw as mob violence. It was not my idea of a mob.

CROWD MOSTLY WORKINGMEN.

A mob is passionate, a mob follows one man or a few men blindly; a mob sometimes takes chances. The East St. Louis affair, as I saw it, was a man hunt, conducted on a sporting basis, though with anything but the fair play which is the principle of sport. The East St. Louis men took no chances, except the chance from stray shots, which every spectator of their acts took. They went in small groups, there was little leadership, and there was a horribly cool deliberateness and a spirit of fun about it. I cannot allow even the doubtful excuse of drink. No man whom I saw showed the effect of liquor.

It was no crowd of hot-headed youths. Young men were in the greater number, but there were the middle-aged, no less active in the task of destroying the life of every discoverable black man. It was a shirt-sleeve gathering, and the men were mostly workingmen, except for some who had the aspect of mere loafers. I have mentioned the peculiarly brutal crime committed by the only man there who had the appearance of being a business or professional man of any standing.

I would be more pessimistic about my fellow-Americans than I am to-day, if I could not say that there were other workingmen who protested against the senseless slaughter, I would be ashamed of myself if I could not say that I forgot my place as a professional observer and joined in such protests. But I do not think any verbal objection had the slightest effect. Only a volley of lead would have stopped those murderers.

"Get a nigger," was the slogan, and it was varied by the recurrent cry, "Get another!" It was like nothing so much as the holiday crowd, with thumbs turned down, in the Roman Coliseum, except that here the shouters were their own gladiators, and their own wild beasts.

When I got off a State Street car on Broadway at 6:30, a fire apparatus was on its way to the blaze in the rear of Fourth Street, south from Broadway. A moment's survey showed why this fire had been set, and what it was meant to accomplish.

FIRE DRIVES OUT NEGROES.

The sheds in the rear of negroes' houses, which were themselves in the rear of the main buildings on Fourth Street, had been ignited to drive out the negro occupants of the houses. And the slayers were waiting for them to come out.

It was stay in and be roasted, or come out and be slaughtered. A moment before I arrived, one negro had taken the desperate chance of coming out, and the rattle of revolver shots, which I heard as I approached the corner, was followed by the cry, "They've got him!"

And they had. He lay on the pavement, a bullet wound in his head and his skull bare in two places.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

NEGROES DID NOT START TROUBLE

The St. Louis Argus 7/6/17

Outbreak Caused By White Men In Automobile Shooting Into Negro Homes Sunday Night. Policemen Mistaken For Rioters Are Slain.

Friday morning July 6, the East St. Louis situation, so far as the riot is concerned, seems to be quiet. No further racial trouble is expected. Lawyer N. W. Parden and city detective James Hardiman. Negroes are under arrest charged with neglect of duty. No other state, or city officials have been arrested. A guardsman killed a white man last night, who failed to halt when commanded to do so.

The entire country has been aroused to a sense of shame and pity by the magnitude of the national disgrace enacted by the blood-thirsty rioters in East St. Louis Monday, July 2.

So much has been said in the daily press about the affair, that it would be a waste of time to review the facts in the horrible massacre were it not for the false reports made and the probable result on the minds of the people.

Although the fact that Negroes were armed when the rioting was renewed has given credit to the claim that they were planning an uprising, investigation shows that arming was only for self-protection. Eye witnesses of the initial conflict last Sunday night disprove the first reports of the press. The trouble was not started by the Negroes. It dates back to the first riot on May 28. Since that time Negroes have been waylaid and beaten by white thugs, without provocation, daily. Last Sunday night a Negro was seized by a gang near the Municipal Bridge and in self-defense, he managed to get his gun and shot one of his assailants.

Later in the evening, or some time after midnight, an automobile loaded with white men traversed a portion of the Colored district, speeding at a rapid rate and its occupants shooting into the homes of the residents. These shots aroused the tenants. So far as the ringing of a church bell, calling them to arms, no one claims to have heard it. The only claim is made in the daily press. The firing of shots, alone, caused the men to come out into their yards and on the streets to ascertain the trouble.

Following this, another automobile came on the scene and the Negroes immediately fired upon it, thinking this was another machine with lawless occupants whose purpose was to repeat the acts of the preceding one. They, however, proved to be police officers, who were drawn to the scene by the shots fired by the occupants of the first car.

One officer was killed and another wounded. The automobile shows indications of being hit five or six times. How many were in the crowd is uncertain, but there was no "military formation" as stated.

The Negroes deny that there was any exchange of words and the report that they had said, "We don't need your protection," was only a statement that had been made by someone over a month ago and was coupled with this report to give it color.

Argus Reporter On Scene

A reporter for the St. Louis Argus arrived on the scene Monday afternoon and his account of the horrible carnage that was perpetrated in this great manufacturing center of the state of Lincoln, from that time until midnight, is beyond the belief of intelligent manhood. Never before in the history of the "Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave" has humanity stooped to such depths of savagery and committed such atrocious crimes.

The statements of the daily press about the cruelty to the Negroes administered by the blood-thirsty mob and the laxity of the police and militia were not exaggerated. While our reporter states that there were no less than one hundred Negro men, women and children shot, tortured and burned to death, he believes there were more. How many, no one may ever know. More than two hundred homes were destroyed, with all their contents. The scene of the destruction of life and property was not in the thickly populated district, the mob was too cowardly to invade it, but vented its fury on isolated spots and helpless victims. It had no choice. It was as a sporting crowd, hunting for game. A black face was the game. Innocent men, women and children fleeing from their burning homes, pled for mercy, but were shot down and their bodies thrown back to be consumed by the flames. Injured men were dispatched on to death by clubbing, stoning and stamping. Dying victims were strung to poles and others thrown in the water to drown. And all of this occurred before the eyes of the police and with in range of the guns of the militia, yet no effort was made to check the fury of the mob.

That more whites were killed and injured than given in reports, is evident from what was seen during Tuesday afternoon and night.

The loss of property will be great and according to statements made to the reporter by heads of big manufacturing concerns, many places will be compelled to close until the government will guarantee protection.

Daily Press Reports

Inasmuch as the public will form its opinion largely upon the daily press reports, it is advisable to state that the account of the affair as given in the final edition of the Globe-Democrat Tuesday morning, July 3, was the fairest and most accurate. Carlos F. Hurd, in the home edition of the Post-Dispatch on the same date, also gives a fair statement of the doings of the barbarous mob. Editorials in these two dailies and the St. Louis Star showed that the editors took high ground and condemned mob violence in no uncertain terms.

A news item appearing in the "Sunrise Extra" of the St. Louis Republic July 5, was biased and bore the earmarks of the yellow journalism that incites mob violence.

CONSPIRACY SEEN IN EAST ST. LOUIS

Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett Blames Plot for Anti-Negro Rioting.

CHICAGO ILL. HERALD
JULY 7, 1917

By JACK LAIT.

East St. Louis, Ill., July 6.—Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett of Chicago, one of the foremost colored women in America, left here tonight for her home.

"The negroes and the law-abiding whites are in the hands of a conspiracy, unquestionably well financed and closely organized, a coalition of the labor unions of the North and the manufacturers and planters of the South," she declared.

"The South is almost bankrupt because the negroes are leaving. In the North the control of labor unions is being torn away by the coming of competing, unorganized colored labor.

"Money is being spent like water to drive the negro back where he came from and murder, arson, intimidation propaganda and scandal are being stirred up as the weapons of this infamous plot.

"The work is going on in Chicago now. Whether it will come to violence there is something no one can predict. But that there is danger is absolute."

WILL NOT RETURN.

Mrs. Barnett said that the negroes would not return to East St. Louis, in spite of the sugar-coated invitations of the employers and the sincere promise of safety from the state authorities.

"When they hang at least one of the men who butchered our babies and strung up our decent men and bludgeoned our women and burned our homes and threw our wounded into the flames, then the negroes might come back. But until some such symbol of lasting efficiency and sincerity on the part of the white is revealed, our people will not return to this hotbed of hatred and crime."

Today's results verified her statement. Exactly five negroes answered the call to return. Out of about 12,000 not half a dozen accepted the home coming appeal.

ARMS BY ARMFUL.

The work of disarming the remaining blacks went on. One after another the militia autos pulled up at the city hall and the soldiers lugged in armfuls of muskets, carbines, six shooters, razors and bowie knives.

All the afternoon the chamber of commerce and associated merchants met in a mass at the council chambers and at the end signed a remarkable statement and set of resolutions, which Mayor Mollman was ordered to sign first.

He meekly drew his signature to the open, and thereby official, confession to the world of the city's shame, the guilt of its police, the inefficiency, inactivity and hostility of the first contingent of state troops.

The demand was incorporated that the police system be reorganized and that the guilty be fully punished.

All day long a star chamber inquest from which newspaper men and the public were rigidly barred went on.

Its purpose is not as secret as its methods—it is piling up an alibi for the white race as it is typified here a record to back up the comfortable theory that the negroes started the trouble willfully and are responsible for all the ghastly consequences.

Five white men and ten negroes were fined $200 today on charges of carrying concealed weapons. Unable to pay the fines, they were locked up in the county jail.

WILL WATCH PROBE.

Springfield, Ill., July 6.—When the St. Clair County grand jury meets at Belleville next Monday to investigate charges of rioting and arson lodged against men arrested in connection with the East St. Louis riots a representative of Attorney General Brundage's office will be on the ground to make sure that the county officials do their work thoroughly, it was announced here today.

NEGROES CONDEMN RIOT

Resolutions branding the East St. Louis riots as violation of the Constitution and the rioters as traitors and slackers were addressed yesterday to Governor Lowden by leading colored citizens of Chicago, who today will call on the executive in Springfield. The resolutions declare there is something radically wrong at the foundation of the trouble.

"If the fight for world democracy means all people should share in its benefits except the American negro, the world should be made to understand the limitations of its fight for freedom," the resolutions state.

Attorney Shadrick B. Turner, Edward H. Wright, Louis B. Anderson, Robert S. Abbott, Robert R. Jackson, Benjamin H. Lucas and Archibald J. Carey are the signers.

ASK TROOPS KEPT HERE.

Washington, July 6.—[Special.]—Senator Lewis has received telegrams from Chicago urging him to use his influence with the War Department to see that a military force is kept at all times at Fort Sheridan. He has seen Secretary Baker and the War Department will so adjust movement of troops that Fort Sheridan at all times will have a large contingent.

Senator Lewis said he did not think the fears of his correspondents well founded that trouble was likely to occur in Chicago, but agreed that if such conditions existed because of the mixed population, it was well to be prepared.

District Attorney Clyne has been instructed to get the federal marshal and all the secret service agencies at work to run down all trouble makers and see they are under control.

The senator is fearful of negro race riots more than of pro-German outbreaks, but he does not know that either is threatened.

Riots—1917

East St. Louis

75 TO 250 NEGROES KILLED IN EAST ST. LOUIS RACE RIOT; MORE TROOPS TO BE CALLED

N Y C NY WORLD
JULY 3, 1917

New Fires Started by Rioters at Noon To-Day Get Beyond Control—Loss Already $3,000,000—More Than 500 Whites Arrested.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 3.—Although 1,500 guardsmen are on duty in the fire-swept district where hundreds of citizens are digging in the ruins for victims of last night's race riot, there are signs of unrest and more troops will be called.

New fires started by rioters in three negro quarters at noon, were fanned by a high wind and spread rapidly, getting beyond control. Troops and police were hurried to the scene where rioters also were assembled.

Adjutant General Frank S. Dickson asserted he feared there might be more trouble to-night and took up with Mayor Mollman plans for ordering out more troops.

The six companies of guardsmen, who were on the ground last night, the Adjutant General explained, were numerically inadequate to police the wide territory covered by the riots. He feared that even the additional companies, which arrived later, would not be enough to establish authority.

Estimates of the number of dead varied widely from seventy-five to 250. At 9.30 o'clock this morning twenty-four bodies had been recovered, including three whites. Seventy-four wounded negroes were found.

The property loss from fire is estimated at $3,000,000.

From Washington came word today that Major Gen. Thomas H. Barry, commanding the Central Military Department, with headquarters in Chicago, has been given authority to send United States troops here when notified they are needed.

The State troops who were on duty during the most serious disturbances, being under civil authority, were ordered not to shoot. This resulted in a number of rifles being taken forcibly from the soldiers.

Bits of clothing taken from dead negroes were shown to-day by souvenir hunters. One brutal incident of the night was related to-day. On Fourth Street near Broadway three men saw a negro, apparently dead, lying in a gutter. One flashed a pocket light in his face and saw that he still breathed.

"Well, what do you know about that," he exclaimed. "Not dead yet."

He and one of his companions then fired bullets into the negro's head.

An incident of the night indicated the temper of the mobs. One crowd went about the streets shouting against the Mayor. "Let's get Mollman," they shouted. "He's the man that brought 'em in."

The cry was raised because of a false rumor that Mayor Mollman went South and advertised that negro labor would be well paid in East St. Louis.

Another of the innumerable brutal incidents of the night was the attack on a young negress. White men and women were among the assailants.

"Let the women have her!" was the cry among the men, and white women began tearing the garments from their victim.

One of the results of fires started by the rioters was to plunge parts of the city in darkness, and surgeons at St. Mary's Hospital and the emergency operating room, opened in the City Hall, were forced to do their work while policemen held flashlights or candles over the tables.

In the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad yards a negress leading a small child was attacked by white women who were following a mob. The negro woman seized the child in her arms and ran into a cottage, which the white women bombarded with stones and chunks of coal. The woman escaped without serious injury.

Col. S. O. Tripp of the Illinois Guard was the chief figure in a sensational rescue of an aged negro. The negro, with a rope around his neck, was being dragged through a street by more than a hundred men. An automobile bearing Col. Tripp and City Attorney Fekete appeared as the mob was about to hang the negro to a pole. Col. Tripp left his car and forced his way through the mob, which allowed him to take charge of the black without molestation.

All saloons have been closed indefinitely by the Mayor.

THOUSANDS TOOK PART IN THE GREAT RIOT.

Thousands took part in the riots, which had been intermittent for a month, due to importation of negro laborers from the South. When military rule was proclaimed at 8 o'clock last night 500 white men were locked up at Police Headquarters.

Of the estimated 50,000 persons in the streets it is believed two-thirds were armed. Even small boys carried revolvers and shot at the blacks whenever they could find one. Many negroes strung up to telephone poles were riddled with bullets when the rope broke and they fell back to the street. One mob of 100 men was led by ten or fifteen girls about eighteen years old.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., July 3.—"Use drastic measures if necessary to stop the outrages at East St. Louis."

This was the order transmitted by Gov. Lowden to Adjt. Gen. Dickson at East St. Louis shortly before noon to-

LANDIS MAY BE ASKED TO TAKE UP RIOT INQUIRY

Growing Demand in East St. Louis for Federal Investigation of Mob Depredations.

STATEMENT BY KARCH
ST LOUIS MO POST-DISPATCH
JULY 7, 1917

District Attorney Says That Conditions Which Caused Outrage Still Exist.

A growing demand for a Federal grand jury investigation of the East St. Louis slaughter of negroes, last Monday, is being heard from citizens of that city who believe no substantial result will come from any othre sort of inquiry.

In this connection the suggestion is being made that Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis of Chicag is the Judge who would be most likely to get at the facts. Judge Landis' impalement of East St. Louis city officials last winter for their failure to enforce the Sunday closing law made a deep impression there.

An order from the Department of Justice in Washington would suffice to institute a Federal grand jury inquiry, and to place Judge Landis in charge of it.

Witnesses Ready to Testify.

A lawyer said today that there are witnesses who saw the killings and acts of incendiarism, and who would be willing to give valuable testimony if they had any assurance that it would do any good. Thus far, he said, they have no one to give the evidence to. and he said some such persons would no have enough confidence in any inquiry by local authorities to offer their testimony there. He said he knew personall of some such witnesses.

United States District Atorney Charles Karch, in an interview last night, declared that the members of the East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce are going about the task of bringing order in the wrong manner, and that there is imminent danger of a breakdown of the whole plan. He asserted that the committeemen had miscolculated the temper of the riot sympathizers, and that the presence of the large number of troops is the only factor that prevents a recurrence of trouble.

"Mob Has Not Repented'.'

"Too many of the members of the committee are men who are directly interested in getting negro laborers back to work," the District Attorney asserted. "These men seem to have forgotten that a blood-thirsty mob of more than a thousand men killed and burned less than a week ago because they were convinced that large employers of labor intended to give permanent preference to negroes over whites.

"Those men have not left the city, and they have not repented of their excesses. They are just as bitter as they were, and the action of the Chamber of Commerce in forcing these negroes down the throats is only inflaming the men who participated in the riot."

The District Attorney told of seeing a man on a street car exhibit a revolver openly Thursday night, and remark that "it had killed niggers, and would kill some more as soon as the damned militia leaves." Other men near by expressed similar sentiments, he added. They were laboring men, apparently going home from work.

Says Negroes Get Preference.

Karch emphatically confirmed the statements made to the Post-Dispatch Tuesday by City Clerk Whalen, who is president of the Central Trades and Labor Union of East St. Louis, to the efefct that large employers of labor had given marked and continuous preference to negroes.

"Their attitude for some time has been that they would give jobs to white men when they couldn't get any more negroes," Karch declared. "This, as Mr. Whalen said, is because the negroes will not unionize. Before the tenseness of this situation is relieved, these employers must convince the laboring whites that they will be given preference over imported blacks in applying for work. Instead of doing that, they are declaring they will put all the negroes back to work, and protect them, if they have to keep troops here indefinitely. That kind of flamboyant talk only angers the men who should be quieted.

"As long as the head of these big plants break up strikes by importing negro strikebreakers, so long can they expect to nave race riots. This is no defense for the rioters; there is no defense for them. It is just a fact that when a man's family is hungry his sense of justice doesn't operate very accurately.

NASHVILLE TENN BANNER
JULY 3, 1917

EAST ST. LOUIS MASSACRE.

The East St. Louis Negro massacre is the worst manifestation of race conflict ever known in America. It was bloody and barbarous, a disgrace to the country's civilization. It could not possibly have occurred in the South.

A paragraph taken from the Associated Press report of the horrible occurrence says:

Hundreds of whites stood around the edges of the burning districts and fired at the Negroes as they fled from their homes.

That was indescribably horrible, mereiless inhuman, discounting any stories of atrocities that have come from the European war zone. The country should blush that such an occurrence was possible on its soil. It is unaccountable in a land boastful of its enlightenment and its liberty.

There is no proof or record that these Negroes, pitilessly shot down as they fled from their burning homes, had done harm to anyone. Their chief offense was that they had fixed their habitation in the community and asked for work.

That was the beginning of the race trouble in East St. Louis. The Negroes were goaded to resentment, they were apprehensive of further assaults, and some of them foolishly and criminally

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

began an offensive movement. Officers who sought to disperse them were shot down, and then the fury of the white mob broke and it visited its vengeance on the innocent as well as the evil-doers.

In considering this East St. Louis massacre—it can hardly be described by a milder term—the fact must not be lost sight of that the whites were the original aggressors and that the most serious offense given by the Negroes was their presence in the community.

The extreme ferocity of this East St. Louis outbreak has illustration in the following statement:

Two young white girls to-night boarded a street car and dragged a Negro woman to the street. The Negro woman attempted to break away, but one of the young girls took off her shoe and pounded her over the head. National guardsmen rescued her.

The whole nation will feel the disgrace of this Illinois atrocity, and it is not worth the while to consider it from the point of sectional contrast, but it is inevitable that the South, so much criticized for its alleged bad treatment of the blacks, so long resident within its borders, should not recognize and remark upon the difference between race feeling in this section and that where such an outbreak as that at East St. Louis was possible.

To point out this difference would be superfluous. It is too obvious to need elucidation.

There is no place in the world and no record in history where two such diametrically opposed races as Negroes and Anglo-Saxons have dwelt so long together in such harmony as has been preserved in the South. There is an understanding and mutual regard between the blacks and whites in the South that does not exist, and it seems can't be attained, elsewhere.

EAST ST. LOUIS FRAUD EXPOSED LAST YEAR

Colonization of Negroes Leading to Rioting Told by Daily News Writer.

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS
JULY 5, 1917

Conditions which are at the root of the East St. Louis race disorders were exposed last fall by The Daily News following an investigation of reports that wholesale vote frauds were contemplated in the November election. Junius B. Wood of The Daily News staff headed a corps of investigators who sought evidence of projected fraudulent balloting. He told of the rapid colonization of negroes in the river town and of plans to register and vote the new arrivals regardless of legal residence requirements.

New Voters from the South.

"A large floating colored vote is under scrutiny," Mr. Wood wrote from East St. Louis. "Most of these have come recently from the south. This addition to the state population is composed of new voters, anxious to exercise their suffrage for the first time. Investigations indicate that they have been taken in hand by wiser heads and coached in the details of getting their names on registry books preliminary to casting their votes, in most instances in violation of the election laws.

"East St. Louis has a colored population of more than 3,500 voters. Of these about 2,000 are said to have come up the river to the city in the last four months. Labor troubles in the stockyards and railroads and work along the Mississippi river levees has brought them in. The plan be[illegible]llowed is said to put all of them on [illegible] registration lists so they can vote nex[illegible] month, despite the fact that one year's residence in the state is required.

Brooklyn Officials in Jail.

"Several precincts in East St. Louis have a solid black republican vote. Watchers at the polling places are the only loyalists to the democratic organization within their confines. In Brooklyn, a suburb near the big packing plants, the entire population is colored, including the village officials. Several of the latter have just resumed their official positions after a brief sojourn behind prison walls.

"In the enthusiasm of the last election a miniature Mexican revolution was staged and the victors at the polls emerged with most of their opponents so badly shot up and carved that they lost interest in politics from that time. The town lacked officials for several months."

BUILDING MATERIALS SOAR.

Construction Operations in America Have Almost Reached Halt.

In many cities of America construction work has been halted or is in danger of being halted. Prices of building materials are so high as to appal contractors. Even the men who would speculate on building are daunted by the difficulty in getting material. Take Chicago, for example. Chicago is near Gary, the great steel center. Structural steel is scarcely to be had in Chicago these days for $144 to $150 a ton. At the beginning of the war the ruling price was $46 a ton set.

In a big structure such as a great office building or a department store about 10,000 tons of steel are used. That means that for steel alone a builder would have to pay $1,000,000 more. In other lines of material the increase of cost is almost as pronounced. No wonder investors and speculators pause.

A few years ago there was complaint that many cities were overbuilt. Now population increase has caught up with or passed construction and there is complaint of lack of factory space and residential accommodations. Rents, as a consequence, are climbing everywhere.

New York is not feeling this condition so acutely as some other parts of the country, especially those industrial districts where war orders have increased the population tremendously, says the Mail of that city. Yet New York is beginning to be cramped for living quarters and in various sections rents are being advanced sharply.

The pay envelope never keeps pace with the climb of prices in abnormal times, and what spells prosperity for the comparative few brings hardship not infrequently to the many.

NEGROES LEAVING EAST SAINT LOUIS

The Argus

New Exodus Due To Feeling Of Unprotection When Militia Quits Ill-Fated Town. Best Citizens Leaving.

7/24/17

Senator Sherman Says "Citizens Are Living On Edge Of Volcano." Insurance Companies Cancelling Risks. Landlords Ask Tenants To Move.

Regardless of the fact that every effort has been made to quiet the unrest among the Negro citizens in East St. Louis, it is undeniably true that the ill fated city is gradually being evacuated. This does not apply only to the recent comers to the place, but to old residents as well. Men who have spent their lives in building up a substantial business, who have accumulated property and have established reputations for thrift and honesty, whose honor is above reproach, are leaving all the fruits of their energy behind and fleeing to other parts. Wagon load after wagon load of household effects are almost continuously crossing the bridges to St. Louis. Others going in different directions, travel to surrounding towns, where housing conditions are already overtaxed and many tents are beginning to appear. The tenement districts of St. Louis are becoming congested and few houses are for rent. There is no estimate of the number of families who have left East St. Louis, but many are of the opinion that within another week only a few will remain.

It was generally thought about a week ago that conditions were settled and the Negroes would return, but since it has been learned that all the troops will be withdrawn on or before the 25th of this month, preparatory to being mustered into the regular army service; and because of repeated statements being circulated that so soon as the soldiers are gone the Negroes would again be attacked by the mob, a new exodus has been started by those who were inclined to stay. They state that their homes have been invaded by the police and military forces and their arms taken and they are thus left at the mercy of the mob without self protection.

To date, twelve indictments have been returned against 6 white and 6 Colored. In the evidence being submitted, charges and cross charges are being made by the police and militia against each other, but there seems to be a general inclination, by all, to fasten the blame on the Negro and relieve the city of financial responsibility.

Insurance Companies Cancelling Risks

Reliable information has reached the Argus that fire insurance agents in East St. Louis are cancelling risks on property occupied by Negroes and will not carry the responsibility after the militia departs. It is rumored that landlords are requesting their tenants to move and that certain time payment furniture houses are offering to take back partially paid for furniture and refund amount advanced.

CITY COUNCIL BLOCKS PLAN TO REMOVE POLICE BOARD

At a meeting of the City Council of East St. Louis yesterday the Board of Aldermen rejected the plan of Mayor Mollman and a committee of citizens to appoint a new Police Board. Mayor Mollman said that if he were to appoint a new Police Board the Council would refuse to confirm his appointment. This permanently disposes of the attempt of the citizens to change the board, it is said.

Outbreak in St. Louis To Aid the Germans, Says Colored Pastor

ATLANTA GA CONSTITUTION
JULY 9, 1917

"I hope no negro will allow himself to be discouraged or embittered by outbreaks of race hatred such as has recently disgraced Illinois and stirred to its depths the moral sense of the entire nation," said Dr. James Bond, pastor of the Rush Memorial Congregational church, yesterday morning, in the prelude on "The East St. Louis Incident and the Negro."

"There is," said he, "no reasonable ground for either discouragement or bitterness in this awful expression of race hatred. We are, with all good citizens, shocked and horrified that such a thing could happen at this time anywhere in our beloved country.

We have a sense of shame and humiliation not as negroes, but as citizens, that while we are fighting for democracy across the seas, dedicating to the task our best treasure and our most splendid men, here in the greatest democracy on the globe such undemocratic, such inhuman deeds should be perpetrated. They minister not to the needs of Russia, but they aid and abet Germany.

As an American citizen I am ashamed. As a negro I am hurt. As a Christian I am grieved. But I am neither discouraged or embittered. My heart is still full of faith and warm with the milk of human kindness. First I believe in God. God omnipotent still reigneth. Justice and judgment are the habitation of His throne. Second, I still believe in the strength of our institutions and in the inherent sense of justice in the great American heart, which, when the passions and prejudices of my fellow-citizens have subsided, will assert itself. It must be so, or else all the treasure given and blood shed to establish and maintain this democracy of ours, and all the blood and treasure now as freely offered to establish democracies across the seas, will prove an awful waste and human nature the offspring of the devil and not of God."

Third, I am animated and sustained by hope and love because I believe in the negro race. Its history, its present attainments, its spirit, convinces me that within it are the elements of indestructibility. Out of the fires of persecution it will emerge, bigger, and truer, and finer, to add its contribution to the life of the nation of which it is a part and from which it has received so much."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots — 1917

East St. Louis

POST-DISPATCH MAN, AN EYE-WITNESS, DESCRIBES MASSACRE OF NEGROES

IT LOST NO POST DISPATCH
JULY 3 1917

Victims Driven From Home by Fire, Stoned, Beaten and Hanged When Dying—Women Fight Militiamen and Assist in Work.

By CARLOS F. HURD.
A Staff Reporter of the Post-Dispatch.

For an hour and a half last evening I saw the massacre of helpless negroes at Broadway and Fourth street, in downtown East St. Louis, where a black skin was a death warrant.

I have read of St. Bartholomew's night. I have heard stories of the latter-day crimes of the Turks in Armenia, and I have learned to loathe the German army for its barbarity in Belgium. But I do not believe that Moslem fanaticism or Prussian frightfulness could perpetrate murders of more deliberate brutality than those which I saw committed, in daylight by citizens of the State of Abraham Lincoln.

I saw man after man, with hands raised, pleading for his life, surrounded by groups of men—men who had never seen him before and knew nothing about him except that he was black—and saw them administer the historic sentence of intolerance, death by stoning. I saw one of these men, almost dead from a savage shower of stones, hanged with a clothesline, and when it broke, hanged with a rope which held. Within a few paces of the pole from which he was suspended, four other negroes lay dead or dying, another having been removed, dead, a short time before. I saw the pockets of two of these negroes searched, without the finding of any weapon.

Rock Dropped on Negroes Neck.

I saw one of these men, covered with blood and half conscious, raise himself on his elbow, and look feebly about, when a young man, standing directly behind him, lifted a flat stone in both hands and hurled it upon his neck. This young man was much better dressed than most of the others. He walked away unmolested.

I saw negro women begging for mercy and pleading that they had harmed no one, set upon by white women of the baser sort, who laughed and answered the coarse sallies of men as they beat the negresses' faces and breasts with fists, stones and sticks. I saw one of these furies fling herself at a militiaman who was trying to protect a negress, and wrestle with him for his bayonetted gun, while other women attacked the refugee.

What I saw, in the 90 minutes between 6:30 p. m. and the lurid coming of darkness, was but one local scene of the drama of death. I am satisfied that, in spirit and method, it typified the whole. And I cannot somehow speak of waht I saw as mob violence. It was not my idea of a mob.

Crowd Mostly Workingmen.

A mob is passionate, a mob follows one man or a few men blindly; a mob sometimes takes chances. The East St. Louis affair, as I saw it, was a man hunt, conducted on a sporting basis, though with anything but the fair play which is the principle of sport. The East St. Louis men took no chances, except the chance from stray shots, which every spectator of their acts took. They went in small groups, there was little leadership, and there was a horribly cool deliberateness and a spirit of fun about it. I cannot allow even the doubtful excuse of drink. No man whom I saw showed the effect of liquor.

It was no crowd of hot-headed youths. Young men were in the greater number, but there were the middle-aged, no less active in the task of destroying the life of every discoverable black man. It was a shirt-sleeve gathering, and the men were mostly workingmen, except for some who had the aspect of mere loafers. I have mentioned the peculiarly brutal crime committed by the only man there who had the appearance of being a business or professional man of any standing.

I would be more pessimistic about my fellow-Americans than I am today, if I could not say that there were other workingmen who protested against the senseless slaughter. I would be ashamed of myself if I could not say that I forgot my place as a professional observer and joined in such protests. But I do not think any verbal objection had the slightest effect. Only a volley of lead would have stopped those murderers.

"Get a nigger," was the slogan, and it was varied by the recurrent cry, "Get another!" It was like nothing so much as the holiday crowd, with thumbs turned down, in the Roman Coliseum, except that here the shouters were their own gladiators, and their own wild beasts.

When I got off a State street car on Broadway at 6:30, a fire apparatus was on its way to the blaze in the rear of Fourth street, south from Broadway. A moment's survey showed why this fire had been set, and what it was meant to accomplish.

Fire Drives Out Negroes.

The sheds in the rear of negroes' houses, which were themselves in the rear of the main buildings on Fourth street, had been ignited to drive out the negro occupants of the houses. And the slayers were waiting for them to come out.

It was stay in and be roasted, or come out and be slaughtered. A moment before I arrived, one negro had taken the desperate chance of coming out, and the rattle of revolver shots, which I heard as I approached the corner, was followed by the cry, "They've got him!"

And they had. He lay on the pavement, a bullet wound in his head and his skull bare in two places. At every movement of pain which showed that life remained, there came a terrific kick in the jaw or the nose, or a crashing stone, from some of the men who stood over him.

At the corner, a few steps away, were a Sergeant and several guardsmen. The Sergeant approached the ring of men around the prostrate negro.

"This man is done for," he said. "You'd better get him away from here." No one made a move to lift the blood-covered form, and the Sergeant walked away, remarking, when I questioned him about an ambulance, that the ambulances had quit coming. However, an undertaker's ambulance did come 15 minutes later, and took away the lifeless negro, who had in the meantime been further kicked and stoned.

By that time, the fire in the rear of the negro houses had grown hotter, and men were standing in all the narrow spaces through which the negroes might come to the street. There was talk of a negro, in one of the houses, who had a Winchester, and the opinion was expressed that he had no ammunition left, but no one went too near, and the fire was depended on to drive him out. The firemen were at work on Broadway, some distance east, but the flames immediately in the rear of the negro houses burned without hindrance.

Militiamen Try to Curb Mob.

A half-block to the south, there was a hue and cry at a railroad crossing, and a fusillade of shots was heard. More militiamen than I had seen elsewhere, up to that time, were standing on a platform and near a string of freight cars, and trying to keep back men who had started to pursue negroes along the track.

As I turned back toward Broadway, there was a shout at the alley, and a negro ran out, apparently hoping to find protection. He paid no attention to missiles thrown from behind, none of which had hurt him much, but he was stopped, in the middle of the street by a smashing blow in the jaw, struck by a man he had not seen.

"Don't do that," he appealed. "I haven't hurt nobody." The answer was a blow from one side, a piece of curbstone from the other side, and a push which sent him on the brick pavement. He did not rise again, and the battering and kicking of his skull continued until he lay still, his blood flowing half way across the street. Before he had been booted to the opposite curb, another negro appeared, and the same deeds weer repeated. I did not see any revolver shots fired at these men. Bullets and ammunition were saved for use at longer range. It was the last negro I have mentioned who was apparently finished by the stone hurled upon his neck by the noticeably well-dressed young man.

The butchering of the fire-trapped negroes went on so rapidly that, when I walked back to the alley a few minutes later, one was lying dead in the alley on the west side of Fourth street an another on the east side.

And now women began to appear. One frightened black girl, probably 20 years old, got as far as Broadway with no worse treatment than jeers and thrusts. At Broadway, in view of militiamen, the white women, several of whom had been watching the massacre of the negro men, pounced on the negress. I do not wish to be understood as saying that these women were representative of the womanhood of East St. Louis. Their faces showed, all too plainly, exactly who and what they were. But they were the heroines of the moment with that gathering of men, and when one man, sick of the brutality he had seen, seized one of the women by the arm to stop an impending blow, he was hustled away, with fists under his nose, and with more show of actual anger than had been bestowed on any of the negroes He was a stocky, nervy chap, and he stood his ground until a diversion elsewhere drew the menacing ring of men away.

"Let the girls have her," was the shout as the women attacked the young negress. The victim's cry. "Please, please, I ain't done nothing," was stopped by a blow in the mouth with a broomstick, which one of the women swung like a baseball bat. Another woman seized the negress' hands, and the blow was repeated as she struggled helplessly. Finger nails clawed her hair, and the sleeves were torn from her waist, when some of the men called, "Now let her see how fast she can run." The women did not readily leave off beating her, but they stopped short of murder, and the crying, hysterical girl ran down the street.

An older negress, a few moments later, came along with two or three militiamen, and the same women made for her. When one of the soldiers held his gun as a barrier, the woman with the broomstick seized it with both hands, and struggled to wrest it from him, while the others, striking at the negress, in spite of the other militiamen, frightened her thoroughly and hurt her somewhat.

From negress baiting, the well-pleased procession turned to see a lynching. A negro, his head laid open by a great stone-cut, had been dragged to the mouth of the alley on Fourth street and a small rope was being put about his neck. There was joking comment on the weakness of the rope, and everyone was prepared for what happened when it was pulled over a projecting cable box, a short distance up the pole. It broke, letting the negro tumble back to his knees, and causing one of the men who was pulling on it to sprawl on the pavement.

Stouter Rope Obtained.

An old man, with a cap like those worn by street car conductors, but showing no badge of car service, came out of his house to protest. "Don't you hang that man on this street," he shouted. "I dare you to." He was pushed angrily away, and a rope, obviously strong enough for its purpose, was brought.

Right here I saw the most sickening incident of the evening. To put the rope around the negro's neck, one of the lynchers stuck his fingers inside the gaping scalp and lifted the negro's head by it, literally bathing his hand in the man's blood.

"Get. hold, and pull for East St. Louis!" called a man with a black coat and a new straw hat, as he seized the other end of the rope. The rope was long, but not too long for the number of hands that grasped it, and this time the negro was lifted to a height of about seven feet from the ground. The body was left hanging there.

While this lynching was in preparation I walked to Broadway, found a Corporal's guard of militiamen, who had just come from where the firemen were working, and called their attention to what was going on. I do not know that they could have done anything to stop it. I know that they did not try to.

In the first hour that I was there I saw no sufficient body of militiamen anywhere, and no serious effort, on the part of the few who were about, to prevent bloodshed. Most of the men in uniform were frankly fraternizing with the men in the street. But beginning at 7:30, I did see instances of what national guardsmen, in reasonable numbers, and led by worthy officers, can do.

Rescue Some Negroes.

First, there came a hollow square of soldiers from the fire zone along Broadway. In the front row of the frightened group within the square was a mulatto boy, not more than 6 years old. Further within the group were other children with their mothers. The negro men were marching with their hands raised, and some of the women were also holding up their hands.

The natural point of attack was in the rear, and the soldiers, under sharp com-

mands from an officer, repeatedly turned about and made room with their bayonets. The pitiful procession got safely around the corner and to the police station. Some smaller rescues of a similar kind were carried out in the next few minutes.

Following one of these rescue parties to the police station, I suddenly became aware that a new man, and a new spirit of soldiery, had entered into the situation. A man in a light suit and a straw hat, who had just come into town, was listening to a few details of what had happened in the neighborhood. He gave some quick commands, and in a moment, the first adequate body of guardsmen that I had seen was marching toward Broadway. The soldiers were from B company and other companies of the Fourth Illinois, and the apparent civilian in command was Col. Stephen O. Tripp of the Adjutant-General's office in Springfield.

As they turned into Broadway, double-quick was ordered, and it was none too quick, for another lynching was being prepared. This lynching was apparently to be on Broadway, and a negro, his head cut, but still conscious and struggling, was being dragged along the pavement with a rope around his neck.

"Get those men!" was the command, and a moment later several white men were in line on the south sidewalk, some of them with hands raised, while guardsmen faced them with bayonets. On the opposite sidewalk, the soldiers merely told the men to "move on," and this brought a sharp reprimand from Col. Tripp. "Don't let them get away," he ordered. "Make them prisoners." Most of these men were again lined up, and the two lines of prisoners, 25 or 30 men in all, were then marshaled to the car tracks, and the march to the station began, a guard being left behind to protect the negro, and to keep the street clear. I did not learn what became of this negro.

Temper of Crowd Changes.

The temper of the men in the street showed a change after the first encounter with Tripp methods. It began to seem that the situation had found its master. But the most efficient Colonel cannot be everywhere at once, and while the uniformed line was busy keeping a crowd from forming about the police station, scattered shooting began in the neighborhood of the recent killings.

One negro ran the gauntlet on Broadway. Several shots were fired at him in a reckless fashion that explains the number injured by stray bullets earlier in the day. But it appeared that he got away.

It was nearly dark, and the fire on Broadway was becoming more threatening. A half-hour before, some lines of hose, through apparently in insufficient number, had been in use, but now the use of water had ceased, and it was said that the hose had been cut. The fire was nearing the Mollman harness establishment, in which the mayor of East St. Louis is interested, and the big wooden horse on top of the building was silhouetted in the twilight.

As I returned from a look at the fire, I saw an ambulance drive into Fourth street, to get the bodies which had been lying there for nearly an hour. I saw one body placed in the ambulance. I heard it said, as I was leaving town, that the men in the street had prevented the removal of one of the bodies, saying that the negro was not dead, and must lie there until he died. I did not verify this, and I do not state it as a fact. Everything which I have stated as a fact came under my own observation. And what I saw was, as I have said, but a small part of the whole.

I must add a word about the efficiency of the East St. Louis police. One of them kept me from going too near the fire. Absolutely the only thing that I saw policemen do was to keep that fire line. As the police detail marched to the fire, two of the men turned aside into Fourth street, apparently to see if two negroes, lying on the pavement within a few steps of Broadway, were dead. These policemen got a sharp call into line from their sergeant. They weer not supposed to bother themselves about dead negroes.

In recording this, I do not forget that a policeman—by all accounts a fine and capable policeman—was killed by negroes the night before. I have not forgotten it in writing about the acts of the men in the street. Whether this crime excuses or palliates a massacre, which probably included none of the offenders, is something I will leave to apologists for last evening's occurrence, if thees are any such, to explain

COLONEL AND GOMPERS ARE HIT BY LABOR MEN

Former Attacked for Carnegie Hall Talk and Latter for Not Making Hotter Reply.

N Y C WORLD
JULY 14, 1917

Both Theodore Roosevelt and Samuel Gompers were criticised last night at a meeting of the Central Federated Union. After a hot discussion the delegates passed a resolution attacking the Colonel and upholding the labor leader for their parts in the Carnegie Hall clash on the question of the race riots in East St. Louis. The resolution read:

"The Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity fully approves and indorses the position taken by President Samuel Gompers at the Carnegie Hall meeting held on Friday night, July 6, 1917, in supporting the organized labor movement in East St. Louis and explaining the true facts of the rioting, which situation had been misrepresented to the large audience by Col. Theodore Roosevelt, and which we consider was a hidden attack upon organized labor."

"Gompers lost the one opportunity that American labor has ever had to place the labor movement in a fair and recognized position before the general public," said James Bagley, Delegate of Franklin Pressmen's Assistants Union No. 23, interrupting the applause with which the resolutions were greeted.

"Col. Roosevelt had the better of the argument," he continued. "He made Gompers look small. He forced him to remain silent while he upbraided organized labor. Terrible Teddy took the opportunity of getting on the front pages of the newspapers by telling Mr. Gompers that organized labor was responsible for the murder of negroes in East St. Louis.

"I object to the resolution because Mr. Gompers failed to tell the public facts. He failed to tell the public that the rioting was caused by capitalists bringing negro labor to St. Louis to discharge the white man. The meeting was called by Wall Street and the red flag of anarchy."

Mr. Bagley said American labor feels no enmity toward the negro.

"If Mr. Gompers had had the opportunity to get back at Roosevelt the second time, he would have made him look like 2 cents," said Morris Braun, Treasurer of the C. F. U. "I want to say that Mr. Gompers has long stood for the colored man in organized labor. The Cigarmakers' International Union, in which Gompers has long been prominent, was the first union to take in colored men. Gompers was sponsor for a colored man who was elected Treasurer."

Other delegates criticised Col. Roosevelt for "having always favored the trusts," and for having permitted white men "to be shot down like dogs in the West Virginia coal strike" while he was President. Ernest Bohm, secretary of the organization, said he had heard Mr. Gompers would have replied a second time if Mayor Mitchel had not shut off discussion. The meeting was held at the Labor Temple, No. 213 East Eighty-fourth street.

RACE RIOTS LAID TO BIG BUSINESS AND OFFICIALS

Municipal Neglect of Duties and Labor Situation Blamed for E. St. Louis Outbreak.

CHICAGO ILL EVE POST
JULY 6, 1917

The East St. Louis race riots are not to stem the tide of negro migration from the South to the North. The streams of thousands of men and women workers will continue to flow northward as long as northern employers continue to encourage them to cross the Mason and Dixon line. And riots may continue, unless municipal authorities wake up to the situation which breeds hatred and contempt and murder, and take preventative measures.

Dr. George C. Hall, 3408 South Park avenue, one of the most prominent of his race in Chicago and a student of the affairs of his brethren, today thus voiced the sentiment of the negro, who has given considerable thought and time to the subject.

The riots he lays directly at the doors of politics and of the large employers of negro help in East St. Louis.

No Riots for Chicago.

Chicago, Dr. Hall declares, despite the influx of some 18,000 negroes within the last eighteen months, will not see race riots unless some unforeseen elements present themselves to inflame and prejudice the populace.

"The labor trouble is back of the East St. Louis riot," said the doctor. "About two months ago the large employers around East St. Louis began to realize they were losing their foreign laborers. They imported the negro to fill the gaps and then as vacancies bobbed up they would invite southern negroes to come up North. This left the white man out.

"The trouble became more acute and hatred was brewing. The municipal authorities knew it was coming, but took no steps to prevent it. They did nothing.

"The men composing the militia came from Effingham and Carbondale and were in absolute sympathy with the rioters. Things happened just as it was supposed they would. The negroes were surrounded, searched and then the rioters were turned loose upon them. And the militia stood by.

City Authorities Negligent.

"The municipal authorities were negligent in not taking preventive measures. Since last May, when the flames of prejudice first broke out, the police there searched all negroes and took away weapons. White men weren't searched.

"For months the negro in East St. Louis has been taunted and beaten about. But the police turned deaf ears to their complaints.

"The whole riot was a cut and dried proposition—a well-planned execution. Now, they say, convictions couldn't be had there, for the negroes killed and injured, tho they are bending all efforts to determine who killed the two white men.

"The negro laborer was the innocent victim. He was asked to come by the employers—more than asked—encouraged. The white employers and white employes were pulling in different directions and the negro laborer was caught between.

"The big business interests there are to blame for the influx of negro labor. I can demonstrate how they control things. A few miles from East St. Louis is the community of Brookline.

Save Thousands in Taxes.

"It is populated solely by negroes, with a negro mayor, assessor and other officials. As a result, the negro assessor, put on the job by the packers, who employ the voters, only levies a small assessment against the big employers here. The save thousands each year.

"I can give you an example of how municipal authorities are lax in dealing with the situation. When the thousands of negroes came to Chicago they flocked and huddled together, a dozen or so in one small room. Conditions were terrible. The health department did nothing, altho they're taking a survey.

"A committee from the Y. M. C. A. investigated and decided to act. We saw the unhealthy, filthy conditions in which these men lived.

"So our committee went to a big firm. 'You brought the negroes here and should have provided accommodations for them,' we said. Within half an hour the firm sent us a representative, who investigated conditions with us. Then the firm told us to go ahead and remedy conditoins and send them the bill.

"The city could do as much to better conditions, if they only would.

"But the authorities are prone to sit still and watch conditions grow worse and worse and do nothing."

One Negro Is Shot During More Rioting

(Associated Press)

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., May 30—One negro was shot and wounded slightly and two were beaten tonight by a mob of fifty men, who officials say, gathered in the outskirts of the city after the saloons closed at 6 o'clock. The mob was dispersed by militiamen and local police.

5-31-17

A heavy rain and the presence of 250 soldiers of the Illinois national guard who patrolled the city kept down the spirit of the persons inclined to riot. The outbreak early in the evening was quelled quickly and was said to have been an isolated occurrence.

Fewer persons were on the streets than on Monday and Tuesday nights. All of the men injured thus far are believed to be recovering.

RED CROSS WILL CARE FOR REFUGEE NEGROES

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JULY 3, 1917

C. M. Hubbard, general manager of the St. Louis Provident Association, temporarily representing the St. Louis chapter of the American Red Cross, today began preparations for caring for refugee negroes from East St. Louis.

The Committee on Local Disaster of the Red Cross, of which M. L. Wilkinson, president of the Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Dry Goods Co., is chairman, met at 2 p. m., in the Scruggs auditorium, to further plan for the care of mob victims.

The Red Cross will feed, clothe and house refugee negroes who reach St. Louis and feed, clothe and house negroes in East St. Louis whose homes have been destroyed.

Riots—1917

Pennsylvania

UN-AMERICAN HOSTILITY IN CHESTER RACE RIOTS

Labor Unions, Men of Foreign Birth and Allegiance and Southerners' Unfriendliness All Contributed to Violent Acts

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
AUGUST 2, 1917

By WILSON JEFFERSON

President Augusta, Ga., Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

To the Editor of Public Ledger:

Sir—Your widely read journal is to be congratulated for the fair and illuminating accounts which you have given the public of the Chester riots.

Most thinking negroes have staked great faith in the present exodus of the race North as one of the things which would help to solve their problems. Most of us know that the negro social and economic status in parts of the South is not far removed from a condition of slavery. We also know that his migration North and West was forced upon him by conditions over which he had no control.

We have a striking illustration here at Camp Hancock, which is being prepared for Pennsylvania troops, of the plentifulness of negro labor hereabout and of its eagerness to apply its great hardihood and adaptability to the tasks of the community and of the nation.

Of the thousands of laborers here employed there is not one white man on the payroll!

The same condition obtains in Columbia, S. C.; in Spartanburg, S. C., and in every community in the South where these camps are being prepared.

The chief opposition the South makes to any wholesale movement of negroes from this section is based on the fact that there are absolutely no white laborers in the lower South. The Italian runs a fruit stand, the Greek runs a cafe or lunch room, a few Poles and Austrians are in the cotton mills.

The South is absolutely and wholly dependent upon the negro, but the South will not pay the black man a living wage. Fifteen cents an hour is the very highest wage paid in the South for unskilled labor. The lowest is much below that scale. The average is around twelve and one-half cents an hour—hardly a living wage in these days of the high cost of living.

But now, as the Chester accounts reveal, the white man of the South as well as the negro is flocking to the industrial centers of the East. And it is a fact beyond dispute that the white worker is leaving the South not because of any failure to raise the wage scale for common labor—he has never tried anything along that line—but because it is a disgrace for the white man to work at such tasks in the South as are open to black men. Before he will do this work he will go into the cotton mill or seek a small clerkship in a store or warehouse, all of which occupations are his exclusively. Likewise even the poorest white woman will seek work in the cotton mill before she will work for any white family as a cook or a nurse or a housemaid.

One can understand, then, as the reports of the Chester trouble show, how these southern whites, employed in the North at the same tasks negroes are following, feel over the matter of having to work at the same wages and sometimes in the same shops with the blacks. The 5000 southern whites who have gone to Chester resent the idea that they are on an equal industrial footing with the negroes, and when the first opportunity came they showed this resentment by openly leading the rioters, as the Mayor's investigation proved.

Out of fifty-two arrests up to Thursday night (the 26th) only one person had been a resident of the city for any length of time!

This Chester affair ought to silence the South for a long time on this question of Yankee hospitality to the negro. We have had our fill of it since the East St. Louis affair. But now it turns out that the much-prated-about Yankee unfriendliness is really southern unfriendliness joined to the un-American hostility of the labor unions and of those of foreign birth and allegiance.

Thinking negroes have not lost their faith in the good which will ultimately come from a scattering of the race over this whole country. There is no earthly reason, for an instance, why there are four negroes to every white man in certain Georgia and South Carolina counties, while there are 4000 whites to every negro in certain counties of Nebraska and Iowa and Ohio.

No negro leader is trying to cripple or depopulate the South except in those communities where life is continually made unsafe and where prejudice and injustice are so rampant that living is barely endurable.

Likewise most negro leaders are striving to divert at least a part of the tide of immigration which flows north and east to the great section of our country which lies west of the Mississippi.

We seek the help and sympathy of all friends of the black man in our fight against unfriendly labor unions, unfriendly southerners living North and notoriously unfriendly and un-American foreigners who might endeavor to create sentiment against us, or, should occasion present itself, openly incite to murder and riot.

We believe that the educational and civilizational influences of the North and West can easily bear a part in the uplift of our people. We do not believe that all negroes should remain on the farm for the same reasons that whites do not believe that the farm is the best place for all white men. All in all, we believe that a farm in Kansas or Nebraska is a safer place to live on than a farm in Georgia or South Carolina. All in all, we believe that a job as butler or cook or maid in Pennsylvania is better than a similar job in Georgia, because the pay is three times as good and the opportunities for the education of one's children ten times as good.

Our greatest fault as a nation is that we talk ourselves to death over things which we do not think over long enough and seriously enough. Consider us even now, 100,000,000 strong, striving to make the whole wide world safe for democracy when our own democracy is not safe for 12,000,000 blacks here in this little corner of the world!

There are some things which are now giving comfort to our enemies and these things are neither the blatant expressions of our demagogues nor the plots of our few undesirables. The chief of these things is the indifference of the bulk of our native population to the injustice and prejudice which are directed against the weak and inarticulate.

WILSON JEFFERSON.

Philadelphia, July 31, 1917.

RACE RIOTING CONTINUES IN PENNSYLVANIA TOWN

The Constitution

7/29/17

Deputy Sheriff and Negro Are Killed at Chester—Alleged Negroes Opened Fire.

Chester, Pa., July 28.—David Schwartz, a deputy sheriff, and an unidentified negro were shot and killed here late tonight in a fight in the heart of the negro section. The shooting occurred after a day of quiet following the disorders of the last two nights, and was the result of the sending of a number of policemen and guards into the neighborhood after a crowd of negroes had opened fire on two guards.

The two guards retreated after emptying their pistols and then sent a riot call to city hall.

Schwartz drove an automobile load of guards and policemen to the scene. When the motor car arrived a number of negroes started firing, and Schwartz fell dead. After the crowd was dispersed the body of a negro was found. According to the police, he was a guard in the employ of the proprietor of a negro hotel near the scene of tonight's shooting.

Tonight's fatalities make a total of five killed since the race disturbances began Wednesday night, the result of the stabbing to death of a young white man named McKinney by a negro on Tuesday night after a quarrel between them. Thursday night a white man was killed in the negro section while leading a crowd that was searching for the slayer of McKinney. Yesterday a negro was shot by an unknown man. He died today.

The entire police force of Chester, augmented by guards from munition plants, deputy sheriffs and a detachment of state troops, has been on constant duty and have prevented widespread disorder. So far as possible, the authorities have prevented large crowds from gathering and have arrested many men, white and black, who displayed any signs of inciting the riot. The order of Mayor McDowell on Thursday night closing the saloons is still in force.

TWO KILLED IN NEW RACE RIOT AT CHESTER PA.

N Y C TELEGRAM
JULY 29, 1917

Fighting Is Resumed Between Whites and Negroes and Martial Law Virtually Prevails.

DRIVER OF POLICE PATROL ONE OF VICTIMS.

[SPECIAL TO THE EVENING TELEGRAM.]

PHILADELPHIA, Sunday. — Fired upon by negroes in ambush as he was responding to a riot call, David Schwartz, eighteen years old, a driver of an automobile police patrol, was instantly killed as race rioting was resumed in Chester just before midnight.

As several negroes fled after a fight with revolvers with the vanload of policemen Schwarz had been driving pursuers tripped over the body of a dead negro. It is not known, however, whether he was a victim of a shot from a policeman's revolver or was fatally wounded by some other person.

The late battles between negroes and whites inflamed the city since Tuesday night. Precautions had been taken to preserve order, but at midnight it appeared that they might prove futile. Both negroes and whites are in an ugly mood, and more clashes are likely.

Arrest More Than Fifty.

The storm, threatened for hours while negroes from Philadelphia, Wilmington and other nearby points, many of them armed and almost all of them carrying supplies of intoxicants, flocked into the city, did not break until after eleven o'clock.

During the afternoon and early evening guards had been strengthened in all parts of the city in an effort to prevent renewed outbreaks between whites and negro residents. More than half a hundred arrests were made in an effort to check the outside negroes in their effort to join their friends in this city.

Carl Roller, of Collingdale, and Floyd Terrell, of this city, two of the extra guards hastily sworn in and posted in the "Black Belt," noticed a party of negroes drinking in the vicinity of Seventh street and Central avenue and started to disperse them.

As the two guards approached the group a fusillade of shots greeted them. Roller and Terrell retreated and turned in a riot call. As the negroes fled the guards followed, but lost track of their quarry.

Schwartz, at the wheel of the car bearing the police detail answering the guards' riot call, was speeding past a side street, near Seventh street and Central avenue, when a volley of revolver shots was fired from a darkened area. Schwartz fell dead on the front seat of the motor.

Outsiders Cause Trouble.

The policemen returned the shots, but it is not known whether their bullets took effect. It was after the negroes fled and the detail started after them hat he body of the dead negro was found lying on the sidewalk in the dark.

Officials freely admitted the presence of the outside negroes was a serious menace to peace, and when the influx showed no signs of abating they acted promptly to prevent trouble. Deputy sheriffs and policemen in citizens' clothes were hurried to points outside the city, where they boarded trains and trolley cars and inspected all negroes bound for Chester. They placed under arrest those unable to explain their errand or carried arms.

During the first hour they were on duty more than fifty negroes were taken into custody, relieved of any weapons they carried and locked up. Their stocks of liquor also were confiscated for the time being. While some of the negroes satisfied the police officials that they had legitimate errands in this city, the majority were unable to give a satisfactory reason for their visit.

Four May Be Dead.

One more death was added to the list Saturday, when Frank Meadows, a negro, who was shot in the abdomen by an unidentified assailant, died in the Chester Hospital. This brought the total of known deaths to three. There is a possibility that the total may be four, as a negro who participated in the riots Thursday night has not been seen since.

THREE VILE SPOTS IN CHESTER LEADING PRODUCERS OF RIOTS

PHILADELPHIA PA PRESS
AUGUST 8, 1917

Bethel Court, Longbottom's Gut and Black Haven Bad Folk Protected by Politics.

RACIAL HATRED NEW THING

Service Men in U. S. Uniform Nightly Visit the Wretched Resorts and Get Liquor.

CITY'S GROWTH ENORMOUS

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Immigration and Trouble Began With the Opening of the Great Munition Plants.

By Richard J. Beamish

The police of Chester are working their dragnets overtime in an effort to convict a number of young white men of conspiracy to murder negroes.

The State constabulary, which know neither politics nor politicians, acted for the peace of the town when half a dozen troopers after a search of Black Haven, arrested four negroes, Arthur Brown, Bud Ovory, Charles Cooper and Charles Jackson, charged with being ringleaders in the rioting. All are said to be active politically in the McClure faction. They have been held for trial under $2000 bail.

Back of the melodramatic activities of the police is another effort to lock a barn door after a horse has been stolen. The police are making their round-up to prevent a recurrence of the race riots that disgraced Chester during the week before last They say they have two of the ringleaders, in the persons of two Chester men, James Riddles, of Second and Norris Streets, and Selimo Dignacio, of 1114 Mary Street. Chief of Police John Vance and Captain of Police Still declare that others quite as active as Riddles and Dignacio will be imprisoned soon.

Not Planned by Riddles.

With all proper respect for Chief Vance, Captain Sill, Mayor McDowell and the others who are directing the dragnet, I venture the thought that the race riots of Chester were not planned by Riddles and his associates. Future rioting, if any shall come, will not be due to any secret organization of white toughs, as the police profess to believe.

The causes of the disorder lie deeper than the gangs of rowdies named by the police. Some of them have existed years, while others are of recent origin.

I had been told before beginning this survey of racial clashes in Chester, that politics was the real and only cause of the trouble. I had been assured by social reformers that economic competition of blacks with whites made the basis for the conflict.

Facts of the Case.

I have made this study with an open mind and here set down as simply as I can what I found.

So far as the natives are concerned, that is, those who lived in Chester before the munitions boom began in the Fall of 1914, there is no racial hatred now and there never has been any such hatred. During the Civil War and for some time previous thereto the people of Chester welcomed runaway slaves. Underground stations for the hiding of these negroes were scattered throughout the city of Chester and Delaware County. Immediately after the Civil War a large number of negroes came to Chester and these people, with their descendants, have mingled fairly and upon terms of friendship and understanding with the white residents of Chester. This applies to the working people among the negroes. Most of these settled around what is called "Frog Pond" and the Ninth Ward, near the camp meeting woods of Lamokin. Many of the children of these negro families were educated in Lincoln University and other schools, and became excellent, useful citizens.

More recently the wastrels, criminals, idle and dissipated among the negroes settled in three districts of evil odor. These are Bethel Court, Longbottom's Gut and Black Haven. Each of these districts clusters around saloons run by white men, and these saloons, in turn, pay tribute to and are under the thumb of John McClure, the brewery boss of Chester. His father, William McClure, was boss of the town before him, and, like John, he held his power through the saloons in the white and negro slums.

And then, in the days before the great war began, there were political upheavals in Chester. William H. Berry, now Collector of the Port of Philadelphia, was the hero of one of these. There have been prohibition flare-ups and reform movements of one kind or another, but invariably Chester returned to its path of regularity and the McClures again led the town through a ring in its nose.

Recognized Vice Center.

Bethel Court was the recognized vice center of the town. To it went roughneck whites with money that enabled its negro denizens, both male and female, to live in idleness and drunkenness. Robberies were of every night occurrence. Shootings and cuttings were almost as frequent. Police supervision was of the most cursory character.

"Those white guys that go to Bethel Court deserve everything they get," was the way a sergeant of police expressed the police philosophy to me.

Bethel Court comprises, roughly, about six blocks. It is in the central part of the city, only two minutes' walk from the City Hall. It lies just east of Market Street, and extends from the street railway running to Eddystone and Philadelphia to the Delaware River.

Most of the buildings in Bethel Court are unsanitary and squalid. Its alleys are narrow and in them vice flaunts itself by day and by night. White men are welcomed, but only a few white women are ever seen. These are the wives of Slavs, who recently have been forced into Bethel Court because of the scarcity of homes elsewhere. Big buck negroes strut through the streets and act as guides to the white visitors. These men live on the earnings of the negro women.

Longbottom's Gut is a settlement of disorderly characters lying west and south of Bethel Court. It is a collection of shacks which house more desperate, more disorderly negroes than those that congregate in Bethel Court. Its principal street, if such it may be called, is a gut or blind alley, that runs at right angles to the one street opening into it. The settlement just now is jammed to the limit with turbulent, restless negroes.

Black Haven is a double row of tumbledown houses. More than either of the other settlements it is responsible for the race rioting of two weeks ago. The reason for this is that it is surrounded by the buildings of the whites from which came McKinney, McCann, Riddles, Dignacio, and the others who were concerned in the first fighting.

There Long Before the War.

These three breeding places of disorder were in existence long before the war brought prosperity and increased population to Chester. In 1910 Chester had 38,537 persons. The police, the postal authorities and manufacturers estimate that the population of Chester to-day is more than 70,000. To this sudden and amazing increase in permanent population must be added the daily transient influx of approximately 20,000. These are persons who can find no lodging places in the city and who come from villages and towns outside Chester to work in the stores, foundries and mills of Chester every day.

It is the literal truth that many beds in Chester's boarding houses and crowded lodging houses are rented in shifts. Men who work at night use the same beds that are occupied by day workers.

The sudden rise of Chester as a manufacturing city is one of the amazing consequences of the war. Chester's Chamber of Commerce advertised in "The Philadelphia Press" about three years ago for new industries; told of the advantages given to the city by the Delaware River and the network of railways that surround and permeate the town. These advertisements were sent broadcast over the United States and Canada. To-day, Chester is the busiest city in America and the rush still is on.

Coincident with the entrance of new industries, came the demand for skilled and unskilled labor of all kinds. In response to the inducements offered for unskilled labor, thousands of Southern negroes came to Chester. Many of these were brought North by the Pennsylvania and Baltimore & Ohio Railroads to replace track laborers and other unskilled workers. There men soon deserted to the foundries and munition shops, where wages were higher. They wrote to the South of the big money that they were making. They pictured the hectic nights of Bethel Court and other Southern negroes came flocking. From the South and from the West, as well as from the congested sections of the Northern States came white men, also. Most of these men are without family ties. They live in crowded lodging and boarding houses. They assemble in the pool rooms that suddenly have become a feature of Chester's streets. They hang around street corners. They infest Bethel Court and Longbottom's Gut and Black Haven.

White women of gentle breeding were insulted and insulted repeatedly by these homeless irresponsible men. The little police force of Chester was truly unable to cope with the nuisance. That police force has been augmented from 38 until it now numbers 62. Ten mounted policemen are to be added as the result of an ordinance which has just been introduced in Council. Thirteen troopers of the State Constabulary also are on duty in Chester, but also they came to lock the barn door after the horse was stolen.

The One Protected District.

As I have previously said, the only protected vice district in Chester was that at of Bethel Court. Prosperity brought hundreds of disorderly women and their men dependents to Chester. These, like cancerous nucleii, now are circulated throughout the central part of Chester.

The mobilization of marines and bluejackets at the Philadelphia Navy Yard, the assignment of troops and guards around the munitions plants at Chester and Eddystone, and the encampment of two companies of the National Guard just outside the City of Chester, all have added to the disorder and to the trials of the Chester police.

If Secretary of the Navy Daniels wants to start a vice crusade that will help the health and morale of enlisted men, he will find quite as much worthy his attention in Chester as in all Philadelphia. He will find men in uniform roaming the alleys of Bethel Court every night. Particularly will he find them drunk and in evil resorts on Saturday night.

The fields and parks around Chester are disorderly resorts after nightfall. The police simply don't attempt any supervision. The two park guards are helpless. Last Saturday night a pretense was made by Captain of Police Sill and a detail of policemen to raid Chester Park but only two young men were arrested notwithstanding wholesale thefts from the porches of residences along Edgemont Avenue of rugs, pillows, hammocks, and other things.

The saloons of Chester, on the surface, at least, obey the license laws but plenty of liquor has been found in Bethel Court, Longbottom's Gut, and Black Haven on Sundays and at all hours of the night. The police, so far, have been powerless to check bootlegging. They watch the saloons but they don't seem to be able to get at the other houses were liquor is sold or given away.

Familiarity Resented.

The lawlessness of the three black communities has had its effect in stirring up racial antagonisms and clashes. Southern white men and men from the West resent the familiarities with which the negroes greet the whites. Southern negroes newly arrived from communities where they were repressed have suddenly become impudent and talk with [illegible] license and protection of Bethel Court. There has grown up a defiant attitude on both sides that since the McKinney murder has always been on the verge of homicide. The white gangster is of the opinion that the negroes are protected by McClure and by McClure's friends, the police. The negro toughs, on the other hand, are sullenly resentful of anything that savors of dictation by the whites.

Fourth Race Riot Sweeps Chester; 3 Negroes Shot

N Y C TRIBUNE
JULY 28, 1917

Scores of White Men Beaten Unconscious as Guards Charge Mobs

Chester, Penn., July 27.—Although a force of nearly two hundred armed guards, including local and state police and volunteer deputies, was patrolling the city, a mob of several thousand men and boys renewed race rioting here to-night. Shortly after dark the rioters got beyond control and beat a negro insensible before he could be rescued by the police. Scores were arrested.

The authorities, who believed the situation was under control, were taken by surprise when the rioters first appeared in large numbers in the central section of the city. All negroes had been ordered to remain indoors and the crowd of white men was kept moving.

When they attacked to-night's victim rioting broke out on a large scale for the fourth time this week. Wagonloads of guards, held ready for trouble, were rushed to the scene of the disorder, and the mob was driven back at the muzzles of revolvers and rifles. After a scene of confusion the streets were cleared, but not before dozens of white men had been knocked unconscious with riot sticks.

Frank Meadows, a negro, who was shot at noon to-day, was reported to be near death in the City Hospital. Two other negroes, fired on at the same time, are also in a serious condition.

Sheriff Neyburn issued a proclamation to-night forbidding all citizens to congregate in the streets and ordered every one indoors after 9 p. m., except those whose business made it necessary for them to be in the streets. All the saloons and places of amusement were ordered closed indefinitely.

While the riots were the direct result of the killing by negroes of William McKinney, a young white man, officials declare the importation of a large number of negro laborers from the South previously had caused much ill feeling. For more than a week, the officials say, there had been minor disturbances, which, until McKinney was killed, were put down with but little difficulty.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots – 1917

Pennsylvania

THE LAST UNFORTUNATE RACE RIOTS.

PROVIDENCE EVE. NEWS
JULY 30, 1917

The race trouble in Chester, Pa., seems to have had a different origin from that at East St. Louis, Illinois, but it has some even more dangerous features. As the fighting in Chester was precipitated by a negro for whose conduct few other negroes would stand, it shows how fierce and unreasonable race hatred can become. In East St. Louis white men and women committed crimes against colored men and women that were of a most revolting nature. One incident of the Chester trouble on Saturday last was the shooting of the driver of an automobile containing some policemen. In Chester and in East St. Louis the police as well as soldiers taking part in the disturbances worked only to restore order—this, too, though East St. Louis had one of the worst city governments in the country.

Though these race troubles are indirectly due to opposition to the great influx of southern colored laborers to northern sections of the middle west, both in Chester and East St. Louis, the offences committed in the first place originated in individual acts that could not be justified by decent men of either race. Back even of the labor trouble is the prejudice in the middle west against colored folks—it is not as in the Southern States at all related to politics. The unusual feature in the Chester case was the arrival in that city late last week of many armed negroes, who brought intoxicants. Nothing is more dangerous when the passions of the people have been fanned for one reason or another than intoxicating liquors. It is to be hoped therefore that quiet will soon be restored in Chester and that all the ill feeling engendered may cease. There is a time when it is the duty of men of all races and nationalities residing here to work in harmony and to forget all prejudices.

It would have been more fortunate at this hour if the administration at Washington had evidenced a more friendly spirit towards the colored people than has been the case. While the administration had nothing to do with this labor problem, still the colored people by reason of certain acts of the administration in the past, lost confidence in the impartiality of those in high office. But the colored men of the south and of other sections of the Union have proven their patriotism and will no doubt do their share now. It seems unfortunate, however, that that fact is not more generally recognized by those in authority at Washington.

RIOTING IS RESUMED WHEN CHESTER MAYOR REOPENS RUM SHOPS

Negro Beaten While Insulting Pedestrians; Man Reported Shot

PHILA., PA., N. AMERICAN
JULY 31, 1917

TWO VICTIMS BURIED

Citizens Indignant at Official Subservience to Liquor Bosses

Rioting broke out again last night in Chester, following the reopening of the rum shops by Mayor Wesley S. McDowell, who is friendly to the McClure liquor interests. One man was savagely beaten and another is reported to have been shot.

The injured man, Charles Smith, a negro, was drunk and in an ugly mood. He walked up Market street, in the heart of the Chester business district, insulting pedestrians. At Third street he said something to four men, two of them said to have been national guardsmen.

In a flash the men set upon him, hurled him into the street, beat and kicked him. A woman ran to a telephone and sent in a riot call. Four state troopers from the city hall rushed to the scene, but by the time they arrived the negro's assailants had fled.

The second riot call followed a mysterious shooting at Sixth and Engle streets, in the west end negro section. Two state troopers were sent there in an automobile. Terrorized negro women said they had heard a shot in a nearby brickyard. A moment after the shot a big automobile backed out of the darkness in the yard and sped away. According to the neighbors, a white man in the car yelled, "We'll get the black ——." State troopers and police made a partial search of the brickyard, but finally gave it up, fearing an ambush.

Altho the saloons had been ordered closed at 9 o'clock by Mayor McDowell, by that time last night all the worst element had all the rum needed to make it ugly and menacing. Despite the appearance of the state troopers with their grim-looking carbines and riot sticks, and the extra guards sworn in by Sheriff Heyburn, trouble was in the air.

Crowds Carouse on Streets

When rioting first started, Sheriff Heyburn issued a proclamation forbidding general gatherings on the streets of the city. It was openly flouted last night by whites and blacks. One crowd of at least 150 men gathered in front of the police station, many of them drunk.

Flasks of whisky were pulled out openly by men standing on corners in the heart of the business districts and drinks were proffered to friends without any interference by the police.

The five men claimed as the toll of last week's rioting died in vain, so far as any change in the corrupt rum-controlled politics of the city is concerned. That was made plain when Mayor McDowell issued orders permitting the forty saloons to open their doors and pour out great quantities of rot-gut whisky and gin among the whites and negroes who participated in the wild scenes of bloodshed four nights last week.

A wave of indignation swept the better sections of the city when it became known that the bars were allowed to open in the face of the fact that thirty state police and 200 special guardsmen are doing their best to maintain order and prevent further rioting.

Imprisoned Deputies Freed

Three deputy sheriffs, John W. Ellis, Fred Orfield and Newman Stockdale, jailed Sunday morning in connection with the shooting to death Saturday night of David Schwartz, a white guard, and James Riley, a negro, were released yesterday. A habeas corpus hearing was held before Judge Isaac Johnson and an effort was made to have the guards freed. District Attorney John B. Hannum, Jr., protested, but they were later released under bail.

Two of the white victims of the rioting of last week were buried yesterday. Joseph McCann, of 216 Lloyd street, shot in last Thursday night's rioting, was buried from the Immaculate Conception Church. David Schwartz, shot Saturday night, was buried in Brook Haven Cemetery. Hundreds of friends attended the funeral, conducted in Fulton street by Rabbi A. B. Cohen.

One of Chester's leading citizens yesterday told of how the lower element of the negro voters have been granted leniency in criminal prosecution as a bid for their powerful vote. "The tough element among the negroes has got into power, and when they are arrested and brought up for serious crimes they are allowed time and again to go scot free," he declared.

Vice Allowed to Flourish

"The administration has allowed vice and crime to flourish in the negro sections until the race rioting was a natural outcome.

"Only ten days ago, while driving hurriedly thru the infamous Bethel court district, I was solicited openly by at least a dozen women.

"I was in court when Edward S. Fry, the man who went bail for the two negresses involved in this rioting, had his liquor license revoked as proprietor of the Keystone Hotel.

"Judge Isaac Johnson said, 'Stand up, Mr. Fry. You are unfit to conduct a hotel and your license is hereby revoked.' That was in June of 1913. I believe. During the following January the same judge regranted a liquor license to Fry, whose hotel flourishes in the heart of the ninth ward negro section."

Mayor McDowell made a strong plea for twenty-five additional policemen, regular patrolmen, at yesterday's session of city council, and council decided to take the matter up at a special meeting to be held this week.

PENNSYLVANIA RACE RIOTS CAUSE NEGRO SECTIONS GUARDED

State Police and Soldiers Fail to Restrain Angry Crowd

7.26/17

CHESTER, PA., July 25—Three men were shot, scores beaten, and 55 arrested in a serious of race riots adjacent to the negro district here tonight. In addition to those shot, about a dozen rioters had to be taken to the hospital as a result of injuries inflicted by stones and clubs.

Two companies of national guardsmen and a platoon of state police summoned to aid the local police failed to restrain the crowd which followed policemen and their captives to the doors of the city hall. The district inhabited by negroes, including about one third of the town was roped off and placed under heavy guard. At midnight the police had the situation well in hand and said they expected no more trouble.

The riots were the outgrowth of hearings here yesterday of three negro men and a negro woman who were held without bail on the charge of stabbing to death a white youth in front of his home on Tuesday night.

CHESTER RIOTING RESUMES

Negro Shot by Crowd of White Men — National Guard Aiding the Police

N Y C POST
JULY 27, 1917

CHESTER, Pa., July 27 (by A. P.).—Rioting was renewed at the noon hounr to-day and a negro who was shot may die. The man is Frank Meadows, who was attacked while passing the Chester Shipbuilding Company's plant in front of which many workmen were grouped. Meadows ran and two bullets were fired at him, one hitting him in the back. He was taken to a hospital.

Police were rushed to the scene, but they failed to find any arms on the workmen. Later detectives were sent to the plant to search all the men employed there.

THREE MORE DIE IN RACE RIOTS

N Y C EVE SUN
JULY 27, 1917

Chester, Pa., Fears Another Renewal of Hostilities.

TROOP GUARD INCREASED

Many Badly Beaten in Clashes Likely to Succumb to Wounds.

CHESTER, Pa., July 27.—Daylight again brought a cessation of hostilities after the second night of race riots here. Three men were killed and others so badly beaten it is feared that several more deaths will be added to the list before the day is over.

Although the riots are apparently at an end to-day, it is not safe to predict what the future will bring forth for there was no indication before early evening yesterday that white men planned a renewal of the riots which stirred the city Wednesday night. Soon before dusk large crowds began to gather on the outskirts of the negro section of the city and to openly swear to avenge those injured in the first night's encounter. The guards were strengthened, but not soon enough to avert a clash.

Negro Kills Pursuer.

When a mob was pursuing a negro accused of having taken part in previous riots, the colored man turned, flashed a revolver and instantly killed one of the mob, Joseph McCann, 28 years old.

McCann's death was the signal for a further outburst, and the mob quickly grew. It followed the negro who did the shooting until he had barricaded himself in his squalid hut, where he withstood all attacks until his house was set on fire. As the flames drove him from his hiding place, a group of the Mayor's posse swept up and surrounded the man. He was hurried in a motor car to the City Hall. But the crowd was not to be so easily thwarted, and thousands besieged the jail. As the mob leaders were battering in the front doors, the negro was removed through the rear entrance to a motor and taken to Media.

Outwitted by the authorities, the mob of whites returned to the scene of the riots more determined than ever to wreak destruction on the unfortunates who came within its path. Negroes were removed from trolley cars and subjected to severe beatings.

Two negroes taken from a trolley were marked by the crowd for destruction. One escaped, however, but the other was shot to death.

The third fatality occurred early in the morning when a policeman attempted to quell one of the last of the outbreaks in the black belt. As he stepped forward to part the two factions a bullet from a negro's revolver pierced his breast, and he fell mortally wounded.

Mayor McDowell characterized the situation as extremely serious, but said he hoped law and order could be restored to-day and that further riots could be prevented to-night.

The Mayor ordered all saloons and pool rooms closed at 7 o'clock last night and recruited a posse of ninety men to picket the riot section. Plans to restore order and insure safety were being considered to-day.

CHESTER NEARING QUIET AFTER RIOTS

CHESTER, Pa., July 29—With the exception of a brief period this morning when a score of whites in automobiles invaded the negro section with the announced intention of "cleaning it up' Chester was quiet throughout the day. More than 100 shots were fired by the invading party but so far as could be learned no one was injured. Numerous window glasses in the homes of negroes were shattered, however, before the police arrived and drove the white men out of the district. No arrests were made.

Trolley traffic was resumed today and more than the usual number of people were on the streets. Policemen and deputy sheriffs kept the crowds moving while the negro district was roped off and white persons were forbidden to enter.

It was announced tonight that saloon and places of amusement, which have been closed since the race troubles assumed alarming proportions Wednesday night, would be open tomorrow. Five persons have lost their lives in the riots, scores have been injured and more than fifty are held under heavy bail on charges of inciting to riot.

RIOT STICKS FOR POLICE

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
JULY 29, 1917

Superintendent Robinson Has Clubs Distributed in Case of Race Outbreaks

As a precautionary measure against the spread of the Chester race rioting to Philadelphia, Superintendent Robinson yesterday ordered riot sticks to be distributed among all police station throughout the city.

He said that while he did not expect any trouble here, as the outcome of the disorder in Chester, he did not intend to be "caught napping," as the police of East St. Louis were caught in the recent race riots in that city.

The police lieutenants were ordered to keep the riot sticks on hand at their respective stations, but to employ them only in cases of extreme emergency.

PHILADELPHIA PA PRESS
JULY 28, 1917

PHILADELPHIA POLICE HELD FOR A RIOT CALL

Reports that negroes in Philadelphia were arming and planned to leave the city to assist their race in the Chester riots caused fifty policemen to be held in reserve this morning in four South Philadelphia police stations.

The policemen were detailed for this duty when they reported at the midnight roll call. They remained on the alert for any sign of trouble until late this morning.

The policemen were held in reserve at the following stations: Twentieth and Fitzwater streets, Second and Christian, Third and Delancey and Twelfth and Pine streets.

PHILA., PA., N. AMERICAN
AUGUST 7. 1917

Letters to the Editor

The North American is always glad to receive and publish communications of general interest. Letters must be written on only one side of the paper and should not exceed 300 or 400 words. Manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by stamped addressed envelope.

Quakers and Chester Riots

TO THE EDITOR—Your editorial on the Chester race riots was an illuminating exposition of their cause. But why should the numerous members of the Society of Friends, who do not live in Chester and in the infamous Bethel court purlieus, persistently vote with the gang that made the disgraceful riots necessary? Many of those who have been the political beneficiaries of the voting conditions in Chester have a Quaker lineage running back to the time when George Fox sat on hayricks in England and preached righteousness to their forebears, and they have thought and acted as if they could not attain a public office without the aid of the debased inhabitants of Bethel court. Could not these bearers of old Quaker names get their offices without un-Americanizing and debauching the ballot and the jury wheel? They are now training, we learn, to select a Quaker descendant to take Brumbaugh's place, with the aid of Bethel court. A QUAKER.

Philadelphia, Aug. 5.

PHILADELPHIA PA PI
JULY 12, 1917

WHITES AND NEGROES FIGHT PITCHED BATTLE

About a hundred white men charged on nearly an equal number of colored men on Warnock, above Oxford Street last night, and after a battle, in which shots were fired, fists wielded and milk bottles were thrown, the colored men broke ground and fled. By the time the police of the Eighth and Jefferson Streets station arrived, the combatants had sought shelter in their homes. No arrests were made and nobody went to the hospital, although residents in the street said many heads were broken.

The trouble is said to have started July 4. Two white boys were shooting firecrackers in front of the home of a colored man. He objected, using the toe of his shoe to enforce his argument. The white boys told their parents, and they went back to the scene of the firecracker shooting, and engaged in battle with the "objector" and two of his friends. Police stopped that quarrel but since then threats have been made by many of the white and colored residents of the district that they "would get even."

Last night the trouble broke out in earnest. Three white youths fought with three colored opponents in Warnock Street. Every house poured out its quota of help, according to their respective inclinations. The battle raged back and forth and then someone yelled, "Here comes the cops!" Doors promptly opened and the rioters vanished.

PHILADELPHIA PA PRESS
JULY 28, 1917

THE CHESTER RIOT.

The dislocation of labor by a large immigration from the South is the moving cause of the very regrettable race riot that disturbed Chester on Thursday. Several killed and many wounded are the painful consequences of the unfortunate event.

According to most of the accounts the negroes were the first aggressors, and in the give and take of the subsequent collisions neither race seems to have had clearly the better of the conflict. The painful atrocities that make most race riots an exhibition of barbarism and uncontrolled primitive passion appear to have been altogether wanting in this instance. The authorities did their duty to the extent of their power and prevented the riot from assuming unmanageable proportions. It is a most unfortunate though probably unpreventable affair which was kept at a minimum by the moderations of the people and the vigorous activity of the Chester police.

A movement of population in large bodies into a section already well peopled invariably causes collision and creates trouble. Some of the husky negroes from the far South seem to imagine that they have reached a place where they can do as they please and if denied may enforce their wishes by the use of the pistol, which anyone in this latitude can obtain by the asking.

These negroes are not so vicious as they are ignorant and excitable and suspicious that harm is intended them. They have come North in response to a demand for labor and induced by the high wages paid for workers in any kind of war material. They should be treated fairly and made to feel that they are in no danger of being troubled if they behave themselves. This is not always true, and some mistreatment not revealed may be at the bottom of this outbreak. Chester is to be congratulated that the affair went no further than it did and that order was so speedily restored.

CHICAGO ILL HERALD
JULY 23, 1917

CHESTER THEN AND NOW.

Through the old green hills of the Quakers in Pennsylvania negroes are fleeing just as they fled sixty years ago. Then they were fleeing from southern persecution, fleeing into the friendly arms of the abolitionists. Now they are fleeing from the sons and grandsons of the abolitionists into the haven of the South. Modern Chester boils out of its smoky limits and persecutes a race which old Chester risked its liberty to succor.

The chase, lacking only the bloodhounds and the whip, trails past ante-bellum mansions where drowse Quaker octogenarians to whom the fugitive is still enshrouded in poetry; to whom the negro is still the "dusky race." The chase awakens memories that have slept soundly for a half century. It follows the path where the "underground railroad" stole on its unlawful and consecrated way. It roars bestially through neighborhoods where WHITTIER is still the great American poet, and where the emotionalized peacefulness of the Quaker still keeps WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON'S picture over the highboy.

Along the Media-Chester pike it runs, spilling blood before graveyards where sleep the Quakers who put aside their religion to keep until slavery had been washed away in blood.

An ugly thought—hunting negroes on that hallowed ground.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Riots—1917 — Pennsylvania.

3 DEAD, MANY HURT IN CHESTER RIOTS

The Amsterdam News

White Mob Angered When Colored Man, in Self-Defence, Kills One of His Pursuers—An Unoffending Colored Man Murdered Twenty-four Hours Later—Scores of Both Races in Hospitals and Jails

8/11/17

Chester, Pa., July 28.—Race rioting begun here on July 25 when a white mob gave chase to a colored man and the man defended himself. Joseph McCann, 28 years old, was killed when the colored man turned at Third and Lloyd streets and fired three times into the pursuing mob.

With the killing of the white man the crowd grew even more venomous and the pursuit continued, with the colored man going into a house at 1017 West Third street and dashing out on the opposite side. He made his way to another house at Front and Lloyd streets, where he attempted to entrench himself with the heroic determination of selling his life at a price that mobs would not be inclined to pay. By this time the police had arrived on the scene and ten policemen broke through the crowd and made their way to the third floor, where they found the colored man, who readily surrendered to the forces of the law.

Under cover of drawn revolvers the officers took the man to a patrol wagon and on to City Hall.

Deprived of their prey and not giving the slighteest consideration to the circumstances under which Joseph McCann, the white man, was shot, the same crowd, now augmented by other whites, until it contained more than 2,000 men, gathered on the night of July 26 and pulled two unoffending colored men from a street car and shot one to death. The other escaped the murderers.

The third fatality occurred shortly before midnight, when Policeman James Jarrett was accidentally shot by a colored man while trying to quell an outbreak along the colored section, where colored men were defending their homes and loved ones from a white attack. Mayor McDowell then issued an order for all citizens to get off the streets of Chester by midnight.

Rioting occurred again on the 27th when Frank Meadows, colored, was shot and perhaps fatally wounded while passing the Chester Shipbuilding Company's plant, in front of which many white workmen were grouped.

Shortly after dark the rioters again got beyond control and beat a colored man insensible before he could be rescued by the police. Many heads were broken and scores of rioters arrested.

Two other colored men, Weyman La Rue, and Mayberry Hackett are now in the hospital. Some of the injured white rioters flaunt such names as John Richi, Joseph Viscecio, Andrew Romanski, etc. Hardly an American name among them!

In one district Mayor McDowell ordered colored policemen to return to the station house, fearing they would be mobbed. Thus colored Chester was robbed of its only sure defence!

With thirty-five available Chester police unable to quell the riots, which broke out anew as soon as the battlers were dispersed in one spot, Mayor McDowell asked assistance from the Guardsmen.

The city was quiet on Monday and conditions are becoming normal. The forty saloons closed Wednesday evening last week reopened Monday morning by grace of the mayor.

The situation has been muddled by a bitter quarrel between District Attorney Hannum and Sheriff Heyburn. It grew out of the murders Saturday night, which were followed by the arrest of three white guards of the Remington Arms Company and the freeing of two Negro guards, said to be implicated in the shooting.

The Negroes were employed as watchmen by Edward S. Fry, owner of a hotel, at 7th and Central Sts. Fry is said to dominate the Negro vote in Chester. A petition for the revocation of his liquor license was circulated this week.

"Tonight will prove whether or not I was justified in opening the saloons," said the mayor last Monday. "Chester was insane for three days, but has recovered its sanity.

"The people were inflamed against Negroes deliberately by persons who are enemies of my administration. These persons twisted facts about an alleged attack on a young white girl by two Negroes. The rage they stirred in some of the whites developed in a frenzy when McKinney, the first white man to die, was slain."

The men slain Saturday night were David Schwartz, a white man, driver of a motor car presed into service as a patrol, and James Riley, a Negro. The latter was a watchman for the Lamokin Woods Campmeeting Association, whose grounds adjoin the hotel of Edward S. Fry, 7th and Central Streets..

The Chester police received a report late Saturday night that several motor cars filled with whites were bound to Fry's hotel from Village Green, several miles from Chester. The whites, the rumor had it, intended to burn the building. Fry is declared to control the Negro vote in Chester. He left the city Friday.

When Schwartz's car neared the campmeeting woods, the occupants, deputy sheriffs, saw two Negroes carrying a package which they thought contained whiskey. The deputies ordered the Negroes to halt, but they fled into the woods.

Several shots were fired at the car, while the deputies raked the woods with their revolvers. Schwartz was hit in the chest by a bullet.

Several Remington Arms Company guards, it was said, had fired upon the car, thinking it was filled with rioters.

Munition Guards Arrested

The district attorney ordered the arrest of John W. Ellis, Jr., Fred Orfield and Newman Stockdale, three of the guards, who were on duty near the hotel, and who are said to have fired their rifles.

While they were sent to the jail at Media, the district attorney ordered the dismissal of two Negro guards employed by Fry at his hotel. Hannum says there was not sufficient evidence to hold them. Sheriff Heyburn, however, believes the Negroes should not have been liberated, as he thinks an investigation may show them to be the slayers of Schwartz.

After appealing both to the district attorney and Judge Johnson for the release of the Remington guards, the sheriff said he would buck the authority of the district attorney's office by applying for a writ of habeas corpus for the liberation of the Remington Arms Company's men.

As soon as the Remington guards were arrested, their companions, about 200, "struck," and refused to patrol the city. Sheriff Heyburn motored to their barracks.

"I have done everything humanely possible to get your men out," the sheriff asserted. "I have pleaded with the district attorney and Judge Johnson, but law is law and it must be obeyed. Now I want to ask you if you will not return to Chester and patrol the streets as you have done in the past.. How many will volunteer?"

"Nobody," was the reply from the men in uniform.

Sheriff Heyburn then agreed to allow the men to work in civilian clothes and to provide them with revolvers, and the matter was adjusted. He promised to pay them $5 a night instead of $3.50.

Charles Roller, a deputy sheriff, who was shot in the shoulder during the firing Saturday night, believes the deputies were ambushed.

Prominent citizens of Chester declare politics is at the bottom of the rioting and that the way Negroes have been coddled for their votes has led to their becoming obnoxious.

Mayor McDowell has been subjected to a broadside of criticism, for it is charged that he has been responsible for Negroes arrested on serious charges, being freed under the slight fines or small amounts of bail.

"Citizens who choose a time like this to attack the city administration, which is doing its utmost to protect the lives of men and women, have little of my respect," said Mayor McDowell. "In the first place they show a woeful lack of judgment."

About sixty whites and blacks were arrested Saturday night and Sunday charged with disorderly conduct Liquor was found upon the majority Some were armed, and they will be prosecuted also for carrying concealed deadly weapons.

No services were held Sunday in the colored churches in Chester. Three police from Radnor township, three from Upper Darby and two from Haverford township have been sent to Media to guard the jail there. Sheriff Heyburn posted them about the building to thwart any attempt upon the lives of the Negroes held there in connection with the slaying of Edward McKinney and Joseph McCann, two white men slain Tuesday and Thursday nights of last week.

McCann, said to have been slain by John Lucas, a Negro, was buried Monday morning. The funeral was held in the Catholic Church of the Immaculate Heart, Chester. Four Remington guards accompanied the cortege to the parish cemetery in Marcus Hook.

Magistrate Leary, who has given hearings to whites and blacks arrested in the rioting, and who has been criticized for dealing leniently with the Negroes, declared that he had shown no favors to them.

"I have been doing my duty honestly and have not been acting for any political ends," he asserted. "The district attorney is responsible for the two Negroes arrested as witnesses of the murder of McKinney, being liberated in $300 bail each.

"I held them for court. Hannum came to me and said I had no right to do this. He said they should be released in bail. He went to another magistrate and had them freed under bail to appear for court.

"I want to deny that I also released two Negroes said to have attacked a white girl two weeks ago. The only charge against these prisoners was impersonating an officer. The girl herself made an affidavit in which she swore she was not assailed. I held these men in $300 bail each for court."

TRUTH ABOUT THE CHESTER RIOTS

The Christian Record

8/12/17

RIOTING IN CHESTER BLAMED ON POLITICS

Mayor McDowell Says Rivals Twisted Facts of Administration and Inflamed Negroes

Death List Now Totals Five

Political enemies twisted facts about his administration, inflamed sentiment against Negroes and are responsible for the race riots in Chester, Mayor McDowell said on last Monday.

A white man and a Negro were slain Saturday night, bringing the total dead in the street battles to five since last Tuesday week.

MAKE GOOD SUFFER FOR BAD IN CHESTER

Respectable Colored Folk Say They are Punished for Acts of Blacks, Which They Deplore

NEGRO ACTS ENRAGE

There are, of course, two sides to the drama of race hate which Chester has so bitterly played.

And one of these is the side of the colored people—the law-abiding among these feel there is something to be said for

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

them.

Take, for instance, the Doughertys, in front of whose house, in 3d st., Joseph McCann, a white man, was killed Thursday night by a negro, alleged to have been John Lucas.

she said, yesterday, "and the place was crowded with people who wanted to get some candy or ginger ale before we closed, at 10. All of a sudden something crashed through the window, just above my head, struck the wall—" she pointed to a white nick in the brown paint—"rebounded, hit a jitney driver in the neck, and well into a candy jar. I found the bullet this morning.

"At once we put out the lights and hurried into the rear rooms. The street seemed full of shots for a while. Little by little, I let my customers out the back door.

"I've lived here forty-one years, and I want to say that never in may time has there been such a rough and low crowd racing through this town as now. If I had seen who fired that shot—" She pointed to a revolver which hung behind the counter—"I'd have used that, and used it good, and never felt any twinge of conscience."

Two or three car conductors who had run in for ginger ale added their testimony. "There's as bad people on one side in this trouble as on the other," one said, "but the black people started it. Most of the bad blacks are newcomers, but some of those who have lived here quite a while are just getting bolder with the reinforcements of new crooks from the South.

"You don't know how fresh and impudent these blacks are getting to be until you see them on the street cars every day," said another. "Only yesterday afternoon a big negro in greasy working clothes jammed himself into a space not really big enough for a child, right next to a white woman who had a white skirt on. It's that sort of thing which gets your goat. And it's only an indication of a lot of boldness and badness underneath.

"Everyone will tell you that the black people here have got a lot more brazen in the last two months. It's hard to bear—especially when, like me, you're from the South."

A sample of it was offered at that minute. Into the restaurant walked a colored man. "Ham sandwich and coffee," he ordered, and the impudence lay in the tone rather than in the abrupt command. He swept the proprietess with an insolent stare. "And hurry up," he added. "I want to catch a car."

You could see the muscles stiffen as the other customers turned to look at the black. The proprietress remarked that she had no ham sandwiches. With a sneer of disbelief the colored fellow hurried out.

"That's the sort of thing I mean," the conductor growled.

A DISTINCTION WITH A DIFFERENCE.

The Richmond, 8/4/17

There was a vast difference between the riot at Chester, Pennsylvania and the massacre at East St. Louis, Illinois. Colored people in Pennsylvania were armed and fired from the windows of their houses. while the colored people of East St. Louis, Missouri ran like sheep and pleaded with the lawless elements for mercy, which to them was denied. In Chester, Pennsylvania, for every colored man killed, a white hoodlum went the same way and as a result not more than five deaths have been reported and about two score injured, most of the latter being white, who had refused to obey the police-officers sent to quell the disturbance.

In East St. Louis, anywhere from one hundred to three hundred colored people were killed and many of them being burned alive in their own houses, from which houses they did not dare to flee and hundreds more were injured, while all of their earthly belongings were destroyed. Their only crime was that they were seeking work. They belonged to the industrious class in contravention to the worthless, loafing contingent that has disgraced the Southland and that now infests the streets in the Northern clime.

The moral of this is that when the authorities find that the killing of black men will be accompanied with the killing of white ones, a way will be found to preserve order. We are glad to note the attitude of the colored people of Chester, Pennsylvania. We refer to the respectable elements. The disreputable elements have no use for firearms except to break the law. The respectable colored elements have use for them to preserve the law. The best time to "cool off" a would-be lyncher is when he is bent upon his murderous mission.

Grand juries cannot find them after the melee is over and accordingly cannot indict them. When they are lying in a gutter with a bullet hole in their anatomy, the task is easy and others are deterred from doing the same thing. The attitude of the colored people of Chester, Pennsylvania was all right. If other communities in the North will follow their example, organized white labor and disorganized white labor for that matter, will think three times and possibly double that number of times, before staging another massacre of the kind that disgraced the United States of America at East St. Louis, Illinois.

TWO KILLED IN RACE RIOT AT CHESTER

PHILADELPHIA PA BULLETIN
JULY 28, 1917

Fighting Is Resumed Between Whites and Negroes and Martial Law Virtually Prevails.

DRIVER OF POLICE PATROL ONE OF VICTIMS.

[SPECIAL TO THE EVENING TELEGRAM.]

PHILADELPHIA, Sunday. — Fired upon by negroes in ambush as he was responding to a riot call, David Schwarz, eighteen years old, a driver of an automobile police patrol, was instantly killed as race rioting was resumed in Chester just before midnight.

As several negroes fled after a fight with revolvers with the vanload of policemen Schwarz had been driving pursuers tripped over the body of a dead negro. It is not known, however, whether he was a victim of a shot from a policeman's revolver or was fatally wounded by some other person.

The late battles between negroes and whites inflamed the city since Tuesday night. Precautions had been taken to preserve order, but at midnight it appeared that they might prove futile. Both negroes and whites are in an ugly mood, and more clashes are likely.

Arrest More Than Fifty.

The storm, threatened for hours while negroes from Philadelphia, Wilmington and other nearby points, many of them armed and almost all of them carrying supplies of intoxicants, flocked into the city, did not break until after eleven o'clock.

During the afternoon and early evening guards had been strengthened in all parts of the city in an effort to prevent renewed outbreaks between whites and negro residents. More than half a hundred arrests were made in an effort to check the outside negroes in their effort to join their friends in this city.

Carl Roller, of Collingdale, and Floyd Terrell, of this city, two of the extra guards hastily sworn in and posted in the "Black Belt," noticed a party of negroes drinking in the vicinity of Seventh street and Central avenue and started to disperse them.

As the two guards approached the group a fusillade of shots greeted them. Roller and Terrell retreated and turned in a riot call. As the negroes fled the guards followed, but lost track of their quarry.

Schwartz, at the wheel of the car bearing the police detail answering the guards' riot call, was speeding past a side street near Seventh street and Central avenue when a volley of revolver shots was fired from a darkened area. Schwartz fell dead on the front seat of the motor.

Outsiders Cause Trouble.

The policemen returned the shots, but it is not known whether their bullets took effect. It was after the negroes fled and the detail started after them hat he body of the dead negro was found lying on the sidewalk in the dark.

Officials freely admitted the presence of the outside negroes was a serious menace to peace, and when the influx showed no signs of abating they acted promptly to prevent trouble. Deputy sheriffs and policemen in citizens' clothes were hurried to points outside the city, where they boarded trains and trolley cars and inspected all negroes bound for Chester. They placed under arrest those unable to explain their errand or carried arms.

During the first hour they were on duty more than fifty negroes were taken into custody, relieved of any weapons they carried and locked up. Their stocks of liquor also were confiscated for the time being. While some of the negroes satisfied the police officials that they had legitimate errands in this city, the majority were unable to give a satisfactory reason for their visit.

WHITES START RIOTS AT CHESTER, SAY POLICE

The [illegible] 8/9/17
(Special to The New York Age)

CHESTER, Pa.—After a secret investigation, with the assistance of a detail of plain clothes men, Chief of Police John Vance claims to have discovered the cause of the outburst of mob violence between the two races at Chester. He claims to have unearthed a chane of evidence that will show that a band of whites in the West End formed an organization to mob the colored people. It is also claimed by the chief that the organizers and agitators were not Southerners, as many believed, but natives of the city.

Two of the young men said to have been active in the work of promoting discord in the ranks of the whites were arrested and arraigned in Municipal Court Saturday. They gave the names of James Riddle and Selimon Dignacio. The arrests were made on orders of Chief of Police Vance by Hanley Lynch and Cosgrove, patrolmen.

Chief Vance testified that the members of a band of whites that started the riots on that fateful Wednesday night returned to the same neighborhood on Thursday and agitated trouble. Hanley, a patrolman, testified that he attempted to arrest Riddles while trying to disperse a mob, but that the ruffian was rescued by friends headed by Dignacio swinging a club.

Soon after this occurrence West Third street was a scene of rioting for squares. Chief Vance says Joseph McCann, one of the dead victims of the rioting, was a member of the band that started the disturbance. Police Magistrate Holt fixed the bail in each case at $2,000 and the men were committed for the September term of court, when the police authorities will present further evidence. More arrests are to be made and the cases will be pushed with all vigor.

Riots – 1917

Kentucky, Md., N.Y., Ohio, and Oklahoma., D.C., N.J.

II

NO RACE RIOTS IN LEXINGTON.

Lexington, Ky., Sept. 6.—Readers of the daily papers have been misled during the last few days by sensational accounts of riots between Colored men and white soldiers. A quarrel or fight may have occurred but of such a trivial nature that local Colored people never knew they had happened. The Secretary on the Board of Commerce (white) has written the War Department that nothing has happened an dnot to put any stock in sensational newspaper dispatches. He says there have been a few brawls but they were not racial but just ordinary scraps between men.

STRIKES BREAK OUT IN KENTUCKY MINES

Advertiser 7/13/17

FRANKFORT, KY., July 14—Governor A. O. Stanley today sent Adjutant General J. Tandy Ellis to Providence, Webster county, with Company A, Signal troops of Lexington. Governor Ttanley said the sheriff of Webster county had informed him that a thousand striking white miners and an equal number of negro miners were on the verge of war in Providence, where picketing has been going on.

The sheriff is said to be unable to obtain a posse. He is said to be apprehensive of an outbreak between the two forces.

3 KILLED, MANY HURT, IN STRIKES

The Amsterdam News 8/9/17

Hundreds Reported to Be in Flight After Clash in Webster County

Lexington, Ky., Aug 7.—Reports reaching this city state that in Webster County hundreds of colored people are fleeing to safety in Indiana and distant Kentucky towns.

It is said that three colored men were killed yesterday when striking union miners fired on colored mine guards. Two other colored men were seriously wounded.

A general outbreak is feared because the colored men took the places of striking white men in the coal fields.

Two companies of the National Guard, with two machine guns, have been sent to the scene.

RACE RIOTS QUELLED BY NATIONAL GUARD

N. Y. EVE SUN
AUGUST 6, 1917

Troops Sent to Lexington, Ky., With Machine Guns.

LEXINGTON, Ky., Aug. 6.—It is expected that the arrival of the two companies of national guardsmen who took two machine guns with them to Webster county will put an end to the rioting which is in progress among mine workers there. Three negroes are reported to have been killed by striking union miners who fired in negro guards. Other negroes are said to have been wounded. Hundreds of fleeing negroes crossed the border into Indiana.

The riot was the result of negroes taking the place of striking whites.

PITTSBURG, Aug. 6.—An extra force of police is stationed in the downtown section to-day, where about fifty negroes are working on a new building, with a view to preventing a recurrence of rioting. It appears that yesterday's fight between whites and blacks was started when two negroes, Henry Ware and A. D. Humphreys, who came to Pittsburg from East St. Louis, got into an altercation with J. K. Beers, white. Beers said that one of the negroes hit him on the head with a beer bottle. A crowd attacked the East St. Louis men and some of the negro workers on the new building joined in the fight.

2 MOBBED IN MARYLAND

WHITES AT CITY OF TEXAS, MD., BEGIN ASSAULT ON 2 COLORED MEN ON EXCUSE OF COLORED FIRING OFF A PISTOL—SAVED BY POLICE.

The Guardian, 7/14/17

(Baltimore Sun, July 9, 1917.)

Incensed over the firing of a pistol by David Paine, Colored, early yesterday morning at Texas, Baltimore county, and the report that the shots were aimed at a white man, a score of men of the community armed themselves with a baseball bat and other weapons and roughly handled Paine while the police of Arlington were speeding to his rescue.

The police learned that there was considerable feeling between the white residents and Negroes of Texas and vicinity, and that had it not been for the action of former Patrolman Daniel Kearns of Texas, who took Paine to his home until Sergeant Stansbury and Patrolmen Smith and O'Neill arrived, the Negro might have been more seriously dealt with.

Paine, according to the police, had been in the city and alighted from a train of the Northern Central Railway at midnight. He was accompanied by another Negro and they started off in the direction of Warren. In a short time two shots rang out and the report reached Texas that they were aimed at a white man.

A posse was quickly formed and went to the home of Mr. Kearns, where Paine and his companion were being held for the police. Paine's companion escaped the mob, but the crowd got Paine and beat him on the head with a baseball bat. He received several ugly cuts and bruises.

INTIMIDATORS QUIT ON SEEING U. S. GUNS

WORLD
JUL — 1917

Italians, Who Tried to Coerce Negro Workmen, Hustled Out of Camp by Regular Soldiers.

BALTIMORE, July 16.—More than thirty Italian laborers who tried today to chase a group of negro workmen from Camp Meade, the National army encampment at Admiralty, Md., were themselves ousted by a detachment on guard there, put on board a Baltimore and Ohio train bound for this city, and told if they ever came back they would be severely dealt with.

The deportation was supervised by Major Proctor, U. S. A., who is in charge of building the cantonment. So quickly was it carried out that the Italians did not have a chance to remonstrate **They looked at the soldiers and at the guns and boarded a train.**

Major Proctor learned that the Italians, who were helping to lay tracks for the Baltimore and Ohio, had banded together and had told the negro workmen they would have to get out of the camp. The Italians feared the negroes would work for less money.

When the Italians became menacing their foreman notified Major Proctor. A squad of regulars escorted the men to the station.

NEGRO AND RAZOR START RACE RIOT AT INDIAN HEAD

WASHINGTON D C TIMES
AUGUST 22, 1917

An outbreak of race rioting between whites and blacks living in the vicinity of the naval proving grounds at Indian Head, Md., is threatened as a result of the slashing of a white man by a negro in a quarrel in an ice cream parlor there Sunday night.

Marines Prevent Lynching.

The story of how a detachment of marines on duty on a road on the reservation saved the colored man, Jack Howell, from being lynched by a mob of angry citizens was brought here today.

The white man, William Quinn, is at Providence Hospital here, with a deep slash in his back, alleged to have been made by Howell with a razor.

After Quinn had fallen wounded at the door of the Union Hotel, in which he is employed, white men standing near by began to utter threats against the colored man. Marines, on the road, realizing that trouble was brewing, placed Howell under arrest and locked him in the watch box on the country road.

As the word of the cutting spread, the throng of whites grew larger, and the threats against the negro grew louder. The marines transferred the prisoner to their barracks and sent for Deputy Sheriff Dutten.

About midnight the marines assured the crowd of fifty or seventy-five angry white men that the negro would be kept at the barracks. While the marines were talking to the would-be lynchers, the deputy sheriff, with the negro handcuffed, smuggled him out and rushed him to La Plata, a number of miles away.

Howell, who is twenty-five years old, and said to be formerly of this city, was arraigned before Justice of the Peace Mattingly at La Plata yesterday on a charge of assault with intent to kill, and held for the action of the grand jury in November.

According to Sheriff Lemuel Albritain, Howell, who is working with a construction gang near Indian Head, entered the hotel about sundown Sunday evening and become involved in an argument with Quinn over the price of ice cream.

The negro was ordered from the place, it is said, and Quinn followed him to the door. In the quarrel that resulted the colored man is said to have used a razor. Physicians at Providence Hospital said today Quinn probably would recover, although his condition is still critical.

Frank Otrin, employed on the Government reservation, also was slightly cut when he went to Quinn's assistance.

Word that the colored man had been held for the grand jury appeased the white citizens near Indian Head, and officials there said today they expected no more trouble.

FALSE RIOT REPORT

New York, July 13.—New York was treated again to lurid accounts of a Race riot in the San Juan district of New York City, according to the white dailies. The New York American carried a particularly long, glaring account of the "riot." Seeking the truth of the affair, a representative of this paper interviewed Mr. David C. Outleau, 235 West 63rd street, a prominent man in that section, and well known lawyer in New York City. He informed us there was no truth in the flaming "riot" reports as carried by the white dailies.

The truth of the matter was that some men of the 15th infantry, N. G., N. Y., were standing on the corner of 61st street and Amsterdam avenue. It is admitted they were somewhat noisy in their actions. Patrolman Hansen white) ordered them to move on. All did except Lawrence Joaquin, 61 West 9th street. Because he was in uniform he told the officer he was not obliged to move. He was placed under arrest, after some arguing, which naturally attracted a crowd. During the gathering of the crowd one or two fights took place, but no rioting in which knives, guns or bricks were used. In the courts, subsequently, Joaquin was sentenced to ten days in the workhouse. Col. Haywood of the 15th infantry, is investigating the affair.

PICNIC ENDS IN RACE RIOT

Defender 7/14/17

Canarsie, L. I., July 13.—Harm's Casino and grove, Rockaway avenue and Malden lane, was the scene of a Race riot on Independence night. The James Jackson Association of the downtown section of Brooklyn were giving their annual picnic. The affair was getting along nicely until late in the evening, when a fight started. The affair perhaps could have been settled by the police arresting those interested, but the recent Race riots, lynchings, burnings, etc., were evidently fresh in their memory and they started in to make history on Long Island (much to their sorrow) by trying to beat up everybody with their clubs.

Prize Fighter Held His Own With Five Policemen

Frank Williams, prize fighter, was evidently implicated in the argument before the arrival of the police, and they evidently knew, was to be their target. Well, at least three are sorry they attempted such a task. Williams, who is a small fellow, started in right and left and succeeded in laying three of them out on the ballroom floor before assistance arrived. He was finally subdued with clubs, receiving a possible fracture of the skull. He was carried to the St. Mary's hospital for treatment. The only arrest made was John Hawley, 105 Rochester avenue, who, it is reported, had nothing to do with the affair. Picnics, outings, etc., regardless by whom they are given, should be free of rowdyism. And this is what we have officers of the law for; not to go into picnics run by Race people and start beating up everybody they come in contact with, but to arrest the guilty parties. The police of Brooklyn, like other cities where there is a large Race population, need this particular education. While the writer of this article does not advocate these kind of picnics where

there is fighting, a few more like the one at Canarsie, where the officers of the law got a run for their money, would go a long way toward teaching the police of Brooklyn to investigate before trying to win hands down.

TWO KILLED IN RACE RIOTS

SPRINGFIELD MASS REPUB
JULY 27, 1917

White Man and Negro Dead at Chester, Pa. — Guardsmen, Alleging Insults, Start Fracas at Youngstown, O.

Two men, a white man and a Negro, were killed in race riots which broke out anew at Chester, Pa., last night after a day of comparative quiet. About 20 others were injured. Scores of persons were arrested. The authorities announced at 10 o'clock they had the situation well in hand.

The rioting, which started Wednesday night as the result of the killing of a young white man by Negroes Tuesday, reached its climax last night when a mob of several hundred whites invaded the Negro section, which skirts the Delaware river. Negroes who ventured to retard their progress were beaten down with clubs and houses were searched in the hope of discovering one of the suspects in the McKinney case.

One of last night's victims was Joseph McCann, white, 28 years old, who is said to have been a leader of the mob. When he fell mortally wounded, the invading whites were augmented by hundreds of onlookers. Several Negroes were dragged from street cars and beaten into insensibility. One was fatally shot. Scores of shots were fired by the Negroes from the windows of their homes and several white men and boys were injured. Soon after McCann was killed a squad of national guardsmen was rushed to the scene. Augmented by the local force and a large squad of state police, they drove the rioters from the colored section with drawn revolvers and pointed rifles.

The Negro section was roped off after quiet was restored and a heavy guard thrown around it. Mayor McDowell announced at midnight that he had the situation under control. The streets were cleared of loiterers and white men were forbidden to enter the colored districts.

Quiet Restored at Youngstown

Soldiers of the 10th regiment, Ohio national guard, were patroling the down-town district of Youngstown, O., last night as a precaution against renewal of race rioting which broke out yesterday atfernoon between 30 guardsmen and a score or more of Negroes. During the rioting one Negro was severely injured and several others badly beaten by the militiamen, who say the trouble was the result of insulting remarks directed at them by the Negroes. Soldiers maintain that for some time past the Negroes have been persistently insulting members of the units stationed at Youngstown. A large crowd of white citizens were spectators during yesterday afternoon's trouble and were starting to participate on the side of the guardsmen when a cordon of police stopped the encounter.

FT SMITH ARK STDWST AMER
JULY 18, 1917

"RACE RIOT" DWINDLES.

By The Associated Press

OKLAHOMA CITY, July 17.—No further developments in the activities of whites and negroes here today, following a street car disturbance Sunday over enforcement of the "Jim Crow' l'aw, caused the police to relax their watch of negro sections. But one formal charge has been filed, that against Dewey Jones, negro for felonious assault, and also the specific charge of striking the motorman of a street car over the head with a baseball bat.

RACE RIOT NARROWLY AVERTED AT CAPITAL

Washington, Sept. 2.—Serious race rioting was only narrowly averted in Washington to-day when several hundred marines marched into the Southwest part of the city seeking colored men who had battered up two soldiers in a fight.

Major Pullman, police superintendent, called out the reserves of three districts. This action intercepted the fighting after only a few shots had been exchanged between the marines and colored men. The marines retired. They were worsted in the fight that occurred.

RACE RIOTS KEEP SOUTHWEST POLICE BUSY; SEVEN HURT

WASHINGTON D C TIMES
AUGUST 22, 1917

Race riots in Southwest Washington last night, as a result of which five negroes and two white men were sent to hospitals, kept the police of the Fourth precinct busy.

An outbreak occurred shortly before midnight at Four-and-a-half and K streets southwest, in which several white soldiers are said to have taken part.

Russell Parrish, twenty-four years old, of Company F, Sixth Regiment, received a wound over the left eye and was taken to Washington Barracks Hospital.

An hour later, after the trouble at K street had been quelled by the police, Morris M. Lindsey, white, twenty-six, of 725 Fourth street northeast, was knocked down at Four-and-a-half and C ...eets by an unknown colored man. He received a contusion of the right jaw and was taken to Emergency Hospital.

The colored man injured in the fight at Four-and-a-half and K streets are: Isaiah Wilson, forty-three, of 485 Locust court, hemorrhage of nose, to Emergency Hospital; Gus W. Hill, thirty-two, of 315 Syphax court, stabbed in right leg, to Casualty Hospital; Edward McCray, sixty years, address unknown, and Allen Briscoe, thirty-three, of 808 Dixons court, both to Emergency with wounds on head and arms, and Rubin Holmes, forty-one, of 498 L street southeast, cut on chest, to Casualty.

William H. Turner, of 1423 Carrollburg street southwest, told the police that while passing the scene of the fight at Four-and-a-half and K streets, he was knocked down, and that when he recovered his senses, his Panama hat, valued at $5, and $3.55 in his pocketbook was gone.

An investigation to determine just how the trouble started and who did the fighting is being conducted by the police.

COLORED MAN'S VIEWS ON RACE RIOT IN NEWARK

NEWARK N J CALL
SEPTEMBER 10, 1917

To the Editor of the Sunday Call:

I was deeply interested and impressed with your editorial on September 9 entitled "That 'Race Riot.'" In my forty-one years of life and observation I have never read a more outspoken, fair and honest article. Every word of it hit the proverbial nail on the head and every right-thinking man, colored and white alike, will commend your bravery in penning those clear-cut lines.

Every intelligent, far-seeing person knows, beyond a question of a doubt, that racial disturbances would soon be a thing of the past if editors throughout the country dared to publish—what undoubtedly must be in their minds and their hearts—a fair, forceful, equitable statement of both sides of a so-called race riot.

The best white people and the best colored people deplore such occurrences as happened here on Monday, September 3 last. The best colored people and the best white people of the State of New Jersey hung their heads in shame at even a semblance in Newark of the East St. Louis massacre.

Judge Pilgrim's mild but firm and timely arraignment of the police for arresting only the colored participants, and now your own laudable editorial, inform the world that New Jersey is anxious to see justice done to all men alike, regardless of creed or color.

Let me assure you, sir, that my people appreciate your editorial. The colored people of the country ask only a square deal and a chance to earn an honest living. We are willing to remain to ourselves and do a man's part by our families, by our city, by our State and by our country. Respectfully yours,

C. EDWARD PURNELL.

Newark, N. J., September 10.

NEWARK HAS ITS RACE RIOT

Colored Men Severely Punish Whites—36 Injured—3 May Die

Newark, N. J., Sept. 4.—Some immigrants from that land of Poland, for which Mr. Wilson so kindly asks political autonomy while neglecting the plea for justice of colored Americans, engaged in a clash with colored men yesterday afternoon and as a result several of the immigrant Poles were badly battered up by colored fisk.

Theodore Rakowski and David Lieberman are in the City Hospital as aresult of thei clash with Ethiopia.

The fight is said to have started over a nickel tossed in a game of dice and picked up by one of the colored participants, but claimed by one of the white men. Words were followed by blows. The races took sides and a full-fledged race riot was soon in progress.

The colored men pummelled the whites who took to flight. Reinforced the colored men followed up their first advantage and, 100 strong, invaded the white district. The whites, who were organizing a mob in the Polish and Jewish district, were taken by surprise and again badly battered.

Police reserves now came upon the scene and after a half hour's fighting dispersed the crowd. Emmett Talbott, colored, of 178 Broome street, was struck on the head with a brick and was taken to the city Hospital in a serious condition. Twelve colored men were arrested, but nowhites. Thirty-three men, mostly whites, are to-day suffering from cuits and briuses reecived in the fighting.

Half an hour after the police returned to their stations another party of whites attacked the colored victors and some 350 colored and white men continued the fight for more than two hours, despite the efforts of 150 policemen to disperse the crowds. Another white was seriously battered, others more slightly.

Inspector Corbally took stern measures in ending the third fight. Both races were held to their districts.

A white soldier who aided the white rioters, is being sought by the police.

RACIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Racial Consciousness — 1917

WILWAU WISCONSIN
JULY 31,

The "silent protest" parade of eight thousand negroes in New York city was characterized by perfect orderliness, except for the possible offensiveness of some of their banners, says the New York World. It was impressive as a demonstration against one race by another race under a democracy. The World well observes:

Negroes cannot be held wholly blameless for race riots, nor are they entirely guiltless of provoking the discrimination from which they suffer. But they are mostly industrious, sober and patriotic; the trouble-makers among them are notoriously few and the height of the injustice toward them is in holding the race responsible for the acts of the individual. That is a test the white race does not apply to itself, and the best way to improve the relations of the two races is to cease to apply it to the negro.

N Y C EVE STAATS ZEITU
JULY 28, 1917

Farbige protestieren gegen Rassenkämpfe.

Zehntausend Personen in Parade mit Hunderten von Bannern.

Um halb 2 Uhr heute nachmittag setzte sich von 5. Ave. und 57. Str. aus eine Parade von zehntausend farbigen Männern und Frauen in Bewegung, deren Zweck es war, gegen die Rassenkämpfe im Süden und Westen zu protestieren. In dem endlosen Zuge, welchen nur Trommel- und Pfeifen-Korps begleiteten, wurden hunderte von Bannern mit Aufschriften getragen, welche Proteste enthielten. Als Großmarschall fungierte Kapt. W. H. Jackson.

AFRO-AMERICAN HYMN

PROF. WILLIAM PICKENS.

Tune: The Marseillaise)—National Song of France.

Louisville Courier
To be sung at the centenary at Asbury Chapel.
2/10/17

Ye sons of Freedom, up, to battle!
We go to war against the wrong;
No longer we th' oppressor's cattle,
We rise as men, ten million strong!
We rise as men, ten million strong!
Shall coward kill and burn our mothers,
Make bastard-orphans of the young,
And then with threats bestill our tongue,
While life is in our bodies, brothers?

Refrain: Up, up, ye men of bronze!
Breathe now a freeman's breath!
And claim your liberty in life
Or freedom in your death!

We fight the fight of all the ages,
And walk the path of all the just;
We hear the voice of all the sages:
We will be free if die we must!
We will be free if die we must!
No tyrant's torch or gun shall burn us,
We fight for mothers, babes and wives,
We die for these, our dearer lives,
Though the oppressor shoot and burn us!

O Freedom! let thy spirit charm us!
Let us not heed the coward's fear:
The hand of death can never harm us,
For freedom is than life more dear!
For freedom is than life more dear!
Jehovah, God of all the races,
Sustain our heart, accept our soul—
From everywhere to freedom's goal,
Millions of Black Men, turn your faces!

RESEARCH OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PEL 7

Racial Consciousness - 1917

Democracy's Disgrace!

The Houston Observer. Dec. 21, 1917.

After reading so much about heavenly Houston one would suppose that such signs as the above would not be tolerated in places MAINTAINED BY THE TAXES OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

If this sign were posted in Grand Saline, an East Texas town, where race men are not allowed, it would be in harmony with that burg's policy.

But when the city of Houston pulls off such a stunt as this, it is the ax that decapitated the turkey.

This is taxation without representation, but with plenty of discrimination.

Here is a CITY PARK made possible by the TAXES OF ALL THE CITIZENS OF THE MUNICIPALITY and yet this disgraceful, undemocratic and un-American sign stands there to insult and infuriate a large number of these taxpayers, who are worse than "dogs" because of their skin.

For a while there were signs there prohibiting dogs, but those signs have been taken down and only those with "Negroes Keep Out" are remaining to disgrace this city.

We do not particularly request that we be allowed to enter the park like race men in San Antonio and other fair cities are permitted to do, but we do object to those damnable, despicable and diabolical signs that are a stench upon democracy.

Here we are "fighting for democracy" in the face of such infernal and infamous signs that are as far from democracy as a Texas steer is from being a Kentucky stallion.

What great crime have we as citizens of this community committed that such undemocratic and un-American discrimination must be our portion?

If our skin is a badge of dishonor when it comes to ENTERING OUR PARKS and VOTING FOR OUR OFFICIALS, why not put the same rule in effect when it comes to PAYING OUR TAXES?

If we are not considered and recognized as citizens, then it were utter folly and inconsistency to desire us to qualify as other REAL CITIZENS do by paying taxes.

If this is a type of "democracy," dear Lord, let not thy servants witness more, for such as this only makes us sore.

We are not overly anxious to be where we are not desired, but we are contenders for the rights and respect accorded other American citizens and even aliens—enemy aliens at that.

The Observer is unable to see where such "democracy" was born, but it knows where such "democracy" is going, viz: As straight to hell as a bee-martin to his hole; there is nothing better for it and the sooner it has made its departure the better the world will be for its demise.

The Observer again asks that the mayor and city commissioners see to it that those damnable, dastardly, despicable, diabolical and dark-age signs are taken down at once and that they never appear again to insult 40,000 of the city's most loyal subjects.

HAVE WE "WHITE FRIENDS"?

Southwestern Christian Advocate, Dec 13 - 17

The Negro American Alliance is a new organization started for the betterment of the condition of the Negro race in the world. The endeavor is a good one and as it seeks to right the wrongs we wish the organization a success. It is incorporated under the laws of the state of New Jersey with James A. Lightfoot, a practicing attorney of Atlantic City, as president, and Mr. Floyd Delos Francis as the national secretary. The real object of the Alliance as set forth in the circular which we have received is to break the system of repression exercised against the Negro in this country. The Alliance will try to have the Negro recognized in his true light, and not as his detractors picture him. It intends to send a force of young Negroes abroad when the war is over to grow up with the new nations and thus create sentiment in the Negro's favor with other nations.

Thus far stating its purpose the Alliance has our approval but we were shocked to read in its circular the following paragraph:

"No White Friends"

"The Negro American Alliance has no white friends. Furthermore, it does not wish any, for the simple reason that there are no such beings. No white man will ever be connected with it in any way. Not a

GRAND CONCERT FOR NEGRO LIBRARY.

Broadway Limited

One of the most important movements inaugurated in the history of the race is the Brooks Library of Negro Literature, which has been founded under the auspices of the Brotherhood of St. Mark's M. E. Church. The Library, however, is non-denominational, as the personnel of the executive committee indicates. The purpose of the institution is to gather and properly record every record of achievement by Negroes, and to encourage and preserve literary and artistic attainments.

It is intended to make the library the centre of Negro art and literature in the country. Nearly three hundred volumes have been secured, among them several rare books of peculiar interest to the race. In order that the work may be enlarged, a grand concert has been planned for Monday evening, June 4, at St. Mark's M. E. Church. The committee is trying to raise $500 with which to purchase books which must be secured immediately, if they are to be saved to the race. Among the artists who will appear are: Mrs. E. Thomas, reader; Mrs. Effie Stannard Smith soprano (accompanied by Mrs. George E. Wibecan); Mr. H. L. Jeter, cellist; Nellie Moore Mundy, pianist; George E. Wibecan, speaker.

The officers of the library are: Mrs. Maude G. Hall, chairman; Mrs. N. G. Wells, vice-president; Mrs. A. O. Poole, secretary and librarian; Mrs. A. B. Smith, assistant secretary; Mrs. Isabelle Powell, treasurer; Mrs. John H. Turner, chairman book committee; R. T. Browne, ex-officia librarian.

The exercutive committee is composed of the following well known persons: Robert T. Browne, chairman; Rev. R. E. Bolden, John E. Bruce, Mrs. John W. Dias, Mrs. F. C. Dickerson, Mrs. Emily R. Downing, Miss S. Elizabeth Frazier, Mrs. T. B. Francis, Mrs. Maude G. Hall, Laurence T. Hunt, Dr. C. H. Marks, the Rev. Charles Martin, J. W. Maxwell, R. M. Meroney, Dr. Godfrey Nurse, Mrs. Archibzald O. Poole, secretary; Dr. York Russell, Arthur M. Schomberg, Wilford H. Smith, Mrs. John H. Turner and George E. Wibecan.

CHICAGO HERALD-EXAMINER
JULY 29, 1917

Negro Sings Song About Irish Ancestry, Irishman 'Up and at Him' Forthwith

Pat Hawkins, a minstrel, has stricken at least one song from his repertoire. Pat is a negro, fresh from the South. And when last night he raised his voice in harmony with "Ireland Must Be Heaven, Because My Mother Came From There," pandemonium broke loose in the South Chicago Opera House. One stout Irishman jumped up and demanded reparation with full indemnities. Henry Beike, United States deputy marshal, happened along and quelled the commotion. He took Hawkins into custody and then found he had not registered under the draft law. Now he is a prisoner.

single penny will ever be accepted as a donation from any member of the white race. To accept donations would impose obligations and seriously impair work of the Alliance."

We are quite well aware that the term "White friends" is rather flexible and the "white friend" in some connections may mean an insidious enemy: certainly the term is a broad cloak that often covers persons who have a smiling face but a heart of hate. Even though what we have just said is true in many cases, the Negro American Alliance is absolutely incorrect when it says that there are no such beings as "white friends." This is the basest ingratitude and an absolute ignorance or ignoring of the facts of history. What about the long list of white men who have suffered for liberty and freedom both for the Negroes and for others? What about that long list of men and women who have given themselves unselfishly for the education of the Negro, often enduring conditions that were far more embarrassing and objectionable than those to be faced in an unsympathetic foreign country? It will be to the disgrace of the Negro if as he grows to his manhood and real strength he forgets the bridge that carried him over. We have enough who dislike the race but that is counter balanced in having strong, resourceful, conscientious, sincere friends who have been willing to serve even in the face of such base ingratitude as is brought forward in this suggestion of this National Negro American Alliance.

"Greater love hath no man than this that he lay down his life for his friend" and many a grave-yard in the South tells the pathetic story of privation, starvation, and of ostracism suffered by persons who served the backward races of the world including the Negro.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

MOBILE ALA REGISTER
JULY 23. 1917

Mobile Colored Man's Appreciation.

To the Editor of The Register:

I wish to express my appreciation for the editorial comment which appeared in The Register Monday, July 16, under the caption, "Its Only Negro Firemen."

Your statement is correct and to the point.

The self-respecting negro who loves his race and himself will always be accorded a place on the sun. As you say, I prefer being a first-class negro to trying to push myself in where I am not wanted or fitted. I believe a large amount of so-called prejudice would disappear if the colored men would accept the color of his skin as a gift from God and be as proud of his mechanism as any other race. I find that in most cases where the negroes have learned the lesson of race pride and racial independence, the whites are proud of them and willing to encourage and help them in their struggles.

The relations between the races here in Alabama, and Mobile in particular, are the best anywhere I have been in the South. I believe it is the aim of all our white people to be perfectly fair in their treatment of the colored people and the colored people appreciate it, and are encouraged to render better service.

I notice that your paper has been real impartial in its dealings with news items as affects the races. You do not abuse but rather try to uplift all the people. No one should expect any more of you. I believe our best friends are those that we live among in the South and that we all can live here peaceable and happy.

Isaiah J. Whitley.

Hampton, Va., July 18, 1917.

N Y C WORLD
JULY 30, 1917

A NEGRO PARADE FOR JUSTICE.

The "silent protest" parade of 8,000 negroes in Fifth Avenue was characterized by perfect orderliness, except for the possible offensiveness of some of their banners. It was impressive beyond the measure of most parades, as being a public demonstration by a race against oppression by another race, under a democracy. It was thus a human document of a different kind from the customary processions of white marchers, whether strikers, Socialists or Suffragists.

What occurs on Fifth Avenue is seen not alone by the city but by the whole country, and the sigh of these thousands of men, women and children of color marching silently for sympathy cannot fail to give their organized appeal for justice the widest possible publicity.

To that extent the parade was a conspicuous success. What it will accomplish in securing a remedy for the treatment complained of is another question. Will it curb human passion in industrial centres or modify prejudice? At least it should induce the people of the United States to take thought seriously of the conditions which have actuated this public demonstration by negroes and tend to influence public sentiment in behalf of even justice to the race.

Negroes cannot be held wholly blameless for race riots, nor are they entirely guiltless of provoking the discrimination from which they suffer. But they are mostly industrious, sober and patriotic; the trouble-makers among them are notoriously few and the height of the injustice towards them is n holding the race responsible for the acts of the individual. That is a test the white race does not apply to itself, and the best way to improve the relations of the two races is to cease to apply it to the negro.

THE NAME OF A RACE

The Amsterdam News has within the last few weeks instituted in its columns the spelling of c-o-l-o-u-r-e-d for c-o-l-o-r-e-d in designating the race or a member thereof. The purpose in using the British form of spelling the word is more a matter of psychology than of propriety, more an effort at race unity the world over than an intimation that the American form, established by long local custom, is less correct than the form in use by the nation with the best and primary claims upon the English language.

Of the 400,000,000 people included within the British Empire, 347,000,000 or a little less than seven-eighths are of the coloured races. These 347,000,000 with our own 12,000,000 are being gradually but surely driven by the injustice of white Britisher and white American to make common cause against the domination of the numerically insignificant white races. To those of these 347,000,000 people who speak the English language the British form of spelling the word is familiar, the American form new and strange. While the American form is good enough for the white people of the United States, being established by long custom and usage, the British form, for psychological reasons and in the cause of race unity and common designation of the kindred peoples for whom common injustice has made common cause, appears to us best fitted for the common use of those of the 347,000,000 coloured people in the British Empire speaking the English language and the 12,000,000 coloured people in the United States.

But after all is said and done, none of the various racial appellations at present in use can be considered as the final choice in this search for a suitable and dignified name. "Negro" and "Afro-American" probably both have as good claims for general acceptance as colored or its variation, coloured. The Amsterdam News objects to the former because of its all too frequent perversion into the insulting "Nigger" and because, too, of its harsh and degrading corollary of "Negress." To the general use of "Afro-American" there is only the objection of the hyphen which, perhaps, should not be used until such time as the race, whipped by adversity and lashed by persecution, learns the lesson that autonomous existence in its native land holds the only panacea for its ills and the best opportunities for its highest development.

BOSTON, MASS., TRANSCRIPT
JULY 30, 1917

The colored people of New York city held a great "silent demonstration" Saturday, in the form of a long banner-bearing procession down Fifth avenue, the purpose of which was to emphasize the colored citizens' protest against race riots and other forms of injustice and discrimination. It was a very dignified and peaceful demonstration, and was calculated to arouse sympathy for the participants. The only question of a disturbing nature connected with it was its occurrence at a time of public stress and crisis, and its suggestion here and there that if the colored population is not treated more fairly it will withhold its aid in the nation's defence. We do not believe that this is the attitude of the colored people in general, although there have been some outcroppings of the sentiment. Our colored people have never put themselves in the attitude of saying, "America's extremity is our opportunity." Their race has reached a higher level in this country than it has in any other. It is rather more at home here, and certainly on the whole less harassed and oppressed, than it is in Africa. The way upward has been taken, and the negro, in following that road, will have the keenest sympathy of the American people. We can imagine how, if he had lived, the clarion call of Booker Washington would have gone forth to his people to rally in this war to the banner which is the greatest pledge and guarantee of the negro's opportunity that he has ever had in all his history. But the negro's American patriotism does not interfere with his right to demonstate, so long as he does it with peace and seriousness, against mob attack and outrage.

Racial Consciousness – 1917

LET THE OBSERVER BE UNDERSTOOD.

Houston Observer

12/1/17

A great deal of discussion has been afloat recently concerning the editorial position of The Observer by members of the white race in this city.

We want our position clearly and distinctly understood by all and consequently this editorial is more of a recapitulation of former contentions of this publication.

The Observer is not attempting to be "inflammatory," neither "destructive rather than constructive," as has been charged by some, but The Observer is seeing things through its own field glasses and is "hewing to the line, letting the chips fall where they may."

There is a spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction among the Negroes of the entire South, Houston included, and this spirit will exist until the black race receives the same kind of treatment accorded other races.

The Negro is an American citizen and looks with disfavor, displeasure and disgust upon all un-American practices.

The Observer realizes that humanity is imperfect, but at the same time it is opposed to one race wielding a big stick against another race simply because the lesser fortunate race is possessed with a dark skin.

The Observer came forth as a publication because Houston was sadly in need of a real race newspaper to fight the battles for its people and since The Observer is the people's medium of this city, it is the voice of the people crying in no unmistakable tones for a man's chance—nothing more.

This paper has repeatedly advised and suggested a conference between the best element of the black and white races, but no one has been found who will break the ice and call the meeting.

No newspaper can be operated and edited to suit everybody and he who tries to perform such an impossible stunt pleases nobody and becomes a stumbling-block to the community.

The Observer has fought both the open saloon, as well as the ward saloons and beer joints; it has condemned the white papers for publishing the births of our race without mentioning even the father's name, making it appear that all our children are illegitimate and bastards; also for failing to capitalize the word Negro like all other proper names, as well as their failure to employ a title when publishing the names of the single women of our race.

The Observer is opposed to those disgraceful and dastardly signs, "NEGROES AND DOGS KEEP OUT," now located at the city park in the Fourth Ward.

The Observer does not approve of the "white man's primary," that disqualifies race men from participating in all elections in the city and county, where they have qualified by paying their poll taxes according to the law.

The Observer is against the term "nigger," "darky," "coon" and other opprobrious appellations applied to our race in the South.

The Observer is of the opinion that if this country is to play any important role in winning the present conflict in Europe, the doctrine of the "fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man" must be put into immediate practical operation.

This is no social equality gospel, for the sensible Negro does not demand such, knowing that laws cannot be enacted saying who shall be a man's company and the Negro does not desire to be where he is not wanted.

No man can do his best when he is continually nagged and peeved and herein lies a task for the white South.

The Observer is opposed to white men maintaining immoral and illicit relations with Negro women, which is responsible, to a large degree, for such few dark babies being born in the race today.

The Observer is against the worthless and irresponsible members of the Negro race of all sexes, as well as the white race, and fully realizes the stupendous task confronting us to rid the race of this undesirable and injurious element; this paper also opposes those damnable and dirty institutions that are rendering our people criminals and parasites.

The Observer is for a united America, but knows that such a feat is impossible as long as prejudice continues to run rampant in this country against a people who have committed no crime save that of being possessed with skins from a "midnight chocolate" to "cream puff," with all kinds of chocolates, browns and creams intervening.

The Observer wants the race to be let alone in its onward and forward march, removing all impeding barriers and obstacles and embracing it with the proper surroundings and environments that mean for progress, solidarity and permanent success.

The Observer is a foe to the undemocratic and unjust legislation aimed directly at the Negro as enacted in the legislatures of the South, as well as the unwritten law and custom of countless communities against members of our race.

Some have opposed us because The Observer would not discourage the exodus, while these same individuals had every opportunity to plead for a fair and square deal for the black race, and see to it that we secured what was rightfully due us.

The Observer is against jim-crowism, segregation and disfranchisement and all their inconsistencies, incongruities and incompatibilities.

The Observer is a bitter, acrid and vehement opponent to mobocracy and lynch law, which annually end the earthly career of hundreds of our race, who are innocent of any crime, unless it be the possession of a black skin.

Many other indignities are heaped upon the Negro race in the South, such as maltreatment by police officers, false imprisonment, peonage, excessive fines for minor offenses and the like.

The Observer discusses these things from time to time so that the white men in authority can ascertain the race's position on such matters and then it is up to them to employ their good office to see that we receive the treatment of American citizens along all lines.

This is The Observer's plea and contention and shall continue to be until the doctrine of "all men up; no men down" shall become a reality in the land of Dixie.

Gentlemen, The Observer is with you, but some of you are not with The Observer, which is your fault and while the light holds out to burn, all of you may return.

NO MORE OF THE AFRICAN DODGER

Amsterdam News 5/4/17

Bill Against Black Nuisances Passed by State Senate and Assembly

SURE TO BECOME A LAW

Measure Drafted by Counsellor Rufus L. Perry and Presented by Kings Senator Murphy

Albany, N. Y., April 28.—The "nigger dodger" bill at last has passed the Senate. Introduced year after year by Senator Gilchrist, of the Coney Island district, the measure, which makes it a misdeemanor to play in a game in which balls are thrown at a colored person for a more or less five cent cigar, invariably had been laughed down. This year it was introduced as "an act in relation to public health and decency" by Senator Gilchrist's neighbor, Senator Murphy, of Brooklyn.

The bill, which has been urged by the Amsterdam News for the past five years, was drafted by Counsellor Rufus L. Perry, of 375 Fulton street, Brooklyn, and presented in the Senate by Senator Murphy of Kings Co.

M. C. Brown, of Albany, in a letter to the Amsterdam News says: "Senator Murphy's bill, known in both houses as the Negro dodger bill passed the Senate about 1 p. m., Friday, April 27th, after a most eloquent plea by Senator Murphy. I have been very persistent in my efforts since my return here to have this legislation passed. This bill has been on the Senate calendar for some time, and I have been on guard in the Senate daily, but they would have beaten the bill had it not been that Major R. Poole and I stood behind Senator Murphy's desk and looked him and all the others in their eyes on roll call. They were voting in the negative when they called Senator Murphy's name. He said: "Mr. President, this bill should pass I represent 800 colored citizens, who are respectable law abiding people whom I consider as good a citizen as any."

Bill Passes Senate.

Assemblyman Harold C. Mitchell, who strongly supported the bill, wired the Amsterdam News Tuesday as follows: "Senator Murphy's bill, known as the African Dodger Bill, passed Assembly to-night.

GOV. WHITMAN SIGNS AFRICAN DODGER BILL

New York Age 5/17/17

Albany, [illegible]—Coney Island and other [illegible] resorts in New York Stat[illegible]ck one of their attraction[illegible] ear, as Governor Whitman [illegible]esday of this week signed the bill introduced by Senator Charles F. Murphy of Brooklyn prohibiting Negroes from acting as "ball dodgers" or permitting themselves to be catapulted from a reclining position to a body of water or a receptacle.

Any one indulging in what the new law declares to be "disgraceful practices offending health and decency are declared to be committing acts which holds the Negro race to ridicule and contempt.

The New York Age led in the agitation to put the "African Dodger" out of business.

"THE BENEFITS OF SLAVERY"

The Birmingham Ledger of November 21 says editorially:

In a speech in Atlanta, Billy Sunday spoke of the advance of the American negroes since emancipation. Mr. Sunday fell into the error of not studying his subject in its completeness. Had he gone back to Africa before the days of American purchases of negroes from English and New England traders, he would have found that race in savagery. The tribes were constantly fighting each other. There was no negro tribe that had advanced as far as slavery brought those who were fortunate enough to be brought to America. That is the truthful background that should always be presented when slavery in America is discussed.

. . . The negro found slavery a distinct advance over anything their race had known.

Amsterdam News

The desired background from the South's standpoint, no doubt, but hardly the "truthful background". Yet this has been the nonsense that prejudiced whites have preferred to believe rather than "studying their subject in its completeness". 11-28-17

The benefits of slavery to the coloured man! The beneficent change from "savagery" to the elevating existence of a chattel! And the great favor done the ungrateful African by the race which, introducing him to the horrors of the slave-trade, the forcible separation of husband and wife, of parent and child, the terrible torture of the trip across the Atlantic, packed in the hulls of unseaworthy craft, and all the cruel, cowing, dwarfing, repressing effects of slavery, would now look to the transplanted African for a paean of praise for its altruistic deed in introducing the race via the lash and the bloodhound to the "benefits" of civilization. No doubt a certain type of white men, bred South of the Mason-Dixon line, finds this attitude a powerful sedative in quieting a troubled conscience, but the rest of the world is slowly but surely discarding it in the light of modern scientific research. Says Felix Dubois in his book "Timbuctoo, the Mysterious," of the Sudan country around Timbuctoo and Jenne:

A wonderful impulse was imparted to this country in the Sixteenth century, and a marvellous civilization appeared in the very heart of the black continent. This civilization was not imposed by circumstances and force, as is so often the case, even in our own countries, but was spontaneously decreed, evoked, propagated by a man of the negro races. Unfortunately, its fairest promises were never fulfilled, owing, not so much to the native successors, as to the civilised (some say white) peoples who ruthlessly destroyed this good seed, and caused the tares of barbarism to sprout anew.

May we pause here to inform the editorial writer of The Birmingham Ledger that the term Sudan (Bilad-des-Sudan) was given by the Arabs to that region which stretches, south of the Sahara and Egypt, from Cape Verde on the Atlantic to Massawa on the Red Sea, and that the term signifies "country of the blacks". He, of course, is aware that slaves were brought both from the West and the East coasts of Africa and from the interior, as well?

To resume, at the quotation from Mr. Dubois, this African empire, although not fulfilling its fairest promises held "considerable place for a period of nearly a thousand years. It comprised three dynasties, the Dia, the Sunni, and the Askia, and was not without its hour of glory."

Did The Birmingham Ledger ever hear of the ancient empire and culture of Nupe, of which Leo Frobenius, in an account of the travels of the German Inner African Exploration Expedition in the years 1910-1912, tells those who care to "study their subject in completeness"?

Yet the general underestimation of this older civilization is an established fact, and its existence is that which I have undertaken to establish in this portion of my book. It is true that the more ancient growth had to some degree outgrown itself before the appearance of Islam which fertilized it anew, and true also that it was stimulated to a resistance which brought about renewed expression of its reassembled forces. This is of quite special importance for the verdict to be passed on the power of self-development of the so-called "Negro-nations".

Before me lies the history of Nupe, a history wide and deep and full of meaning. . . . The people which created this Nupean empire and gave it strength and constitution were a nation rich in culture and power. Those who, long before the Tenth century, fashioned and inspired it with vitality must have been deep thinkers with well-developed brains, bearers of a higher nature and a nobler culture.

. . . its persistent vitality was such that even the Mohammedan Fulbes failed to add anything to increase or so much as come near to, its splendour, and only succeeded in making their own what surpassed them in greatness and age.

. . . If one can rid oneself of the dust of everyday life and bustle with a brisk and lively mind, then the vision of these centuries and these peoples' once great and ancient history assumes reality; that which once we learnt from the Halicarnassian, Herodotus, or Diodorus of Seculles and which seemed to us and our fathers of old before us as a fairy-tale told to amuse; that which we never believed, because of its remoteness and thought must have perished, even if it ever existed, together with antiquity's final inheritance, Byzantium the Marvellous—all this actually lives and breathes and is still the infallible truth.

Of modern Bida, the capital of Nupe, and its people, this same authority says:

I was now tarrying in a city where good behavior and manners were taken to be special marks of the higher culture.

A vision of a lazy, good-for-nothing, sleepy and indifferent negro society would be the reverse of reality.

It is also true that the Africans are skilled in many handicrafts and that they are beautiful plaiters, weavers and hut builders. They are good workers in iron, potters and wood carvers and no despicable producers of articles made of leathers and felts.

We see that the exquisite achievements of the negro when a free man may solve the problem of how he can be led by skilful economic pressure to higher forms of agricultural and industrial production.

Did The Birmingham Ledger ever hear of the Borgu Empire, the empires of Bingo, of Gambaka, of Songai, Ganna, Mandegoland, Djollop, Yoruba—all mighty realms and centres of a superior culture in their day? Or does it really believe that the native African is incapable of anything artistic or cultural? Then The Ledger should hear what P. Amaury Talbot of the Nigerian Political Service, says of the modern Ekoi people of Nigeria and the Cameroons

The belief has gradually grown upon me that among the Ekoi there exists a germ of a love of beauty almost Greek in character, though warped, and indeed all but overwhelmed by the introduction of blatantly hideous European wares. That pure beauty does appeal to the race is shown by their surprising know

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE)

Albany, N. Y.—The African Dodger bill has passed both branches of the Legislature and now awaits the signature of Gov Whitman to become a law. 5/3/17.

At 11.30 Monday night the Murphy bill was passed in the Assembly without opposition. It was introduced by Assemblyman Ahern of Brooklyn, and had the support of Speaker Sweet.

The measure was introduced in the Senate by Senator Charles F. Murphy of Brooklyn, and passed by that body Friday by a vote of 29 to 9. Senate Leader Elon R. Brown urged the passage of the bill.

The Republicans voting for the measure were Senators A. P. Brown, Elon R. Brown, Carson, Cromwell, Gilchrist, Graves, Hill, Marshall, Murphy, Newton, Ottinger, Sage Slater, Stivers, G. L. Thompson, Towner, Walters, Wellington, Walton and Whitney. The Democrats favoring the bill were Senators Boylan, Cullen, Daly, Dowling, Dunnigan, Foley, Ramsperger, Wagner and Walker.

No Democratic Senators voted against the bill. The Republicans opposed to putting the African dodger out of business were Senators Burlingame, Halliday, Knight, Lawson, Mills, Robinson, G. F. Thompson, Lockwood and Mullan.

In the Senate last Friday Major R. Poole and the other colored attaches of that branch of the Legislature worked hard to win over legislators in favor of the measure, and Henry A. Spencer who has long been associated with the Assembly, did good work Monday among the Assemblymen.

The only opponents to the bill were a few amusement people.

The African Dodger bill, which was fathered by Senator Charles F. Murphy, a prominent Brooklyn Republican, will put an end to the disgraceful spectacle seen in the past at such amusement places as Coney Island, where crowds of white people have indulged in the pastime of throwing balls at the heads of irresponsible Negroes.

In making his fight for the bill on the floor of the Senate Mr. Murphy declared that the Negro could not use the violence resorted to by the Irish in disposing of men on the stage who held their race up to ridicule, or get around the ridicule portrayed by stage characters of the Jewish race by staying away from the theatres or buying them.

THE WHITE MAN NOT STUDYING THE NEGRO.

The average white man knows about as much about the intelligent and progressive Negro as a horse does about Sunday school. His newspapers for the most part will print nothing about the Afro-American except what the Colored criminal does. He would rather take the word of his Colored servant on a matter concerning the race than the word of the principal of the Colored high school.

The library of the average white man has not contain a book written by a Colored author and he is too prejudiced to read a Negro newspaper or magazine. In fact many whites are so ignorant until they do not know that there are publications issued by Negroes. I saw a white man the other day in one of the large cities of the state, who did not know that there was such a paper as The Dallas Express, although it has been published twenty-five years and is read by 40,000 people.

Not so with the Negro, he has in his library the best books written by the white man; on his piano, the best of the white man's music; in is his reading room, the cream of the white man's current literature; on his plantation, the best of the white man's farm implements. He is studying all these in connection and by comparison with his own; with the result that he is coming into his own in a way that will tell in the future most wondrously.

Yea, the Negro is very often going somewhat to the extreme in his study of the white man. Often he is reading the white man's literature to the exclusion and neglect of his own; but in time he will quit this.

Racial Consciousness - 1917

How the Colored People of New York Placed Their Grievances Before the Popula

BOSTON, MASS., TRANSCRIPT
JUL 30, 1917

PROMINENT negro residents of New York organized a parade and marched, Saturday, with muffled drums and many banners, and with 8000 men, women and children in line, taking this means of protesting against atrocities in race riots, also against segregation, "Jim Crowism" and disfranchisement. Among the banners was one which immediately attracted the notice of the police. It displayed a picture of a negro woman kneeling before President Wilson and appealing to him to bring democracy to America before carrying it to Europe. The police declared the banner to be objectionable, and the committee in charge of the parade withdrew it.

The negroes assembled at Fifty-ninth street and Fifth avenue. Three hundred or more children led the parade, followed by several thousand negro women in white. The men made up the third section. The police estimate fully 20,000 negroes lined Fifth avenue and gave silent approval.

During the progress of the march circulars were distributed among the crowds telling of the purpose which brought the negroes together. Under the caption, "Why Do We March?" the circular read, in part, as follows:

"We march because by the grace of God and the force of truth the dangerous, hampering walls of prejudice and inhuman injustices must fall. We march because we want to make impossible a repetition of Waco, Memphis, and East St. Louis by arousing the conscience of the country, and to bring the murderers of our brothers, sisters and innocent children to justice. We march because we deem it a crime to be silent in the face of such barbaric acts.

"We march because we are thoroughly opposed to Jim Crow cars, segregation, discrimination, disfranchisement, lynching, and the host of evils that are forced on us. It is time that the spirit of Christ should be manifested in the making and execution of laws. We march because we want our children to live in a better land and enjoy fairer conditions than have fallen to our lot."

The police raised no objection to these banners:

"Make America Safe for Democracy," "India is Abolishing Caste, America is Adopting It," and "Memphis and Waco, Centres of American Culture."

One banner carried near the head of the procession read. "Your Hands Are Full of Blood." Bearing on East St. Louis riots, there were banners which read: "Pray for the 'Lady Macbeths' of St. Louis," "Thou Shalt Not Kill?" "We Are Maligned as Lazy, and Murdered When We Work." "Cain, Where Is Abel, Thy Brother?"

Those in the parade represented every negro organization and church in the city. They marched, however, not as organizations, but as a people of one race, united by ties of blood and color, and working for a common cause. The Grand Marshal was Captain W. H. Jackson. Directly behind him marched the executive committee, composed of Rev. H. C. Bishop, Rev. F. A. Cullen, James W. Johnson, Rev. Charles D. Martin, Fitz W. Motley and John E. Nail.

NEGROES IN BIG PROTEST PARADE.

N Y C CALL
JULY 31, 1917

Great News Gathering Organization Protests Against Charge Of Being Negro's "Worst Enemy."

St Louis Argus 11-30-27

Takes Exception To Argus Editorial. Promises To Be Fair And Print Truth About Colored People.

SIGNAL VICTORY FOR THE RACE.

The following letter from Frederick Roy Martin, assistant general manager of The Associated Press, with headquarters in New York City, was received by The St. Louis Argus this week:

"November 23, 1917.

"The Editor,

"The St. Louis Argus,

"St. Louis, Mo.

'Dear Sir:—

"My attention has today been called to an editorial article, entitled "Our Enemy," in the St. Louis Argus, in which you say:

"'It seems that the [illegible] time when The Associated Press cares to gather news concerning the Negro, is when some kind of crime has been committer, or at least, when he is suspected of a crime.'

"I believe this to be a very unfair statement.

"If you know of any important news regarding the Negro, or of any conferences concerning his development or progress, which have not bees adequately covered by The Associated Press, you will help your race and you will help The Associated Press by calling them to our attention.

"I remember, after the last election in New York, for instance, that we carried mention of the fact that certain Negroes had been for the first time elected to public office in this city.

"We do not write the headlines, and, like Negroes, we do not enjoy promiscuous and unfair criticism. Consequently I write to ask whether you have any specific criticism to make regarding The Associated Press. Do you know of any news regarding Negroes which we have not transmitted with as much fairness as we have transmitted similar news regarding other races?

"Sincerely yours,

"Frederick Ray Martin,

"Asst. Gen. Mgr."

The above is the result of an editorial headed "Our Enemy," published by The Argus Oct. 19. The editorial referred to a discussion in a recent meeting of Colored men caused by the statement that "'The Associated Press is Our Worst Enemy." Two weeks later The Argus published a number of clippings from the Globe-Democrat and Republic, two St. Louis morning dailies, members of the Associated Press, with the following statement:

"In view of the fact that a recent discussion was indulged in regarding the Associated Press as the Negroes' worst enemy. The writer has selected two of the leading St. Louis dailies and for a period of one week has carefully noted all articles referring to Negroes. The following clippings total the number of references except those on the "Draft" and the "East St. Louis Riot." Readers of the Argus are left to decide for themselves whether the majority are favorable or unfavorable to the race:

The articles were mostly local and although they may have not been handled by The Associated Press, they came from the same source from which the press notices are gathered.

A Great News Gathering Agency

The Associated Press is the largest news gathering organization in the scribers the largest and most influential dailies in the United States. Negroes have always complained that news referring to them, gathered throughout the country has, with few exceptions, been of a negative character and where both races have been concerned as lynchings, riots and the like, the Negro has invariably been placed in the wrong light before the public. This has been proven by subsequent investigations.

If, as Mr. Martin indicates in his letter, the Associated Press is willing to publish the truth about the Negro, giving him a fair deal in news items, a great victory for the advancement of Colored People has been won, for which they are grateful, and The Argus has rendered a service long sought for. The following is the editorial as published on October 19:

SILENT PROTEST MARCH AGAINST RIOTS TRIUMPH

The News, 8/2/17 N.Y.

More Than 12,000 Colored New Yorkers Join in Impressive Appeal for Protection Against Mob Law Police Barred Cartoon

New York, July 31.—The most impressive parade the colored citizens of New York have ever staged was that last Saturday when more than 12,000 men, women and children marched in silent protest against the recent wave of mob murders. To the beat of muffied drums the miles long line of well dressed mute marchers walked between the lanes of many more thousands of white and colored onlookers.

The children to the number of three thousand headed the parade, followed by nearly twice the number of women dressed in white, while as many men brought up the rear. In addition to the flags of Hayti, Liberia, Great Birtain and the United States, the most impressive feature of the parade was the countless banners appealing for a square deal and protection. A huge placard of a colored woman with children appealing to President Wilson to make America safe for democracy before it was carried to Europe was quickly squelched by the police.

The executive committee, consisting of Dr. Hutchins, C. Bishop, Dr. Chas. H. Martin, Dr. E. E. Daniels, Rev. P. A. Cullen, Prof. W. E. B. Dubois, F. J. Motley and J. E. Nail, who conceived and engineered the epoch-making protest, headed the parade.

C. P. caleld on Mayor Martin Behrman May 22d and protested strongly aganist compelling colored women to ride in the city wagons and sweep public markets, stating that this practice was both humilating and degrading to the average colored citizen. The committee comprised Rev. H. H. Dunn, H. Geo. Davenport, E. M. Dunn, and L. B. Vigne, chairman.

Sunday, May 13, was observed as Mothers' Day. The leading colored churches took aceive part in making the day a success. Thousands of carnations were worn by men and women. The majority of the churches and socities feel the effect of the great exodus of the Negroes from the south.

A. F. Walker, the Missionary worker, has been visiting the State prison and doing great work for the race.

Copies of THE AGE can be had at 2023 Dryardes street.

After an illness of a few months occurred the death of Mrs. Emma Stephenson, 1215 Constance street, mother of Mrs. L. Tingle. Funeral services were held at the First Emannuel Baptist Church on Tuesday, May 15. The Rev John Richards, pastor, officiating.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Racial Consciousness—1917

OUR ENEMY

At a meeting held recently, where quite a number of educators, professional and business men of our race discussed the "problems" that confront the Negro in this country today, our friends, and our enemies were also considered. Some one during his eloquent remarks, stated that **The Associated Press** is our worst enemy. This assertion furnished quite a deal for thought, which was manifested before the meeting adjourned. St. Louis Argus

As to the truthfulness of the statement, we only wish to remind our readers of the great and powerful influence of the press in moulding public sentiment. In the first place, it has the largest audiences and has them daily. Men, women and children make up its roll. The President, in his high and exalted position, and the hobo in the "soup-line" are influenced by the power of the press reports. In fact, for the most part they are true, or at least enough truth, to influence the minds of the readers. 11/30/17

Of course, the writers and editors of the powerful organs are human and as a rule prejudiced against Colored people, and as a result of such prejudices, the writers and editors only publish in their news, or editorials the things injurious to the Negro. It seems that the only time when the Associated Press cares to gather news concerning the Negro, is when some kind of crime has been committed or at least when he is suspected of a crime. Then, as one speaker has said, "your name in BOX-CAR LETTERS on the FRONT PAGE will appear in the great sentiment making daily press."

Just think of it! Suppose that every time you heard the name of any individual, it was only when he was mentioned as a thief, robber, murderer or as having committed some other crime. Ther suppose you heard it daily for years and years. It would be har for you to think otherwise. For that cause, the Negro is always o the defensive, fighting hard at great odds, even against the mos powerful organization in all the world—The Associated Press.

It has been pointed out that if the Negroes are mentioned at a in the daily press, nine times out of ten, the article is so writte that it will reflect discredit upon the entire Negro race. This unjust and unfair. Surely our worst enemy couldn't do mo against us.

JAMES W. JOHNSON, CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

New York Age 8/2/17

AN ARMY WITH BANNERS.

Last Saturday the silent protest parade came off, and it was a greater success than even the committee had dared to hope it would be. Some of the New York papers estimated the number of marchers in line as high as fifteen thousand. It was indeed a mighty host, an army with banners.

No written word can convey to those who did not see it the solemn impressiveness of the whole affair. The effect could b plainly seen on the faces of the thousands of spectators that crowde along the line of march. There were no jeers, no jests, not even wer there indulgent smiles; the faces of the onlookers betrayed emotions from sympathetic interest to absolute pain. Many persons of the opposite race were seen to brush a tear from their eyes. It seemed that many of these people were having brought home to them for the first time the terrible truths about race prejudice and oppression.

The power of the parade consisted in its being not a mere argument in words, but a demonstration to the sight. Here were thousands of orderly, well-behaved, clean, sober, earnest people marching in a quiet, dignified manner, declaring to New York and to the country that their brothers and sisters, people just like them, had been massacred by scores in East St. Louis for no other offense than seeking to earn an honest living; that their brothers and sisters people just like them, were "Jim Crowed" and segregated and disfranchised and oppressed and lynched and burned alive in this the greatest republic in the world, the great leader in the fight for democracy and humanity.

The impact of this demonstration upon New York city was tremendous. And it is not strange that it was so. More than twelve thousand of us marching along the greatest street in the world, marching solemnly to no other music than the beat of muffled drums, bearing aloft our banners on which were inscribed not only what we have suffered in this country, but what we have accomplished for this country, this was a sight as has never before been seen.

But, after all, the effect on the spectators was not wholly in what they saw, it was largely in the spirit that went out from the marchers and overpowered all who came within its radius. There was no holiday air about this parade. Every man, woman and child that took part seemed to feel what it meant to the race. Even the little six year old tots that led the line seemed to realize the full significance of what was being done. And so it was that these thousands and thousands moving quietly and steadily along created a feeling very close to religious awe.

When the head of the procession paused at 30th Street I looked back and saw the long line of women in white still mounting the crest of Murray Hill, the men's column not yet in sight; and a great sob came up in my throat and in my heart a great yearning for all these people, my people, from the helpless little children just at my hand back to the strong men bringing up the rear, whom I could not even see. I turned to Dr. DuBois at my side and said, "Look!" He looked, and neither of us could tell the other what he felt.

It was a great day. An unforgettable day in the history of the race and in the history of New York City.

ENFORCING THE LAW

(BY LESTER A. WALTON)

THEATRICAL Managers, producers of photo plays and others are just beginning to realize that the scope of the African Dodger law, which became operative May 15, is much broader than they had first supposed. The general impression prevailed before the measure received the favorable consideration of the Legislature, that a fight was being waged by the colored people of the State of New York solely against the "African Dodger." To their chagrin managers now find that offensive motion pictures, such as "The Birth of a Nation," and all theatrical presentations wherein the Negro is held up to contempt and ridicule are as much under the ban as the "African Dodger."

New York Age 3-31-17

Opposition to the bill becoming a law would have been more pronounced had theatrical men been aware that others would be seriously affected besides amusement purveyors of Coney Island and other summer resorts. Now those who went to Albany and lobbyed to defeat the African Dodger bill are laughing up their sleeves at the predicament in which many other promoters find themselves as the result of the adroit manner in which Counselor Rufus L. Berry inserted the joker making it a misdemeanor for any race of citizens to be held up to contempt or ridicule in the State of New York.

The Age is offering $10 reward for evidence furnished securing the first conviction under the new law.

Following is a certified copy of the African Dodger law, which has been furnished by Second Deputy Secretary of State C. W. Taft of the Office of the Secretary of State at Albany, N. Y.:

AN ACT

To amend the penal law, in relation to public health and decency.

Became a Law May 15, 1917, with the approval of the Governor. Passed, three-fifths being Present.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. The penal law is hereby amended by inserting therein a new section, to

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

be section seventeen hundred and fifty-six-a, to read as follows:

1756-a. Disgraceful practices offending health and decency. A person who exhibits himself or another in public, and invites, solicits or allows others to throw or release a ball or other article at his head or other portion of his body, or the head or body of another, for compensation, reward or otherwise, or publicly engages in or takes any part in a game commonly known as "ball dodger," for a consideration or otherwise, or employs a person for such purpose, or at such place or places, for himself, or for another, invites, solicits or allows others to throw a ball or other articles, to release a spring or other object or device whereby a person is thrown from a distance to a body of water or any receptacle, or commits any act or acts whereby any race of citizens of this State is held up to contempt or ridicule, is guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not more than five hundred, nor less than one hundred dollars, or by imprisonment for a term of not more than one year or less than three months, or both.

Sec. 2. This act shall take effect immediately.

Securing the enactment of a law is one thing; securing a conviction is another. There never was a law that some person or persons did not try to break. So self-respecting Negroes need not think victory is yet complete. Now that we have the African Dodger law on the statute books it is our duty to see that it is enforced, which can be done only by prosecuting its violators.

No Room For Race Prejudice

NEW YORK CITY JEWISH ... JULY 31, 1917

The march down Fifth Avenue on Saturday of 8000 negro men, women and children in "silent protest against acts of discrimination and oppression" should stir the conscience of all America.

Pitiful wrongs and grave acts of injustice have been and are continued to be committed against the negro and the oppression from which he suffers is a reflection upon the democracy of the United States.

Prejudice and race hatred must be foreign to the peoples of the United States. The founders of the Republic fled to these shores because they were discriminated against in the lands of their nativity. They sought freedom and the right to develop, to labor and to worship in accordance with the dictates of their conscience. The great majority of the citizens of this country are either natives of foreign countries who have come here to escape intolerable conditions, or they are the descendants of such refugees.

Every sympathy must be expressed to negroes who are persecuted, denied the opportunity of gaining an honest livelihood, lynched and driven hither and thither.

The inscription on one of the banners carried in the parade read, "We are maligned as lazy, and murdered when we work." No more smashing indictment could have been uttered against a state of affairs which is disgraceful to the citizenship of America.

Neither the country nor the negro gains by oppression. The late Booker T. Washington in a memorable address delivered some years ago before the Conference of Liberal Religions in Philadelphia, exclaimed, "When America freed the negro slaves, America freed herself." A people that persecutes is a people enslaved. A country in which prejudice finds a place is not emancipated and its growth is stunted.

The way to improve the status of the negro does not lie through lynching and expulsions, but through education and making him feel that he is regarded as a human being possessing all the rights that are accorded to men.

But above all, every right-minded American to whom the fundamentals of the Republic are dear and who wishes to maintain the spirit of freedom that is the cornerstone of the fabric of the United States, must protest with might and main against the persecution to which the negro is subjected.

The life of the meanest among men must be held sacred beneath the Stars and Stripes. The negro has given evidence of self-uplift and of being capable of good citizenship. Let nothing be done that will drag him down to the level of the brute. Extend to him the hand of brotherhood, for all men are created free and equal. It is man's inhumanity against man which creates inequalities.

The dignified and earnest protest of the thousands of negroes should strike home and cause every American to regard his fellow citizen of the black race with fairness and justice. Let there be an end to wrongdoing lest we stand accused before the Bar of Justice as a people unworthy of freedom.

N Y C SUN
...EMBER 16, 1917

The Use of the Word "Negro."

To the Editor of The Sun—Sir: As your newspaper uses the terms negro and colored interchangeably in referring to people of African descent, may I ask, What, if any, is the difference between a "colored person" and a negro?

The King of England has in his veins Danish, English, French and German blood, but he calls himself an Englishman, and he is an Englishman. There are hundreds of thousands of white Americans in whose veins courses the blood of many races, but they call themselves Americans.

The people among us who prefer to be called "colored people" or "Afro-Americans"—both misnomers, since there are no such races recognized by natural history—balk at being characterized as negroes, from which race they are descended. Now what right, privilege or immunity legal or social is enjoyed by colored persons known to be of negro extraction which is not enjoyed by negroes?

John E. Bruce.

New York, December 15.

HARTFORD CONN POST
JULY 30, 1917

New York negroes paraded Fifth avenue in protest against lynchings. But there aren't many lynchings in Fifth avenue.

THAT SILENT PARADE.

The St. Louis Argus 8/3/17

True eloquence is an expression of the soul whether spoken or unexpressed.

The four thousand Negroes who actually took part in the silent parade at New York last Saturday told a most effective story. This parade particularly meets our approval, because it was void of rowdyism or disturbances, of any kind, on the part of the participants, or the greater throng of colored people who stood on the side walks.

One of the characteristics of this silent protest that was most noticable, was the ***earnestness of purpose.*** There was no speech making, no oratory, but the oneness of purpose lent sweet eloquence to the occasion. Every man, woman and child of the colored people seemed to fully understand the significance of the parade, and contributed his share manly. Every white person who looked on, saw the meaning, and registered their sympathies.

There was no braggadocio on the part of the colored people, nor any unusual assumption of their rights. Only their banners told the silent story. White people who lined up along the line of march on Fifth Avenue, made the only comment, which invariably was: "Their cause is right."

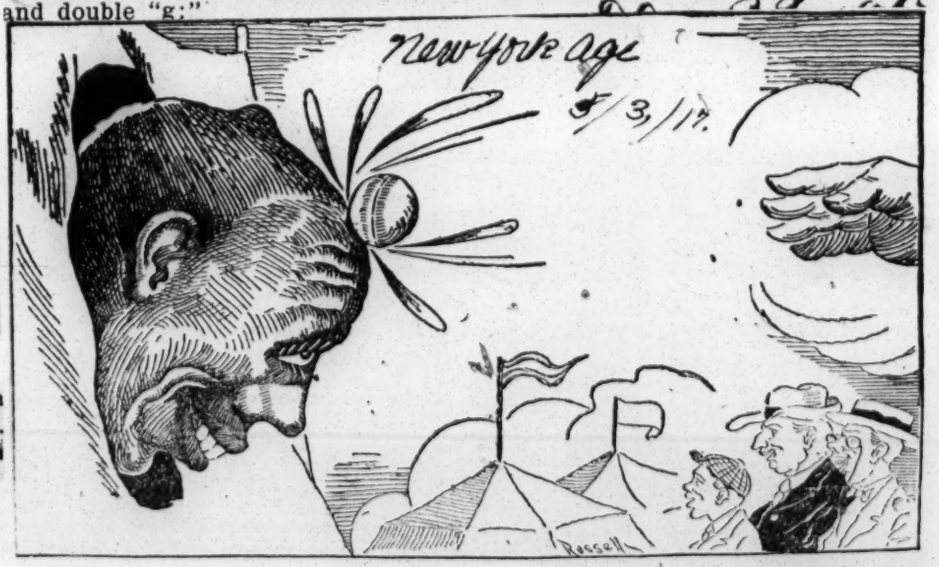
We should like to see a similar parade at Washington, D. C. In fact, in all the large cities, no exceptions to St. Louis. Such demonstrations show that the Negro is not satisfied. They show that the burden of oppression is almost unbearable. They show that our very souls rebel against injustices, discriminations, disfrancisements, and segregation.

This spontaneous action on the part of the colored people in the greatest city of this nation at this time and the sympathetic movement that no doubt will follow, recall the words of the poet "Let rocks their silence break."

New York has set the pace, let others follow.

The Freeman

For reasons that are as plain as a pikestaff, we join with the sagacious Louisville News in a general objection to the term "Negro" as the official name of the colored American. We use it occasionally, as a convenience and as a habit, but on general principles, we think it should be discarded. "Colored" is less susceptible to the corruption that leads to the little "n" and double "g."



N. Y. State Legislature Has Killed this Form of "Diversion."

Racial Consciousness – 1917

City of Houston

Texas

HEALTH DEPARTMENT

May Fifth, 1917.

Houston Observer,
Houston, Texas. Houston Observer. 5/12/17.

In reply to your article of May 5th, would say that birth reports published in the newspapers by the city health department are made from birth reports on file in the city health departmentt, made by the physician, mid-wife, or whoever officiated at the birth of the child.

It is not the object of the health department to cast reflection upon anyone; these reports are on file, and you are at liberty to examine them at your leisure. Should you care to examine them, please come in and do so.

It is not our fault if the birth reports do not show both parents' names.

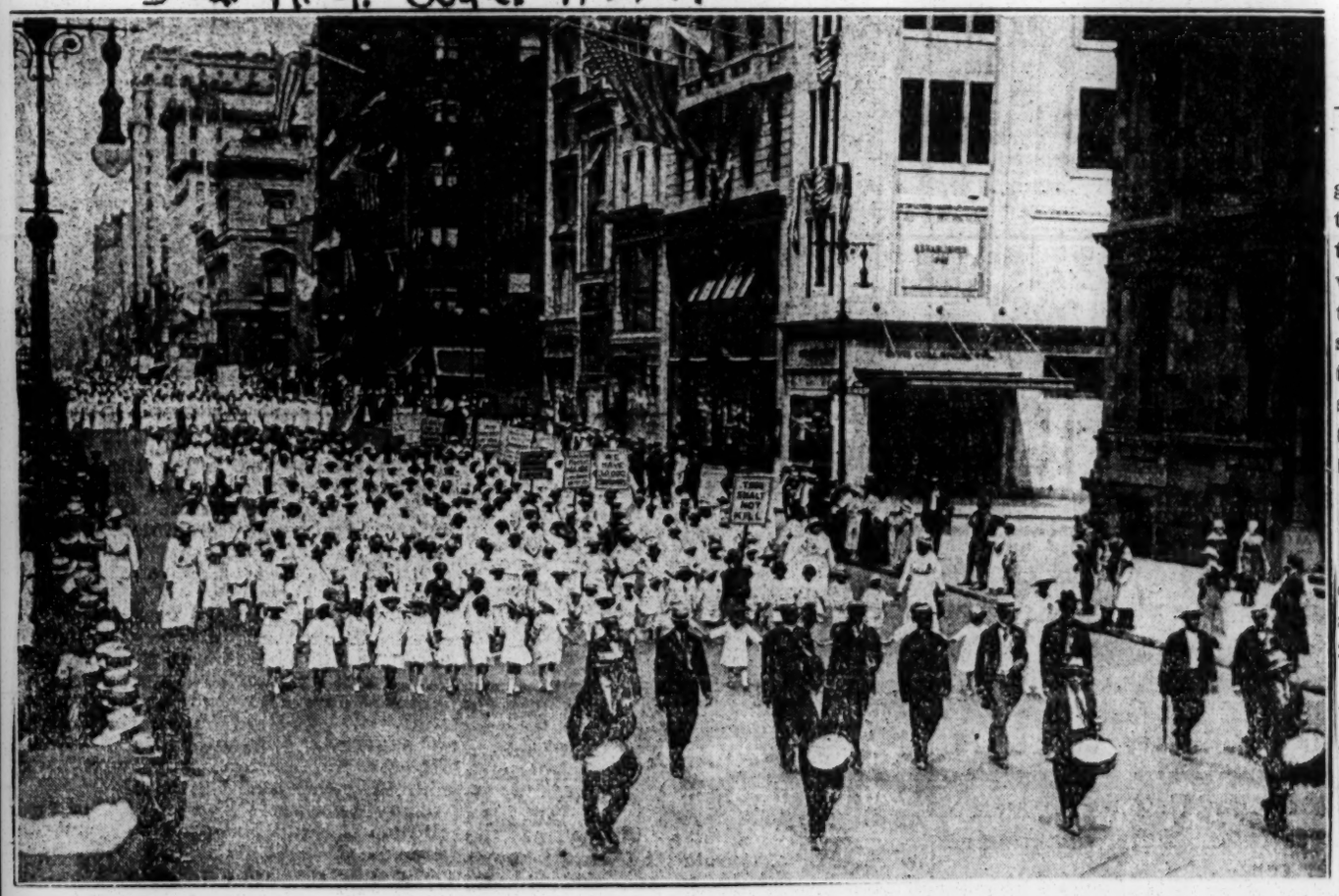
Kindly publish this in your paper. Hoping that this will readily show our position in the matter, I remain,

Yours very truly,

P. H. SCARDINO.

HEAD OF PROCESSION MARCHING DOWN FIFTH AVENUE

Th. N. Y. Age. 8/2/17



THAT WORD NIGGER

In a Chicago daily paper of September 25th the account was given of the slaying of Russell Dale (white) by Arthur Eugene, a Race man. We wish to comment on the same.

The incident is one that we regret indeed, for we realize that life is too valuable to be snuffed out in such a manner. Life is more than man can give; man, then, has not the prerogative to take. Mr. Eugene has committed a crime for which he must suffer the consequence.

Just as we disapprove of the crime, in like manner do we disapprove of the insulting and humiliating remarks of Mr. Dale.

The man to whom he referred as having been called "nigger" by him for twenty-five years and never took offense at it, and those Negroes who were called "good old nigger" by men of Mr. Dale's type—they are now dead. That type of a man who felt that he could not exist without enduring the humiliations and insults of his white employer is now extinct. We of the twentieth century have awakened, are shaking off the burden of injustice and humiliation, stretching forth our arms and stepping out into a larger plane. There is a new spirit within the breast of this Race. We now ask, as peaceful, law-abiding citizens, for equal respect and equal rights.

As long as we were credulous, the white man has been artful enough to impose upon our credulity. Many of the white race take unto themselves authority that was never given them, and we, not questioning this authority, were held in pitiless subjection to insults and oppression. Not until the spirit of inquiry and resentment has been breathed into the deadened souls of men have they asserted their freedom, civil rights and respect. And so today, when authority is overridden and rights and respect are trampled upon, we summon the offenders to appear and answer.

There are other methods, rather than murder, by which our Race can resent these malicious insults in being called "nigger" and their women "negresses." We do not advocate the taking of a life, but we do advocate for this step to be taken in a respectable and humane manner. So, to all members of the white race we say that we are not asking any special favors. All we want are respect, justice and fair play.

THE BROTHER who refused to join the cavalry because he didn't want to be bothered with a horse when the enemy was crowding him, must have been the same one who pleaded exemption on the ground that he promised his mother that she would never hear of him being in the ditch.

IT IS SO EASY to give advice, and so hard to follow some of it. If our troops went every place to encamp that has been suggested, they wouldn't stop short of the infernal kingdom.

IT DOESN'T PAY to be a prodigal son when the "old man" refuses to kill the fatted calf because veal commands such high prices.

THAT WINTER OVERCOAT might have the odor of mothballs, but its warmth has not been impaired by its forced retirement.

AN EPOCHAL UTTERANCE.

Billy Sunday, in his sermon to the negroes Monday night, sounded the keynote of the whole so-called "race problem" and at the same time pointed the way—the only way—to its solution when he admonished the negroes to "base your appeal (for better schools, better living conditions, and just treatment) on the bedrock of good citizenship"—then placing upon the white people the reciprocal obligation to accord the negro fair and just treatment.

The sermon was delivered to the negroes of Atlanta; but it is one that should be read, pondered and heeded by every citizen of the south, white as well as black. It was a sermon to both races. In many respects it is an epochal utterance.

It placed squarely upon the colored man the obligation to deserve before demanding; and it assured him that "if you do your part you can depend upon the white man doing his," thus inferentially pointing to the duty that devolves upon both races and equally upon both.

This is precisely in line with the contention that The Constitution and the right thinking citizens of both races have been advancing for years; and if both races co-operated along the line of the striking advice of the great evangelist there would no longer be a "race problem" to solve.

Mr. Sunday voiced the sentiment of every conscientious white man in the south when he assured the negroes that the loyalty of their race during the civil war will ever be remembered and that the white people stand ready to accord the last degree of merited assistance to the descendants of those who in that crucial test proved their dependability.

The sermon was happily phrased to fit the occasion—candid, fair and plainly spoken. It had the ring of sincerity about it, without attempt at flattery, without hollow praise or evidence of labored effort merely to please. It was truth—truth delivered straight from the shoulder and driven home with the characteristic Billy Sunday punch.

No negro heard that sermon but who, governing his future actions in accordance with it, will be a better citizen and more helpful to his race and to society in general, and no white man can read it without being impressed with the fact that it contains mighty good advice for both races.

Considering the fact that Billy Sunday is a northern man, new to the south, only adds weight to his precept to the colored folk; and the clear insight into the colored man's characteristics, manners of living and the conditions surrounding him in the south, of which the sermon gives evidence, reflects credibility upon the evangelist as a man of breadth, capacity and alertness to size up situations on sort notice.

It was a strong presentation of the so-called "race problem," and one that hits the nail squarely on the head.

Undoubtedly it will do much good.

MR. PRESIDENT, WHY NOT SPEAK OUT?

8/9/17 Houston Christian Advo

Mr. President you are our chief. By the franchise of free American citizens you are the executive head of our nation. Whatever may have been our differences, after the canvass of the returns and the electoral college announced your re-election, no true American holds to party lines, we all become automatically Americans, rather than remain Republicans, Democrats, Prohibitionists, Socialists or otherwise. You are the chief representative of 100,000,000 Americans and spokesman for Americanism as it is possible for no other man in America today to be. The President of the nation is looked up to, honored, revered, loved, prayed for, and sympathized with as no other official in our state or national life. This is as it should be.

We can say without boasting that there can not be found in American life 12,000,000 Americans who, man for man, woman for woman and child for child, are more loyal to the American ideals in the present crisis than the 12,000,000 American Negroes. Our patriotism is unalloyed, our attitude toward the flag is in the open, our adherence to the ideals of American life are as warm and as simple as our racial natures permit us to be. But we speak in absolute frankness, Mr. President, we are disappointed in you. You have spoken with fervor and eloquence from many platforms and upon nearly every subject that touches the vitals of American life. We say you have spoken on nearly every subject advisedly. This is one subject that you have ignored, either because you thought it was not worth while or that it has been lost sight of in the multitude of the weighty problems that must necessarily command your attention. You have been fair enough to recognize the seriousness of the situation in the presence of a large German population in our midst. You have spoken of them and to them. You have spoken of the gravity of the labor situation. You have spoken strongly on the deportation from Bisbee, Arizona. We all shouted "Amen" when your words rang around the world condemning the ruthlessness of the German submarines and when you made an unanswerable plea for freedom of the seas. But Mr. President, do you recognize the illogic of your position if you do not personally and oficially condemn the increasing audacity, effrontery of mob rule which threatens the very life of constitutional government in some sections of our country? Does not the barbarism of Memphis and East St. Louis and other centers of the country claim your attention? Is it because the victims are Negroes that you do not speak? If so what do you offer in return for our unmeasured devotion and loyalty to the flag? We have not wavered, we have not hesitated to volunteer, to carry out the requirements of the draft law. There is authoritative rumor that both the Tenth Cavalry and the Twenty-fifth Infantry are on French soil. These patriotic American Negro soldiers are the pride of our twelve million hearts. They represent us on the firing line. We speak frankly, Mr. President, and we trust soberly and deferentially, we are just a bit disappointed that you have passed up the security of twelve million Negroes at a time when everything ought to be done to make our lives worth while and secure. In other words, Mr. President, we wonder if you would dare treat any other twelve million of American citizens as we are treated. You are putting heavy tasks upon the leaders of the race to hold the rank and file of our people true to you and to the flag and the ideals of our great nation in this crisis if you do not give us a man's chance and give us the same sort of encouragement that you give to other Americans. Why must the freedom of the seas be made secure for the travel of all Americans, and the highways on land are not safe for all Americans, however poor and however helpless?

What good will your speech do, Mr. President? One unmistakable statement from you condemnatory of all lawlessness will encourage twelve millions of people whose hearts bleed and whose skies are dark and who live in terror by day and by night. What good will your speaking do, Mr. President? You wil strengthen an increasing number of men in the South who are doing their level best to put down lawlessness. Your position as our chief, Mr. President, in the eyes of the nation and your position as one man demand that you speak and your expression would add volumes to this chorus condemning lawlessness. The world is expecting you to speak. If you do not it will be a disappointment and will put an interpretation upon your attitude towards twelve millions of Negroes which you cannot afford to have and which we trust does not at all represent the deeper purpose of your life.

We realize, Mr. President, that you are greatly burdened. We would carry all sorts of personal injury and embarrassment rather than add to the great burdens which you are now carrying, but this one we cannot. You are ours and you and you alone can say the needy word at this time. Will you do it? Shall we look to you or must we wait for another?

NO SENTENCE EVER UTTERED BY A defender of our race is more pregnant with truth and reason than that made by Mr. William Monroe Trotter, when in his address before the New England League for Afro-American suffrage, said: *"This country can never succeed under God in establishing democracy over the world while color caste and disfranchisement are so flagrantly practised at home."* It is hollow mockery to have the world believe that this country which assumes the role of guardian of the peace and liberty of the world, when her own citizens of color who fought and bled for her own independence, are butchered up at home; and no attempt made to protect them.

DOCTOR DIPPY SAYS THAT—

The Houston Daily Post, in its issue of Monday, December 17, on the editorial page, says: **"Under the above caption The Houston Observer, a Negro publication, prints the following sane and sensible editorial, which, in the opinion of the Post, will be commended and endorsed by right thinking people of all races."** Then The Observer's editorial of last week on "The Lesson From the Execution" is reproduced in its entirety. This paper is trying to preach an uncompromising gospel and such remarks and commendations prove conclusively that The Observer is on the right road.

The Houston Observer Dec 21, 1917.

Rev. S. H. Simpson, the "Brick Bat and Bouquet Man" on the Galveston New Era, gave the News of that city and Southern justice (where a race man and a white man is involved) a good raking over last week. "Rev." Simpson, the fearless and peerless journalistic son of thunder, is a credit to the newspapers of the race in the South and should be backed to the man by the inhabitants of Galveston, better known as "Lynchville Island." Keep the good work up, Bre'r Sam. The demons of hell take to their heels when real manhood comes upon the stage of action.

The Observer wishes to congratulate the Houston Post for publishing both parents' names in the birth reports among our people in Sunday's issue, which is as it should have been all the time. Let this great newspaper keep up the practice and let the Chronicle follow suit. We have our eyes on both of them and believe that since their attention has been called to this matter the race can expect a fair and square deal in this respect.

Racial Consciousness — 1917

IS THE NEGRO A JIM CROW RACE?

We answer the query in the negative—No. In this editorial we are going to deal most largely with the Jim Crow Negro preachers. What we shall say will not apply to all of the Negro preachers, but only to those who are of the Jim Crow variety; and, if we take their measure in this editorial, nobody will know it better than they themselves.

In the race, we have some preachers as worthy, as intelligent, as manly and as Christ-like as any other race; and in these remarks, we are addressing ourselves to the Jim Crow product—not to this class. We are not going to criticise Billy Sunday nor the white folks, it matters not if Sunday's message to the Negroes last Monday night did sound more like it came from a Southern white man than it did from Christ. We are going to concede Billy, both honesty and sincerity of purpose, and we are not going to quarrel with the white folks seriously.

We are going to deal with Negro character. We are going to set up the standard, and every preacher can judge for himself whether he squares up to the mark or not. God made all mankind of one blood. All men are made in His likenness. He is our common Father, and we belong to a common brotherhood. In all races there are some people who fall below their racial standard, and there is no race upon the face of the globe whose leadership is so lacking in self-respect.

There are conditions in America under which we live that we cannot remedy. Many of these conditions are fixed by the law, and we must submit. On the trains, elevators, street cars and many other conveniences, the Negro is Jim Crowed, and there is no remedy, for the law fixes our status. We are obliged to travel, to use elevators and public conveniences, and when we accept these conditions or accommodations, there is no surrender of manhood or compromise of self-respect; but the Negro is not compelled to buy a seat in the peanut gallery in a theater, nor seek service in a store where his trade is not wanted, nor stick his head in a meeting prepared for white people, or accept an invitation to a Jim Crow meeting especially prepared for him on the grounds of his color.

The man—be he preacher, leader or layman—who will stick his head in a place where his trade or presence is not wanted, or who will attend a meeting that was arranged for him by an individual of another race on the grounds of his racial inferiority, is profoundly lacking in self-respect, and every other other element of manhood necessary to constitute and round out a healthy, useful, manly, racial character. No individual can rise above the respect and estimate he places upon himself; no individual is any more respectable ,decent or many than he believes himself to be.

The man who accepts Jim Crow accommodations or any discriminations inveigled against him because of his color, admits his inferiority. We have no quarrel with the white man because he believes himself superior, but we have a quarrel with the Jim Crow Negro, because he believes himself inferior. Editor Pendleton, of The Macon Telegraph, in his lifetime said, that the white people would always prescribe Jim Crow accommodations for the Negro just so long as the Negro race grew a Jim Crow leadership; and until the Negro race built up a manly Negro leadership with the courage to resent discriminations and proscriptions, the race would be considered a Jim Crow product.

Our race is weakest in the pulpit. The Negro preacher is the most compromising and vacillating factor in the construction of our fabric. Unfortunately, he is regarded as the logical leader, and essays unto himself the leadership. It never occurs to him that the functions of leadership are public service, and that it is a misuse of office to use it for personal gain or selfish aggrandizement; that leadership is character and intelligence that should be used in the interest of building a splendid racial structure of all of the people; but the Negro preacher worships himself as idol. He wants cheap notoriety, and is willing to sell the manhood of his race, compromise its character and destroy its highest usefulness in order to have a white man say he is smart, or that he is a good Negro. There is only one remedy, and that is to reform the pulpit. We must grow up a set of preachers that think themselves as good as a white man, as splendid in character, as lofty in ideals, and as practical in religion; that the race of which they are exponents is as good as any other race, and yields to no other people in their contribution to morality, virtue, temperance, sobriety and real, practical religion.

There never was a more cowardly surrender of a leadership than was made by a large nunber of Negro preachers in our city, who attended and bartered the influence of their leadership to promote the Jim Crow meeting pulled off at the Sunday Tabernacle, last Monday night for Negroes only. To argue that it was Christianity to serve God under the circumstances is but a virtual confession of racial inferiority.

Had our white neighbors advertised to the world that no Jew, Greek, Chinaman or Irishman could attend the regular services at the Tabernacle, in common with those who are known as Caucasians, and announced at the same time that a meeting would be held strictly for Irishmen, Jews and the like, every race so discriminated against on the grounds of race, color or previous condition of servitude, would have staid away from the meeting and regarded it as an insult to their racial integrity and intelligence.

No goodly number of any people in America would have accepted this humiliation and insult against their religion except the Negro. We would be willing to admit that the Negro is a Jim Crow race if it were not for the fact that out of the 75,000 Negroes in Atlanta, hardly 10,000 so recognize their inferiority and rejoice in their humiliation.

The best Negroes in Atlanta did not attend the meeting. The intelligent, manly, race loving Negro staid away. The Negro people of the highest racial instinct and character, were conspicuous for their absence. It was only that element of us present who are poorest in character, poorest in self-respect, narrowest in mind, wanting in manliness, and too cowardly to resent a racial insult. The highest and most manly character of the people are not necessarily found among the rich or the educated, the highest in society, the rich or the upper ten; there are many, poorest in character, poorest in moral stamina and in breadth of mind and soul among the favored few. Among the poor and the lowly, there are often found examples of the highest character, of the richest souls, purest hearts, most splendid minds and most lofty racial ideals.

The Negro preacher is responsible for our degradation and for the respect the white man accords us. The white man believes he is leader and measures the entire race by the standard he sets. He finds the Negro preacher vacillating, compromising, ignorant and profoundly wanting in much of the quality which appeals to Caucasian ideals of racial consciousness and respectability, and thus, he takes the measure of the race by the Negro preacher as the standard.

RACE PROGRAM FOR NEGROES ACCORDING TO NATURAL GIFTS

As Youngest Race in America, With Qualities of Tractableness and Adaptability, It Should Form a Body of Ideal Workers

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
OCTOBER 9, 1917

By WILSON JEFFERSON

President Augusta (Ga.) Branch National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

A RACE of 12,000,000 souls, among whom there are thousands of groups of capable and contented workers; among whom there are many thinkers and teachers; among whom the average of intelligence is high and the average of mediocrity is low—meaning not so much a lack of knowledge as a lack of interest in knowledge; among whom the old-fashioned virtues of faithfulness and godliness are not dead; among whom there is a growing self-confidence and an increasing and proper self-esteem—such are the realizable hopes of advancement which negroes set for the future of their people in America.

But their hopes go even deeper than this. Something must bind these 12,000,000 souls into a working and united whole. Of the positive virtues of honesty and faithfulness, of thrift and frugality, the negro has all along had his share; but these good qualities have not, as a rule, brought to him a commensurate social and political well-being. Other men and other things have kept him from reaping the natural reward of his virtues. Hence, as the negro now sees it, there arises the need for more growth from strictly within the race, for more unity and for more opportunities for laying hold of the many influences and resources on the outside which can be made over into such material as well as satisfy peculiar racial needs and fit into a distinct racial program.

In order to bring about the conditions necessary for a strict racial program, the negro's first efforts must be expended to effect a co-operation along the lines of immediate race needs. The hostility of white workers will force him to organize labor societies and unions for his own protection. In unskilled labor fields the power of such labor groups will be very near supreme. Inadequate housing conditions in many large centers will force him to start his own banks and to form his own building and loan associations. Likewise, his natural group instinct, seeking, as he does, to live in those neighborhoods and communities where there are many of his own race, will permit him to develop many small enterprises of a distinct race nature. Thus, in the beginning he will proceed to grow from within outward, and, by using his natural race pride as a subsidy, he will be able to lay a foundation for a future growth which in the end will not be satisfied with a circumscribed field or with a limited clientele.

And yet, still other things are necessary before anything like a racial program can be adhered to. The standards of living for the masses of black men must be raised, the opportunities for the raising of these standards must be multiplied.

The hope of the race lies in its great body of willing and capable workers. No race can flourish without that stamina and hardihood, that tractableness and good spirit which should belong to its workers. The negro now represents the only large group of workers in this country which possesses these qualities to any marked degree. But to these qualities must be added a higher general level of intelligence, a keener grasping of the fundamentals of business and a sounder knowledge of the actualities of an everyday industrial and business world.

Back of the seeming restlessness of the negro is his desire for a fuller and freer life and for the opportunities which a larger and freer life offers. Back of his newly developed nomadic spirit is his ardent desire to live easier and to breathe easier. But he seeks not the ease of slothfulness, but rather that ease and peace of mind which conduces to a very necessary equanimity and poise, and which fits him both for a proper preparation and for a proper enjoyment of life. While he strives to better his estate, while he toils, perhaps, in many humble places, it should not be possible for his station in life to fill him with a sense of his inferiority or to lull him into a false contentedness under conditions which any other free people would brand intolerable.

Measured by any standard, the negro race is the youngest in America. It has all of the advantages of youth. It has on the physical side that vigor and fresh feeling which no other American group possesses. It has on the mental side gifts of contentedness and tractableness and adaptability which make it a race of ideal workers. Add to these factors within the race such influences on the outside as spring out of the present unrest among white workers, the menacing power of certain trade unions and the world's growing shortage in its physically fit man-power—and you further add to the power and prestige of the negro worker.

This power, wisely used, will bring about a more genuine racial integrity as well as lay the foundation for a broader professional culture and development. Under such free and fair working conditions as the

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

negro himself can bring about by effective co-operation, there will be less poverty, less abject dependence upon others and more respect and deference from others. A man who is thoroughly able to stand alone will not be put to much trouble finding his standing room: he will make room.

The negro is awakening to a realization of his political and economic strength. His first definite race program will be along the lines of a wise use of this strength. All of his present admirable organizations, all of his ability as an organizer, will be used to solidify the race on questions which concern its welfare. On certain vital questions affecting the race all leadership should, and will, merge into a single ideal of effort and purpose. Likewise in the realm of labor such organizations and affiliations will be formed as will safeguard the interests of the race against the activities of those who would keep it from a full participation in the larger industrial and commercial affairs of the nation.

LESSON TAUGHT BY PARADING NEGROES

TRENTON N J TIMES
AUGUST 10, 1917

When 10,000 Negroes—men, women, girls and boys—marched down Fifth Avenue, New York City with no gesticulations, no inspiring music, no hilarity, they did more to impress upon the minds of the white race that the time is fast approaching when indignities heaped upon us must cease than any other method could have done, says T. Edward Kinney.

Ten thousand Negroes—the American, the West Indian and the Haitian—stepping only to the music of muffled drums—10,000 hearts for once pulsating for the same thing—justice. These people were not parading to express any desire for social equality, that term so little understood and so much abused by those who wished to criticize us, Mr. Kinney asserts, but they marched to prove to the world that unanimity can and does exist among us, that the combined forces of prejudice, oppression, segregation, arson, lynching and murder have failed to intimidate us, that by the grace of God these inhuman injustices must cease.

Even though marchers walked in silence the inscriptions, which showed that the Negro is thinking for himself, proved sufficient to create thoughts along the proper channels in the minds of reviewers. Some of the most appropriate were: "Thou shalt not kill," "Taxation without representation is tyranny," "America has lynched without trial 2,867 Negroes in 31 years and not a single murderer has suffered," "12,000 of us fought with Jackson at New Orleans," "From Bunker Hill to Carrizal we have done our bit," "We are maligned as lazy and murderers when we work," "Were we the first in France? Ask Pershing."

LOOKING BACKWARD

The St. Louis Argus 1-3-17

Looking backward into the old year, as we enter the new, we see the successes and likewise the failures of many. We see the sweets and the bitters as they have been issued out to mankind by Him who holds the destiny of men in His hand.

We have passed through a year of the greatest war in the history of civilization. Millions of lives have been sacrificed and billions of wealth have been destroyed.

Although prosperity seemed to reign in this land, there has been unrest. Labor and capital have been in a death struggle for supremacy.

We have seen many changes in the social and economical conditions of our own people. We have seen thousands, hundreds of thousands, of the Negro race, leave the south, their native land, the land of their fathers. We have seen the great multitude of mothers weeping as their stalwart sons bade farewell to the land of persecution, and starting for the north, east and west to seek liberty, peace and honor, we could hear them say: "We go to prepare a place for you." We have seen President Wilson re-elected; we have seen fifty Negroes and four whites lynched in this "Christian Land;" we have seen the mobilization of fifty thousand United States soldiers to capture one bandit; we have seen the massacre at Carrizal, where in defense of "old glory" brave Negro Troopers shed their blood like water.

We have seen right in our own city, an ordinance passed by the popular vote of the people, calling for legal residential segregation. Although it seems that every possible means were exhausted, in the year just past, to humiliate the Negro; he has continued to move toward the front; he has developed no sign of dismay; he went on accumulating homes and farms; he increasedthe number of his children in the public schools; graduated a greater number from professional colleges and established more business among his own people.

The Negro is in no way abandoning his rights or being discouraged. He continues to prosper under the old flag in whose folds he can see stains of his own blood and is marching onward singing,—Sure I must fight if I would live.

"Ladies— White Only"

Obnoxious Sign That Insults Race On Toilets At Selman's

5-26-17. Ky.

A lady of refinement and intelligence called on a representative of The News this week and asked to call to the attention of the race through this paper another insult and offensive effort to disregard the feelings of members of the race.

She said that over the main toilets at Selman's, one of the biggest stores in town, is a sign which reads, "Ladies—White Only." She said this notice formerly read "Ladies" but recently "White Only" has been added.

When asked "What can The News do about it?" She replied "The News can tell all self-respecting people about it and self-respecting people will stay out of the place."

"Wouldn't it be better to write the manager and complain to him" she was asked? "No," she replied, "Why write the manager, he knew the offensive sign and doubtless authorized it. The only thing to do in cases of this kind is to withdraw our patronage." And so it is. Selman's considers itself one of the first class stores. Only people, white and Colored, who live well and earn good salaries are popularily supposed to deal there. Whatever may be the case with white people it is a fact that only the best class of Colored people deal there. The prices that prevail at Selman's only allow those people who earn good salaries and handle "big money" to deal there. No riff--raff, no low types go there. Only people who like high class, high priced clothes go to Selman's. Many of the best people run accounts there and yet the management has the UNMITIGATED [illegible] to tell these people they can not use the toilets. A woman who spends her money in a store suddenly feels ill while in the store, she wants to rest, to wash her face she goes to the toilet and finds herself barred—if She is Colored. Common humanity, common decency and respect for womanhood would forbid any such condition. But what does a certain class of whites care for such things? But of all things for a public store that caters to Colored trade, that carries on its books, and is glad to do it, scores of accounts of Colored women—for such a store to put up such a sign is Preposterous, Outrageous and Insulting in the Extreme!

WHAT WILL THE COLORED WOMEN DO ABOUT IT? WILL THEY STAND FOR IT? SELMAN'S CAN BE MADE TO TAKE THAT SIGN DOWN AND WITHOUT WRITING TO THE MANAGER. STOP THAT TRADE! STOP THOSE ACCOUNTS! THAT WILL REMOVE THE SIGN!

REMEMBER SELMAN'S IS NOT THE ONLY STORE THAT SELLS FIRST CLASS AND HIGH PRICED GOODS? IT IS UP TO THE WOMEN, WILL THEY STAND FOR THE INSULT?

HARTFORD CONN COURANT
[illegible] 30, 1917

A big procession of negroes along Fifth avenue in New York to protest against the way their people have been treated elsewhere is just the sort of thing to invite more trouble. No doubt it was inspired by some agitators either for political effect or just in the hope of a row. It was altogether orderly and that is much to the credit of the paraders, but its only effect must be to excite not calm those liable to outbreak, offensive or defensive.

"WORLD" DISCONTINUES USE OF "DARKIES"

The New York *World*, which has the largest circulation of any morning paper in New York, has promised to discontinue the use of the term "darkies." In a letter to Lester A. Walton, managing editor of THE AGE, who informed the editors of the daily that colored Americans did not take kindly to the terms in print, C. M. Lincoln, managing editor of the *World* replied in part:

"You are quite right in your suggestion that the word 'darkies' was wrong. I am sorry it appeared and I have given order that the word shall not be used again."

What Call Readers Think

N Y C CALL
APRIL 3, 1918

Editor of The Call:

In reference to the article on the "Negro" in the musical department of the magazine section of March 23, 1918, one Mr. Endicoff seems to have taken a deli[illegible]n something that pleases him, but no[illegible]else. From the fact that The New [illegible] Call, I believe, is a light of intelli[illegible]ce and an educator to all classes of people, I do not think it cares about educating its readers and subscribers along the lines of music in houses of questionable character. It seems to be the delight of some white people to continually ally the Negro with all that is immoral; and, judging from what was published, this place was an immoral place. Had it been a respectable place, the possibility is that the writer, Mr. Endicoff, judging from his own words, would not have been so anxious to visit it; but, taking advantage of his opportunity, he is able to show his appreciation only by referring to the individuals as "darkies," "wench" and "buck." Had he been interested in music itself, and wanted to know something about the Negro in music, he certainly would not have had to go in some hellhole and wend his way through dark alleys and ill-smelling houses, when there are clear, wholesome, respectable places much nearer home, where he could hear the works of S. Coleridge Taylor, Burleigh, Ditt, Diton, J. Rosamond Johnson, Will Marion Cook, Melville Charlton, S. Deknight, and a host of others who are making their mark in music for America. In these places I know he would not have to breathe foul air, but could inhale pure air, which is cheap. The Negro is the same as any one else; he has his good and bad faults and those of us who read The Call expect justice given to the Negro on all sides.

The article published has not educated, but has cast a bad reflection, both musically and morally, upon a race that has given the world much along all lines.

ANDREW THOMAS WILLIAMS.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Racial Consciousness—1917

CITY HEALTH OFFICER EXPLAINS.

We publish elsewhere in these columns a communication from the City Health Officer in reply to our open letter of last week.

Noting what the City Health Officer says we are of the opinion that there is a "bug under the chip" somewhere.

We have in our possession a standard certificate of birth, which the attending physician, midwife or parents must fill out and mail to the health department.

This blank is the same for both races; then why the disparity and dissimilitude in the newspapers' reports?

Are we to infer from the Health Officer's letter that the local daily newspapers are guilty of such an evil-minded, ill-disposed and invidious game? Houston Observer. 5/12/17.

Would these newspapers—who number among their bona fide subscribers thousands of Negroes here and in other localities—so offend and profane these patrons and members of their family and race by reporting our births in such a manner?

If these self-same dailies are fair enough to at least state both names when a marriage license is issued, in the name of common decency why can't they name both parties when these same individuals become parents?

If The Observer or any other Negro publication reported births among the whites in the same manner as the white papers report births among us, the health department would insist upon its being reported correctly or we would be denied the opportunity to examine the records on file in said office.

Some of the local physicians have lost patronage and money by the manner in which these reports appear.

Some of the parents have become so enraged (thinking that the attending physician did not fill out the blank properly) that they have dismissed some of our leading doctors from their families.

Others insist upon the physician filling out the blank in their presence and leaving it for the parents to mail to the health department.

Our idea for taking up this subject was to ascertain the cause for such dissimilarity in reports of the births between the two races.

Even Mexican peons and all other such human sediments (who are not citizens) are classified with the whites with legitimate births; while all Negro offsprings show no father and appear as bastards.

The health department should insist that all reports emanating from its office appear in the public press as to cast no reflection upon any race or people; for sifting it down to its final analysis the health department is to blame for the manner in which the births appear and we still contend that it ought to and must be stopped.

It is a blot upon the Negro race, city of Houston and society and if Caucasian wonted and boasted fairness is not a thing of the past, this practice will be stopped.

INSURE THE RACE'S FUTURE

We want to urge upon you—every colored individual and every colored organization—the need of supporting your own race in business wherever possible. It is also your duty not only to your race, but to your son and your daughter, your brother and your sister, your father and your mother, to help those business institutions which will or do give them employment. Little as you think of it, did you ever stop to realize that if you would spend every cent that you could for groceries, for wearing apparel, for refreshments and for pleasure to colored merchants that thousands of colored men and women, now either out of employment or doing menial drudgery, could be doing things for which they are better fitted? Do you know that by refusing to support your own race or those white merchants who employ your own that you are in a large measure responsible for many of the race's bright young men and women in this city who go wrong? Only recently a Greek ice cream saloon proprietor and fruiterer sought to have the police stop a religious street meeting. Yet colored people exclusively patronize these places. How many colored organizations are purchasing their ice cream and their pastry this season from a colored bakery and colored ice cream dealer? How many colored homes buy their furniture from a colored furniture store? GO ON THROUGH THE LIST. YOU think this over!

LET US MAKE EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR OWN. TO DO SO MEANS RACE INDEPENDENCE AND PROGRESS. NOT TO DO SO MEANS RACE DEPENDENCE AND WEALTH FOR OTHERS WHO WOULD SEGREGATE YOU AND COVENANT AGAINST YOU BY MEANS OF YOUR OWN MONEY. To those of you who are in doubt and despair as to the future of the race in this country, let us assure you that you can and must do your bit now in insuring that future by building sure and steadfast now the race's commercial and industrial foundation. Fit your children to do the work of the world before the war is over. Keep as much wealth as possible within the race. The future will take care of itself.

COMMANDING RESPECT

5-24-17 New York Age.

(BY LESTER A. WALTON)

ACCORDING to the daily press, the comedy, "Pals First," is in its thirteenth week at the Fulton Theatre. There is some likelihood of "Pals First" encountering hard luck during its thirteenth week if its producers do not promptly expurgate certain lines which hold up the Negro to contempt and ridicule.

Throughout the piece such obnoxious terms as "coon" and "nigger" are used without compunction; but the high water mark of defamation and abuse is reached when *Dr. Chilton,* a "southern gentleman," exclaims: "I NEVER SAW A 'NIGGER' IN MY LIFE THAT WOULDN'T STEAL!"

Dr. Chilton sees fit to inject his views about the Negro and his alleged propensities for stealing in answer to the protestations of innocence of *Uncle Alex,* a colored servant, who is accused of breaking open a drawer and rifling its contents.

Here is another instance of the theatrical producer's utter disregard for the feelings and susceptibilities of the Negro. It is needless to state that no other race would be similarly maligned and ridiculed. The Irish have gone to local theatres and started riots for less.

Reflection is made to the Negro's honesty in "Pals First" because the producers think they can get away with it. They do not regard the Negro seriously, believing him to be a happy-go-lucky, inoffensive sort of a human being who does not possess the temerity to command respect.

Fortunately for the Negro in particular, the African Dodger bill which became a law and operative as soon as Governor Whitman signed it, is a most comprehensive piece of legislation, one which will put a stop to many abuses to which the race is subjected on the stage and on the screen. Had this law been in effect two years ago the producers of "The Birth of a Nation" and the manager of the theatre in which it was shown could have been arrested and prosecuted for holding up the race to ridicule.

Aside from ball-dodging under the new act it is a misdemeanor for anyone to do any-

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

thing whereby the members of a race are held up to contempt or ridicule. This would include pictures such as are sometimes displayed in windows and acts on the stage, "or commits any act or acts whereby any race of citizens of this State is held up to contempt to ridicule is guilty of a misdemeanor,' is the language of the law.

I think from experience, I can anticipate the attitude the producer of "Pals First" and the manager of the Fulton Theatre will take. They will blandly state that no offense is meant by the line: "I NEVER SAW A 'NIGGER' IN MY LIFE THAT WOULDN'T STEAL" and appear a bit offended that the colored people of New York have misunderstood them. Of course, the trouble is they have misunderstood the colored people.

In many instances in which the Negro is held up to ridicule in the North I do not think the guilty parties are actuated by vicious motives. Very often they do so on the assumption that the Negro will not take offense, an opinion seeming to exist in some quarters that he will not put up a real fight to command respect. This view in itself signifies that wholesome respect for the Negro is lacking.

I have seen white men who would sing your praises and consider you a good fellow if you permitted him to call you "nigger" but who referred to you as being "chesty" if you demanded the same courteous treatment of him that he demanded of you. For my part I prefer one's respect to his smiles and seeming evidences of friendship. So do most colored people. Between being "popular" and being respected, my choice first, last and all the time is the latter.

The African Dodger law is the strongest weapon the colored people of the State of New York have ever been given to fight those who see no harm in ridiculing and defaming the race. Conditions are different in the South, where the law, custom and public sentiment are against the colored American. In New York the Negro has the law on his side, and if such violations as committed at the Fulton Theatre are not prosecuted and stopped the fault is his own. Do not look upon the African Dodger law as an ornament on the statute books. Punish the violators!

NEGROES IN PARADE TO PROTEST RIOTS

15,000 March Silently, With Drums Muffled, in Manhattan.

BROOKLYN N Y EAGLE
JULY 29, 1917

With the beating of muffled drums as their only accompaniment, approximately 15,000 negroes—men, women and children—marched on Fifth avenue, Manhattan, from Fifty-seventh street to Madison Square yesterday afternoon, in what was announced as a silent protest parade.

Flags of the Allied nations were carried by the marchers, many printed placards were borne and it was expected that they would create a stir along the line of march, but the spectators seemed to enter into the spirit of the participants, and cheering formed no part of the program.

The women and children were given the place of honor in the formation and were clad in light-colored dresses. Several automobiles, with prominent negro clergymen and officers of negro organizations, were next in line.

A delegation of Boy Scouts carried placards in the section devoted to the children. Some of these bore the legends: "So Treat Us That We May Love Our Country," "Give Us a Chance to Live," "Suffer Little Children to Come Unto Me" and "Thou Shalt Not Kill." During the march, frequent stops were made for the sake of the dusky little marchers, and an emergency ambulance corps, with trained nurses of their race, was in attendance, but no call was made for their services.

Almost half of the marchers were women, and many of these carried banners expressing such sentiments as "Our Music Is the Only American Music," "Pray for the Lady Macbeth of East St. Louis," "We Own Church Property Valued at $70,000" and "The Great Contradiction—Love of God and Hatred of Man."

The men marchers, like the other articipants in the parade, looked neither to the right nor left. Many of them were clad in the khaki of the American military service, and here and there might be seen a white-haired veteran of ante-bellum days, keeping step with the young men of his race. The banners displayed in this section were more emphatic in their sentiments, prominent among them being "Cain, Where Is Thy Brother?" "We Were First in France. Ask Pershing," "The First Blood for American Independence was Shed By a Negro — Crispus Attucks," "Race Prejudice Is the Offspring of Ignorance and the Mother of Lynching," "Put the Spirit of Christianity Into the Making and the Execution of Laws," "We Are Maligned as Lazy and Murdered When We Work," "Ten Thousand of Us Fought in the Spanish-American War" and "Repelled By the Unions, We Are Called Scabs."

NEGROES HOLD PROTEST PARADE IN THIS CITY

PROVIDENCE R I EVE NEWS
OCTOBER 15, 1917

As a silent protest to the riots, lynchings and various other discriminations which the negroes allege to be suffering throughout the country, upwards of 100 negro men, women and children made a silent parade through the streets of this city yesterday, many of the marchers carrying banners indicative of their protests.

Assembling on West Exchange street the marchers passed through Dorrance street, to Westminster street, to Knight street, to Fountain street, and were dismissed on West Exchange street. The marchers were accorded every respect by the large crowds of persons on the street. The parade was silent, not a word being spoken by the marchers all along the line. It was a solemn procession, the muffled beating of five drums and the sound of feet on pavement being the only sounds.

Among the inscriptions on thhe banners were: "We all have our slackers. Ours are not in line." "We were first in France. Ask Pershing." "The negro has never betrayed the flag."

Referring to the negro's part in war were the following: "1800 R. I. negroes fought in the Civil War," "12,000 of us fought with Jackson at New Orleans," "700 Rhode Island negroes fought against England in 1776," "300 negroes fought for American Independence with George Washington" and "We were martyrs at Carrival."

B. T. Montgomery acted as chief marshal. A platoon of mounted police headed the parade, followed by 20 negro Boston Scouts and the members of thhe committee and Civil War veterans. The children's section of young girls came next, followed by the boys and then the women and men. Among the men marchers were delegations from Worcester, Boston, Pawtucket, Apponaug, New Bedford and Newport.

The children also carried banners among the inscriptions being the following: "Give us a chance to live," "Rent us sanitary homes," "What industrial hope have these children" and "Not alms but opportunity." The women marchers had banners, one reading "34 negroes won Carnegie medals," nother "We are called lazy, and murdered when we work." Others were "So treat us that we may love our country," and "We ask no favors as negroes, but justice as men." Another was inscribed "America has lynched 3000 negroes without trial in 31 years." "There are no negroes in the Rhode Island militia. Why?" was inscribed on one and "No land that loves to lynch negroes can lead the civilized world," was written on another.

After marching silently over the route the parade dismissed on West Exchange street, the committee, women and children reviewing the men in line.

COLORED OBJECT TO SONG, 'OLD BLACK JOE'

DAYTON O. EVE. HERALD
NOVEMBER 8 1917

Public School Instructor of Music Will Receive Committee Asking Elimination.

EAST HAS TAKEN THE LEAD

Local Federation of Clubs Follows Others in Protesting Certain Advertising.

Colored teach[illegible] of colored pupils at Garfield school and the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs of Dayton object to the singing of "Old Black Joe" and "Way Down Upon the Suwanee River" in the classroom. They object to the language used, and to such terms as "darkies," "pickaninnies" and other expressions. "Better omit the songs than sing them if they cannot be revised," the declare.

For this purpose they will send a committee to Prof. O. E. Wright, instructor of music in the public schools, to ask him to consider the matter. Professor Wright was requested to eliminate the songs a few days ago, and replied that he would take up the matter if a committee was sent to him.

In taking up this action the Dayton Federation of Colored Women's Clubs say they are following the lead of clubs in the east. Another thing against which federations of colored women's clubs are protesting are advertisements in which pictures of colored people appear. They object to the "Gold Dust Twins" and to the advertisement of "Aunt Jemima's Pancake Flour," in which the colored cook wears a turban.

"Such things are not true," Dayton colored women declare.

White Man Wears Hat In Colored School Room

Is Called Down By Spunky Teacher.

The News has learned of an incident which, while irritating in the extreme, nevertheless has its glorious side.

One day this week certain supplies were sent to the domestic science department at the Western School by the Board of Education. Said supplies were delivered by a white man. This man stalked straight into the room in which were a number of young ladies in their teens and the teacher and never, apparently, gave a thought to removing his hat. That is one irritating side. He stood and talked with the teacher and she never, apparently, thought of telling him to remove his hat. That is another irritating side.

But, as The News gets the information, another teacher passing the door saw and was struck by the spectacle of a white man standing with his hat on talking to a teacher before a number of young women. Immediately she felt the discourtesy and disrespect, evidently overlooked by her fellow teacher and she walked into the room and demanded of the "big burly brute" (so he would have been if he had not been white) that he remove his hat. Though surprised at the demand the messenger refused to take off his hat in the presence of Colored women despite the tongue lashing he received.

That there was a teacher spunky enough to call this insolent messenger down, is the glorious side of a sorry incident.

The matter was reported to the principal, who doubtless will report this insolent and disrespectful messenger to the Superintendent.

Not merely because the man was white, but it was an act of disrespect for ANY MAN to enter a school room without removing his hat. The Superintendent removes his, the members of the Board remove theirs—then why not a common ordinary messenger? The News does not doubt that his superiors will give this man the reprimand he deserves and that from this on he will remember what every male is taught from his youth up—to remove his hat in the presence of ladies.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Racial Consciousness — 1917

THE WHITE PRESS VS. THE NEGRO

Atlanta Independent

At Butler Street C. M. E. church last Sunday, we were on the program to respond to the toast, "Is the White Press Favorable to the Negro, and If Not, Why Not?" The occasion was an educational symposium over which Bishop Flipper of the A. M. E. church, presided. Among other prominent leaders on the program were Col. Henry Lincoln Johnson, Dr. Richard D. Stinson, Dr. Wm. A. Fountain, Dr. L. H. King, et al.

We answered the first question in the negative, and placed the responsibility for the unfriendliness of the white press largely upon the race itself. That the white press is unfavorable to the Negro goes wihout saying, and that the Negro himself, by reason of his cowardice, lack of manhood and resentment of racial insults, is most largely responsible for the attitude of the white press towards the race.

We repeat, as we did Sunday, that the press is unfavorable to the Negro, and does not cater to his patronage and promote his interest because it is not necessary to do so to secure his trade and patronage. The white press believes only in the Negro of the "hat-in-hind, yes sir, boss" class, and the race fellow who preaches that the Negro is satisfied, that he is happy and believes that the white man is superior and the Negro is inferior.

When our most representative men speak or do something worthy in the community in which they live, nothing is said of it in the white press. The Washingtons, Flippers, Bowens and other manly, courageous race leaders have no standing with the white press. The many colleges turning out classical, scientific and learned scholars have no place, no standing with the white press; but the little back woods normal school, or excuse of a school, run by an ignorant, cowardly, truculent Negro, simply as an excuse to beg, is lauded by the white press, encouraged and held up as a race leader to the world.

The white editor never takes time to investigate and see whether such a Negro has any school or not, but so long as he barks about ex-slaves, poor children, teaching Negroes to work, to be vassals and slaves, instead of men and women, constituting a trustworthy and intelligent service class, he is callled a race leader.

One of these excuses of a school in this community, where there is actually nothing being done except furnishing the promoter a chance to fleece the public. This little alley pen has greater standing and greater influence with the white press in the community, than the most reputable institutions, Atlanta University, Clark University, Morehouse College, Spelman Seminary and Morris Brown. This is conclusive proof that the white press, representative of the white sentiment and policy, is unfavorable to the Negro, and seeks with its broad influence to obscure his virtues and parade his vices.

The white press is poisoned in the stomach against Negro character, Negro progress and Negro development. In referring to those in the East St. Louis race riot, the head lines read: FOURTEEN NEGROES CONVICTED OF MURDER. The morning paper, Tuesday morning, announced "Eleven Negroes Hurt in an Auto-Street Car Wreck." In referring to Negro selectmen, the reference is made "Negro soldiers," not selectment, nor American soldiers, but Negro soldiers. The emphasis is placed upon NEGRO, to have the world understand that the Negro is a different or separate factor from the American soldiers.

A white outlaw robs a bank, commits murder, burglary or rape, is not published as a white culprit, but his name is given. When a Negro commits a similar crime, he is referred to as a Negro rapist, Negro chicken thief; and the news article takes of the same caste as if the reference was to a hog or a dog. The white press will refer to the Negro as a Reverend, sometimes Doctor and the like, but will not refer to him, it matters not what his learning, what his achievements or contributions in the community or national life may be, as Mister or Honorable or such other deserving name as would be given to a white man accomplishing the same achievements. All of our women, whether they live in an alley, in the rear of a white man's place, or whether they live in a palace on a front street, whether she graduated from the Conservatory of Music at Boston, or whether she is a scrub woman in one of the office buildings, she is referred to as a Negress, or a wench; but the shame of it all is, the complacency with which the race, through its leaders accepts such humiliation and ostracism without protest.

No race of people on earth except the Negro would let a press that slanders, villifies and heaps such odium upon it, come into its homes If the Negro would draw the line, cut off their subscription to the white press as a protest against the inhuman and ungodly treatment heaped upon them, the press would accord them manly and humane treatment as a consideration for their business. They would feel it in their advertisement, they would feel it in their circulation, and they would feel it in their pocketbooks; but so long as the average Negro leader caters to selfishness, and looks out for cheap notoriety for himself, the race will be thus insulted, humiliated and spit upon by the dominant press.

Jus so long as church conferences pass resolutions thanking white editors for half doing their duty, and break up religious meetings peddling white papers because they carried a half column advertisement, advertising a cheap Negro leader or "hat-in-hand, me too, boss" vassal, these conditions will obtain, and not until the leaders from the platform and pulpit, and from the press, tell the race every day and Sunday, too, to read no paper; to patronize no white business, that does not cater to his trade, and accord the race the same consideration for a dollar that it accords every other man in the world's civilization.

Let us build up our own papers, our own businesses, our own insurance companies to the exclusion of the white man's, and he will come to our way of thinking, and give us a dollar's worth for a dollar and extend us every courtesy he extends the other fellow. The strongest argument that the Negro is inferior to a white man is the treatment that he submits to without protest, and feels that he is honored by the Jim Crow accommodation and appreciation extended him by the white press and people.

If the Constitution made a fight against the Jew, the Irishman, Japanese, Chinese or any other nationality, and referred to them as hogs and cattle, none of these nationalities would allow such a sheet to come into their home and be read by their children; but the average Negro would rather be handed a meal of victuals out of the window of a white man's kitchen over a slop tub, than to eat in the dining room of the most educated and refined Negro, living on a city's boulevard. Therefore, the conditions that obtain which are humiliating and damning, will not be relieved until the present leadership is dead or damned.

15,000 NEGROES IN ANTI-RIOT PARADE

Women and Children Among Marchers Who Register Silent Protest.

N Y C SUN

JULY 29, 1917

As a protest against the lynching of negroes and the burning of their homes in East St. Louis, Waco, Tex., and Memphis, Tenn., 15,000 negroes, walking to the beat of muffled drums, paraded in Fifth avenue from Fifty-seventh street to Madison Square yesterday afternoon. It was a silent protest, the men, women and children in the procession having been instructed to march without talking. Their messages were conveyed on banners. Some of them read:

"So Treat Us That We May Love Our Country; Give Us a Chance to Live; Thou Shalt Not Kill; Repelled by the Unions, We Are Called Scabs; Race Prejudice Is the Offspring of Ignorance and the Mother of Lynching; The Great Contradiction—Love of God and Hatred of Man; We Are Maligned as Lazy and Murdered When We Work; Pray for the Lady Macbeth of East St. Louis."

Heading the parade were Sergeant Thomas Byrnes and an escort of mounted policemen of Traffic Squad C. Capt. W. H. Jackson was marshal and with him were the Rev. Dr. Hutchins Bishop, the Rev. F. Cullen, J. W. Johnson, the Rev. Dr. Charles D. Martin, F Mottley, J. S. Nail and the Rev. S. Daniel, the executive committee of the parade organization.

A delegation of negro Boy Scouts formed part of the children's section. They carried banners. Following them was an emergency ambulance corps with trained negro nurses in attendance.

Many of the men marchers were in the khaki uniform of the United States army and walking among them were a few gray haired soldiers of civil war days. In this section were banners calling attention to some of the race's accomplishments.

"The First Blood for American Independence Was Shed by a Negro" one banner read. "We Are First in France —Ask Pershing" was another. And "Ten Thousand of Us Fought in the Spanish American War."

When the marchers reached Twenty-fourth street they turned west and were dismissed.

10,000 N. Y. NEGROES IN PROTEST PARADE

THEIR BANNERS CALL FOR AN END OF RACE RIOTS.

N Y C POST

JULY 28. 1917

Dignified Procession of Men, Women, and Children on Fifth Avenue to Register Their Disapproval.

Shortly after one o'clock this afternoon thousands of negroes will form in line around 59th Street and march down Fifth Avenue, registering a silent protest against recent race riots in different parts of the country, particularly the one in East St. Louis and the Chester, Pa., riot, which occurred yesterday.

Nearly every negro church and fraternal organization in the city will be represented in the parade. About one hundred organizations are to take part, many of them with large delegations. The line will be led by an executive committee from all the associations participating, composed of men, women, and children. It was estimated that about ten thousand negroes would be in line. The protest was arranged by the Rev. Hutchens C. Bishop and the Rev. Charles Martin, who acted as secretary.

Before noon the negroes began to gather in West 55th, 56th, and 57th Streets, where the different delegations were to join the main line as it formed to march from 59th Street down Fifth Avenue to Madison Square. Many children from negro Sunday-schools and public schools in sections of the city where there is a large colored population, gathered to march with the men and women.

About sixty banners bearing inscriptions calling attention to what the colored race has suffered and some of the reforms which its people ask, were prepared for the parade. One of the banners read:

"Translate for us in living, loving acts the religion of Jesus Christ."

WHAT THE PARADE SHOWED.

The silent protest parade held last Saturday was full of significance for both marchers and onlookers. It was probably the first time that the Negroes in America made an open and dignified protest to the general public, including their fellow citizens of all races and creeds, against the various forms

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

of lawlessness practised against them in all parts of the country.

Protests have been voiced before, with burning eloquence and flowery rhetoric, but the hearers have been confined mostly to the members of the race concerned. This protest, though silent, was before all the world, so he who ran, as well as those who stood and gazed, might read and know what caused ten thousand men, women and children of the race to march in silence, with sober and dignified manner, under the midday July sun.

These people did not come out to make a holiday. Indeed most of them sacrificed a holiday in the cause. They did not come to exhibit dazzling uniforms, or to revel in the rhythmic pleasure of following a band of music. They came thoughtful and determined to protest by their participation against the injustice dealt out to their race in the home of democracy. Men and women who never marched in public before marched to register their protest.

The parade also showed that the American people, judged by the cosmopolitan section of them to be reached in New York on a Saturday afternoon, are prepared to give respectful attention and heed to a demonstration of this character. There is an element of justice and fairplay in the average American, that if it can be reached and set to thinking, promises to influence public sentiment in the desired direction.

This element should be appealed to in other cities than New York. Let the Negroes of other communities where the conditions are auspicious, make similar efforts to reach and stimulate public sentiment against injustice and outrage. Let them hold a silent parade or make some effort of like character to wake the public conscience.

Now is the psychological moment. The public conscience is uneasy. Set it working in the right direction.

5,000 Negroes in Race Riot Protest March on 5th Ave.

N Y C TRIBUNE
JULY 29, 1917

Children Lead Silent Procession Moving to Beat of Muffled Drums

Banners Tell the Story

"We Are Maligned as Lazy and Murdered When We Work," Said One

Five thousand negroes, half of whom were women and children, paraded Fifth Avenue yesterday afternoon in silent protest against the race riots in East St. Louis, Chester, Penn., and the lynchings and political and social discrimination in the South. Virtually every negro church, Sunday school and society in New York was represented.

The marchers moved to the beat of muffled drums from Fifty-ninth to Twenty-third Street. Thousands of negroes and many whites lined the curbs as the paraders passed bearing their message of protest on a series of banners which they carried. Save at Twenty-third Street, where the disbanding marchers greeted their fellows, the only demonstration was evoked by a banner bearing these words:

"A Square Deal for Everybody.—T. R."

This sentiment was cheered almost continuously.

The children marched first, then the women. The men's division marched behind the flags of the United States and Great Britain and the negro nations, Liberia and Hayti. Just preceeding the flag a negro carried a banner which proclaimed:

"Your Hands Are Full of Blood."

Some of the other banners which attracted attention were:

'Pray for the Lady Macbeths of East St. Louis."

"We Are Excluded from the Unions and Then Condemned for Not Joining."

"We Are Maligned as Lazy and Murdered When We Work."

Stress was laid on the negro's services to his country on the field of battle. "From Bunker Hill to Carrizal We Have Done Our Duty;" "We Fought for the Liberty of White Americans in Six Wars and East St. Louis Is Our Reward," were some of the reminders of negro patriotism.

A good share of the protest appeared to be directed against the South. A call for volunteers for the parade asserted:

"We march because we are thoroughly opposed to 'Jim Crow' cars, segregation, disenfranchisement and the host of evils that are forced upon us. We march in memory of our butchered dead, the massacre of honest toilers who were removing the reproach of laziness and thriftlessness hurled at the entire race. They died to prove our worthiness to live. We live in spite of death shadowing us and ours. We prosper in the face of the most unwarranted and illegal oppression."

Banners pointed out how negroes are denied the vote in Southern states, though they are counted in the census lists from which the Congressional representation of these states is determined. One banner inquired:

"Are Memphis and Waco typical of American civilization?"

Among the marchers were negroes from every walk of life. A troop of colored Boy Scouts headed the procession, and a drum corps of negro lads was led by an old colored man who wore the Union blue and the bronze button of the Grand Army. The parade was organized and directed by the Rev. Hutchens C. Bishop and the Rev. Charles D. Martin.

15,000 NEGROES IN RIOT PROTEST

N Y C AMERICAN
JULY 29, 1917

Silent Parade Carries Banners Asking Justice and Safety for Race in America.

In silent protest against the recent killing of negroes in race riots in Waco, Memphis and East St. Louis, 15,000 negroes marched here yesterday afternoon. The parade formed in Fiftn avenue and marched from Fifty-seventh street to Madison Square.

Placards carried by boy scouts, aged men and by women and children explained the purpose of the demonstration. Some of these placards read:

"So treat us that we may love our country; give us a chance to live; thou shalt not kill; the first blood for American independence was shed by a negro—Christus Attucks; race prejudice is the offspring of ignorance and the mother of lyching."

Other signs read: "Put the spirit of Christianity into the making of the laws; ten thousand of us fought in the Spanish-American war; repelled by the unions, we are called scabs; we are maligned as lazy and murdered when we work; we were the first in France—ask Pershing."

Many in the line wore the United States army uniform, and all walked save some clergymen and leaders, who occupied automobiles.

Among the marchers were the Rev. Dr. Hutchins, Bishop F. Cullen, J. W. Johnson, Dr. Charles D. Martin, F. Mottley, J. S Nail and the Rev M. S. Daniel, who made up the executive committee of the parade organization. The women and children followed the leaders and were all clad in white or light colored suits. Officers of negro organizations and members of the military were next in line.

Throughout the parade no marcher smiled. They were instructed to treat the occasion with the utmost gravity. One section carried a banner inscribed, "Cain, where is thy brother Abel?"

N Y C POST
JULY 30, 1917

Saturday's "silent protest" by the negroes of New York against mob outrage in East St. Louis and Chester must drive home to the conscience of the country a sense of guilt and responsibility for which there can be no palliation. It is a pity that the *World*, in a sympathetic note on the wrongs done to the colored race, thinks it necessary to make a judicial reservation: "Negroes cannot be held wholly blameless for race riots, nor are they entirely guiltless of provoking the discrimination from which they suffer." Extenuation on so clear-cut an issue is in danger of becoming apology. Too often, indeed, the victim of oppression and outrage is "not wholly blameless." He is at fault in existing and developing those racial qualities which are bred by oppression and injustice. This is the cool-headed observation to make regarding all mob murders, pogroms, and Turkish massacres. When Mr. Gompers attempted to explain East St. Louis as an episode in labor warfare he omitted the vital consideration that white strikers will mob and kill white strike-breakers, but that they do not hunt down and slay the wives and children of the strike-breakers. No arguing about economic conflict and individual negro provocation will do away with the responsibility which lies on the nation and the duty imposed on its official leaders to prevent by word and deed the recurrence of crimes such as called forth last Saturday's procession of mourning. That protest brought out at the same time a sign of growing solidarity and organization among the negroes to which self-defence is impelling them.

NEW YORK NEGROES IN SILENT PARADE PROTEST LYNCHING

N Y C EVE WORLD
JULY 28, 1917

March 6,000 Strong Down Fifth Avenue—Women in White Carry Children.

The silent parade of negroes of New York City to protest against the recent race riots and lynchings in East St. Louis brought thousands of colored men and women to the sidewalks of Fifth Avenue this afternoon to watch more than 6,000 marchers of their own race.

In the column, which was led by Capt. Herbert Jackson, a veteran of the Sixth Massachusetts, as Grand Marshal, were carried many placards. Among them were these:

"Race prejudice is the Offspring of Ignorance and the Mother of Lynching," "Cain, where Is Abel, Thy Brother?" "Make America Safe for Democracy," "We Are Maligned as Lazy and Murdered When We Work."

Hundreds of colored mothers, dressed in white, carrying children in their arms, marched in the line There were several companies of solemn little girls in "pigtails" and short skirts. There were nearly as many women and children as men.

The procession, which started at Fifty-seventh Street and disbanded at Twenty-third Street, was preceded by four mounted policemen and a drum and fife band, the only music.

It was announced by the Grand Marshal that committees had been appointed to present a memorial to the President and one to Col. Roosevelt, thanking him for championing the cause of the negroes killed at East St. Louis at the reception to the Russian Commission in Carnegie Hall.

WANT RACE STATUES IN NATIONAL HALL OF FAME

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—A movement having for its object the placing of statues of Frederick Douglas and Booker T. Washington in the Hall of Fame, of the Capitol at Washington, has been started here by the Patriotic Sons of the United States, of which Counselor P. J. Clyde Randall is president.

Resolutions requesting that President and Congress to take the necessary steps toward installing the statues have been passed by the Patriotic Sons and the two leading dailies of the city, the *Birmingham News* and the *Age-Herald*, have made favorable comment on the request.

All race organizations, institutions, churches and fraternities are asked to join in this movement. Officers of the Patriotic Sons are Mr. Randall, president; Wm. P. Saunders, secretary; F. H. Strawbridge, vice-president; J. W. Williams, grand director; W. B. Driver, chairman executive committee.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Racial Consciousness – 1917

YOU AND YOUR RACE'S FUTURE

If you, Mr. Colored Man and Mrs. Colored Woman, realized that in the final analysis yout race's future depends in large measure not only on the way you save your money, but the way you spend your money, the race problem would be largely solved. If you realized that by spending your money within the race today you are actually making position and power for the race's tomorrow, there would be no question in your mind of your race eventually getting its just deserts in this country.

How do you imagine that Italians have so many banks in this city? How do the Jews manage to invade and eventually dominate every field of commercial activity in this great Metropolis? It is primarily due to the fact that their own people make the sacrifice of not only distance, but very frequently lack of equal returns that has enabled the Jew to become the power in the modern world that he has become; that has enabled the Italian, whose illiteracy is greater than that of the black man when he comes to this country, whose poverty in a strange land is many fold greater than that of the colored citizen, to break into every line of industrial and commercial advancement. The black man South patronizes colored men in business, and the colored race there has waxed good and strong, but the black man South has to patronize his brother in business. When he comes to the Northern States he forgets the vital service that he alone can and will render to his ambitious brother, and as a consequence, colored men in business are left alone in the cold without a friend and without an especial patron. Out of a self-sacrificing and steady support whenever and wherever possible for our own as a race in business are the issues of our progress and our future standing civilly as well as commercially in this country. Let us then patronize the colored men in business, even though for the time being we do so at some sacrifice. We are helping not only him, but ourselves, our children and our children's children.

ONE RACE, ONE FLESH, ONE BLOOD.

Whether his accent reveals him as from Charleston, S. C., or from Jacksonville, Fla., or from the Emerald Isles of the Caribbean Sea, you are both of ONE RACE, ONE FLESH, ONE BLOOD. And quite as strong is the other tie of mutual wrongs and the vibrant powerful call of self-preservation. And remember, please, when foolish primitive passions attempt to get the best of your better self that in our unity as a race lies our only hope or chance of safety, our strongest earthly shield against the wiles of the enemy. That enemy is making it hard enough for HIM. Why should you of his own race and kin, give aid to the common enemy by allowing a foolish, puerile prejudice to control your actions towards him, twin brother of yours in the mutual struggle against prejudice and the race with the superiority itch? Don't you see the utter foolishness and futility of it all? Don't you know that "a house divided against itself cannot stand"? We are all of one house—Colored West Indian and Colored American. And when all is said and done you are no more an "American" than he is a "Briton" or whatever nationality controls and exploits his native island. WE ARE ALL OF US COLORED MEN AND WOMEN FIRST. The white man, whether he be Englishman, Frenchman or American, will not let you forget THAT! You can ignore this truth, but only at your peril! You can ape the white man's prejudice and direct it against your own kin, but only at your eventual sorrow. The course of wisdom lies in the recognition of the close relationship that the descendants of African ancestors must bear to each other and to the other colored peoples of Asia and the New World. West Indians, Americans, Brazilians and other South and Central American colored peoples, Liberians, Abyssinians, Egyptians, Sudanese, Senegalese, we are all of one family and "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

THE "SILENT PROTEST" PARADE

While, in our opinion, an hundred protest parades will not enable us to evade the conclusions of history, to wit: that Liberty must be won and retained by sacrifice, we do think that the "Silent Protest" parade on Saturday has accomplished a good deal, even were it no more than the awakening, not of the white conscience—we have little hope of that—but of a spirit of unity and co-operation between all sections of the colored people of this country.

But the "Silent Protest" Parade has done even more than this. Fifteen thousand colored men, women and children, marching down Fifth avenue, gave due notice to the white people of this country that the colored race is tired of rape and murder, jim-crowism and disfranchisement. **For whatever happens next th ecolored man cannot be held responsible.** There is a limit to everything. And the colored man has given notice that the limit of even his long-suffering patience has been reached. He has repeated in person, fifteen thousand strong, the long-ignored warnings of the colored press.

Saturday's parade showed the colored race in the United States united and determined on the question of the rights of its members to "life, LIBERTY and the pursuit of happiness." Gone are the days of individual fights. **The entire race henceforth stands behind its most insignificant member on whose side is right and justice.** This is the warning that fifteen thousand representative colored people gave to the nation on Saturday. Pray God it be heeded in time to avert national disaster.

NEGROES IN PROTEST MARCH IN FIFTH AV.

N Y C TIMES
JULY 29, 1917

8,000 Men, Women, and Children Demand That Discrimination and Oppression End.

TELL WOES ON BANNERS

Parade in Silence While Thousands of Their Race Look On with Never a Cheer.

To the beat of muffled drums 8,000 negro men, women and children marched down Fifth Avenue yesterday in a parade of "silent protest against acts of discrimination and oppression" inflicted upon them in this country, and in other parts of the world. Without a shout or a cheer they made their cause known through many banners which they carried, calling attention to "Jim Crowism," segregation, disfranchisement and the riots of Waco, Memphis, and East St. Louis.

Among the banners was one which immediately attracted the notice of the police. It displayed a picture of a negro woman kneeling before President Wilson, and appealing to him to bring democracy to America before carrying it to Europe. The police declared the banner to be objectionable, and the committee in charge of the parade readily withdrew it.

Excepting for this incident, the parade was in all respects one of the most quiet and orderly demonstrations ever witnessed in Fifth Avenue. True to their word, the negroes made it a "parade of silent protest." It was not until they reached Twenty-third Street, where they dispersed, that they permitted themselves a few outbursts of cheers, these being occasioned by the waving of some of their more elaborately inscribed banners calling for justice and equal rights for the negro.

The negroes assembled at Fifty-ninth Street and Fifth Avenue. Some 800 or more children led the parade, followed by several thousand negro women in white. The men made up the third section. Although there were not more than 8,000 in the parade itself, according to police estimates, fully 20,000 negroes lined Fifth Avenue and gave silent approval of the demonstration.

During the progress of the march circulars were distributed among the crowds telling of the purpose which brought the negroes together. Under the caption, "Why Do We March?" the circular read, in part, as follows:

"We march because by the grace of God and the force of truth the dangerous, hampering walls of prejudice and inhuman injustices must fall.

"We march because we want to make impossible a repetition of Waco, Memphis, and East St. Louis by arousing the conscience of the country, and to bring the murderers of our brothers, sisters and innocent children to justice.

"We march because we deem it a crime to be silent in the face of such barbaric acts.

"We march because we are thoroughly opposed to Jim Crow cars, &c., segregation, discrimination, disfranchisement, lynching, and the host of evils that are forced on us. It is time that the spirit of Christ should be manifested in the making and execution of laws

"We march because we want our children to live in a better land and enjoy fairer conditions than have fallen to our lot.

"We march in memory of our butchered dead, the massacre of honest toilers who were removing the reproach of laziness and thriftlessness hurled at the entire race. They died to prove our worthiness to live. We live in spite of death shadowing us and ours. We prosper in the face of the most unwarranted and illegal oppression.

"We march because the growing consciousness and solidarity of race, coupled with sorrow and discrimination, have made us one; a union that may never be dissolved in spite of shallow-brained agitators, scheming pundits and political tricksters who secure a fleeting popularity and uncertain financial support by promoting the disunion of a people who ought to consider themselves as one."

Although the Wilson banner displeased the police, they raised no objection to these:

"Make America Safe for Democracy," "India is Abolishing Caste, America Is Adopting It," and "Memphis and Waco, Centres of American Culture."

One banner carried near the head of the procession read, "Your Hands Are Full of Blood." Bearing on East St. Louis riots, there were banners which read: "Pray for the Lady Macbeths" of St. Louis," "Thou Shalt Not Kill?" "We are Maligned as Lazy, and Murdered When We Work," "Cain, Where Is Abel, Thy Brother?"

Those in the parade represented every negro organization and church in the city. They marched, however, not as organizations, but as a people of one race, united by ties of blood and color, and working for a common cause. The Grand Marshal was Captain W. H. Jackson. Directly behind him marched the Executive Committee, composed of the Rev. H. C. Bishop, the Rev. F. A. Cullen, James W. Johnson, the Rev. Charles D. Martin, Fitz W. Mottley, and John E. Nail.

THE WHITE PRESS AND THE TERM "NEGRO"

Not so long ago it was the policy of certain influential St. Louis dailies to indulge in the promiscuous use of the word "Jew" in the same manner as most papers of

today handle without reservation the term "Negro." Headlines, large and small, were used to accentuate the activities of the Jew, those criminally inclined, in particular. The first paragraph of the article usually told about "Abraham Levinsky, a Jew," although no explanation as to racial identity was necessary.

This practice was resented by the Jewish citizens, who made frequent appeals to the editors that the habitual use of the word "Jew" be discontinued. Their demands, however, were of no avail. Prominent Hebrews of the Mound City finally held a conference, which was attended by business men spending large sums weekly for advertising with the publications in question. The principal stockholder of one of St. Louis' largest department stores was chosen chairman.

Representing the Jewish merchants of St. Louis, the chairman of the committee called on the business heads of the newspapers and delivered the following ultimatum: That unless the unnecessary publication of the term "Jew" was stopped at once advertising running into thousands of dollars weekly would be promptly withdrawn. This defi had the desired effect. The business managers hastily consulted with the editors, and since then the Jewish citizens of Missouri's largest city have been accorded the respectful consideration due them.

In New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis and elsewhere the Negro is justly entitled to better treatment in the columns of the daily press; but how is he going to secure it? It is impossible for him to secure it It is impossible for him to adopt the methods employed by the Jews of St. Louis, for he does not spend as much as $100 weekly with any one publication for business advertisements. Therefore, a threat to discontinue advertising in influential papers would be looked upon as a joke by business managers of publications, who regard the Negro advertiser as a nonentity.

Reading the editorials of our metropolitan dailies would lead the unsophisticated to believe that the editor, in his courageous thrusts at the enemy in the interest of right, strikes out indiscriminately, caring not who is hit. But in many cases these vital verbal lashes are carefully scrutinized 'downstairs," (the business office) which is ever fearful of hurting "friends," before going to press. To the business office "friends" are not of the Damon and Pythias type, but imply an affection on the part of the business office for those who make it possible for pay-days to come around with marked regularity.

Unlike the Jews of St. Louis, the Negroes of New York and other cities do not enjoy the "friendship" of the business office, nor are they sufficiently strong politically to be classed as "friends." Their appeals for better treatment have therefore failed to arouse the friendly sympathies of the valiant editor who wields his mighty pen for the uplift of humanity and who demands that justice be meted out to all, regardless of race, although the phrase, "regardless of color" is not ofen used.

Three-fourths of the news printed in the daily papers concerning the Negro associate him with crime. What the race is doing along constructive lines is seldom regarded as news by the average editor. A Negro suspected of rape commands ten times more space than the opening of a Negro bank, and the fact that the culprit is a Negro seems to outweigh the outstanding feature—the perpetration of the crime. Instead of helping make the race issue less acute many newspapers play the part of agitators. Emphasizing the weakness and minimizing the virtues of any people, white or colored, will certainly redound to their discredit.

Not being a heavy advertise in the dailies and possessing little political prestige, Th finds itself wondering wl be done to convince white editors that the practice of overworking the word "Negro" is unjust to the race and creates a wrong and harmful impression of colored citizens in general in the minds of white people, especially white people of an open mind on the race question.

RACIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Certain prominent changes, now going on among the people of this community, involving a better co-operation and coordination of civic, business and religious enterprises, are both significant and salutary. Significant,—that we are growing in intelligence and ability to merge our efforts for greater effectiveness,—salutary, in that we are growing in breadth and bigness of heart and character.

Hitherto, our various efforts,—isolated and unrelated, and thus weak and insignificant—have fallen short of their aim, have availed little if anything. We, as indivduals, or disorganized nuclei, have been neglible factors in the market-place of life because we lacked foundation and background. We have been exploited by designing and unfriendly interests in the past because those interests could count on racial dissension, and capitalized the practice of putting one individual and one class of us against the other. Fortunately, we are rapidly overcoming this group weakness as evidenced by many examples of group co-operation, campaigns in this city and section, and many of these explorters will be put to other means to succeed or be backed off the boards entirely.

It some times seem amazing that we have so long thus allowed ourselves to be handled. The very hard conditions which we had to undergo, seem enough to have long ago driven us together. There is some excuse to be found in our ignorance, but not sufficient excuse.

But let us not pause to explain, but rather let us continue to press forward for a more successful and more highly respectable position than we now enjoy. We have done well, and right now we are going splendidly, but let us not be content until we have eliminated all weaknesses, removed every stumbling block from the path of our upward march.

In doing this we must have the courage to rid the ranks of malcontents, formenters of discord and promoters of confusion. We can have no patience or place for them and we must get them out of the way. Their motives are either selfish or revengeful, and in a final estimate they can have no force with the great body of the thinking people.

Let us go on record before the state and nation as a united peopl.. differing in matters becoming to us, but solidly together on matters which affect our status as a people and as a class of the citizenry of the United States.

We have gone beyond the stage where we may be longer exploited, either by other people or by our own, acting as agents for others. It is now idle for such people to choose us as victims for that purpose. We are thinking; we are saving; we are accomplishing; we are growing in intelligence; we are taking our places in the ranks of skilled labor: we are educating our children and trying to bring them up in the fear of God and obedient to the laws of the land; we are developing those finer and rarer qualities of humanitarianism, self respect and self-reverence; and our movement is onward and upward.

PARADE IN PROTEST AGAINST RACE RIOTS

March of Colored Men, Women and Children Marked by No Disorder.

BANNERS TELL OF WRONGS.

BKLYN N Y STANDARD U[illegible]

[illegible] 29. 1917

Every Class and Occupation Represented in Procession.

Aristocratic Fifth avenue, in Manhattan, yesterday afternoon witnessed an unique parade when some five thousand colored people paraded in silent protest against the race riots in East St. Louis and other places.

No bands blared out martial music, and no uniforms relieved the monotony of the trudging thousands. Even the apathetic crowds who sprinkled the line of march seemed to have caught the spirit of silence, and there was no cheering or handclapping. Only the throb of muffled drums and the shuffling of countless feet, unused to the strain of steady walking, marked the passing of the procession.

Every Class Represented.

Every class of occupation in which the colored man is engaged, from lawyers, ministers and professional men to ditch digger, were in line. Men, women and children all trudged from Fifty-ninth to Twenty-fourth street in one dumb panorama of voiceless protest against conditions which they deemed unbearable. Big signs bearing printed paragraphs were carried by scores of marchers.

In the belief that the character of the parade might cause some disturbance, the Police Department had taken elaborate precautions. Policemen lined the avenue on both sides, while a cordon of mounted men headed the parade and one brought up in the rear. But there was not the slightest need for them.

The first marchers to arrive at Madison Square disbanded and then filled the sidewalks and applauded as the rest of the parade came down and were absorbed in the crowd. There was no reviewing stand and no one to review them.

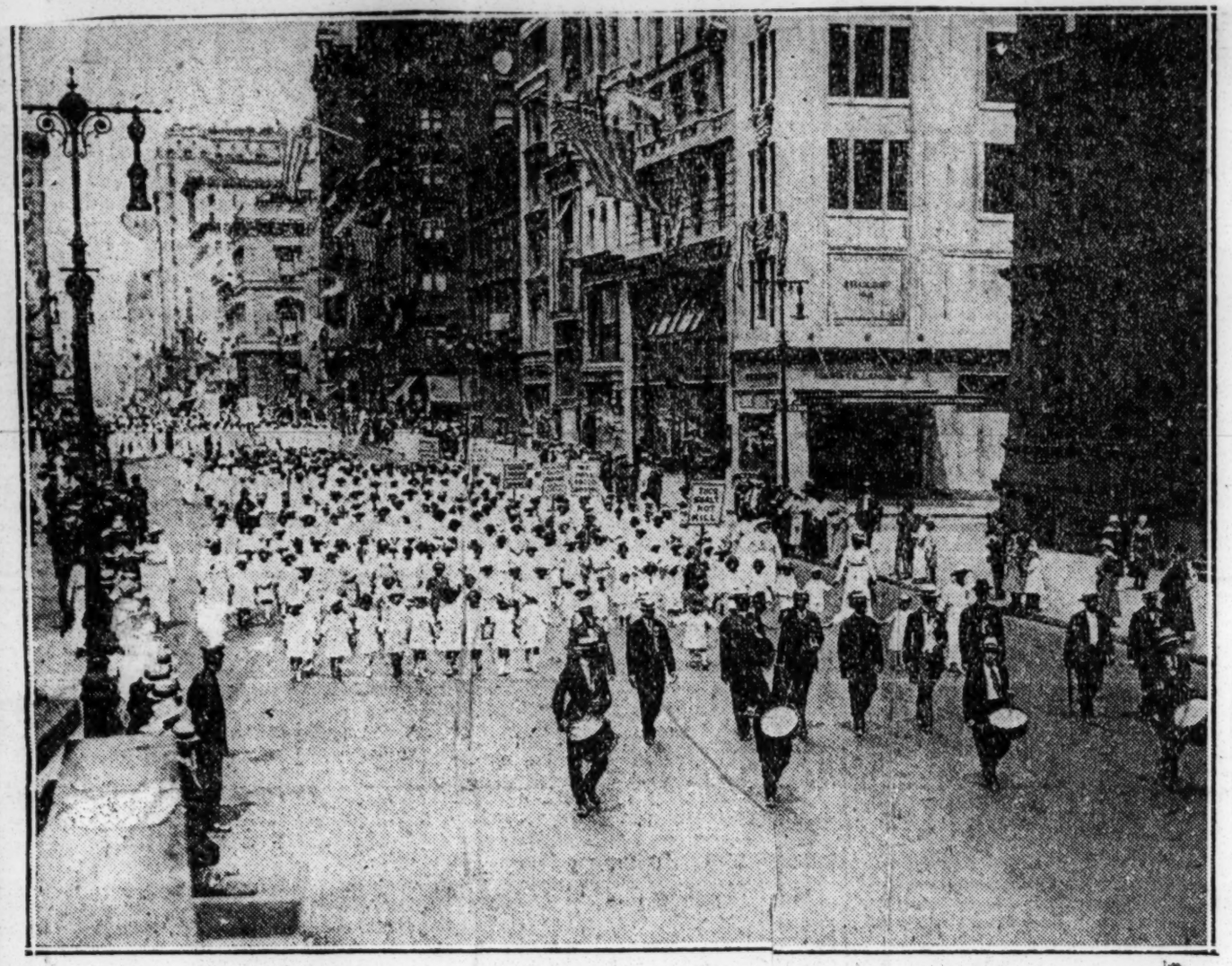
Clergymen Head Procession.

Headed by the Rev. Hutchins C. Bishop and the Rev. Charles D. Martin, the moving spirits of the scheme, and a dozen other ministers, the parade started. In the first section were some hundreds of small children under the guidance of teachers. A drum corps composed of four boys, their drums draped with black bordered handkerchiefs, furnished the music. Following the youngsters came the women, all dressed in white. Many of them, judging from their looks, dated back to Civil War days. The men formed the last section.

While there were some few banners scattered through the other parts of the parade, the main number were among the men. Some of the more striking ones were: "No negro has ever betrayed the flag, attempted to assassinate the President or any official of government," "Your hands are full of blood," "The first blood for American independence was shed by a negro," "Maligned as lazy, murdered when we work," "Race prejudice is the offspring of ignorance and the mother of lynching."

Other banners depicted the number of colored men engaged in different occupations

Racial Consciousness – 1917



Copyright, Underwood & Underwood.

These photographs show Negroes Marching on Fifth avenue last Saturday in protest against the killing of Negroes in recent race riots at East St. Louis and other place.

NATIONAL COLORED LIBERTY CONFERENCE ORGANIZED IN BOSTON.

700 Take Pledge Against Lynching in Historic Faneuil Hall Rev. J. W. Hill Elected President.

Colored Americans, attending the closing meeting of the new Liberty Conference, thoroughly endorsed the scoring given the North by William M. Brigham for its silence on Southern lynchings. The entire audience of 700 took a pledge to do all in their power to stop lynching. Mr. Brigham declared that President Wilson had never uttered a syllable nor penned a word against lynching or of sympathy with the relatives of those lynched.

If Proscription is to be left in Hell Colored Will Fight.

Rev. A. C. Powell of New York said that if given justice Colored Americans would join the fight to "get the nations out of the awful hell of this war, but when they had fought it must be understood that race prejudice, proscription, disfranchisement and lynching should be left down in the hell where they belong."

Liberty Convention at Washington this Fall.

A National Colored Liberty Conference charged with the work of calling a National Colored Liberty Convention at Washington in the Fall was formed with these officers:

The Officers Elected.

President, Rev. Johnson W. Hill of Boston; first vice-president, Rev. A. C. Powell of New York; second vice-president, Rev. I. B. Walters of Worcester; third vice-president, S. S. Crockett of New Jersey; recording secretary, Rev. M. F. Sydes of Rhode Island; assistant, Mrs. M. Cravath Simpson of Massachusetts; corresponding secretary, Rev. D. S. Klough; assistant, Miss Bessie Smith, Hampton, Virginia; treasurer Mrs. S. J. Allen of Massachusetts, chairman of board of managers, Hubert H. Harrison of New York Cty; grand organizer Allen W. Whaley of Boston.

The above is one of the several good reports of the 2 days' convention for our race's share in the new world democracy that were given by the widely circulated Boston American.

CONFERENCE BEGINS.

After prayer Mr. Trotter was elected temporary chairman and Rev. J. W. Hill, acting temporary secretary till the arrival of Rev. R. B. Harris of the league. After a few speeches by men from a distance, it was voted that a Committee on Permanent Organization be appointed by the chair. Rev. J. W. Hill was named as chairman. A Committee on Credentials was named with Prof. A. W. Whaley as chairman.

Recess was taken for exercises at Frederick Douglass square, the naming of which was secured last February by the National Equal Rights League. There, "In the spirit of Frederick Douglass, for the New Emancipation" a great platform service was held, prayer by Rev. I. B. Walters of Worcester, presiding officer, Rev. B. W. Swain, singing of "John Brown's Body," led by Prof. Whaley, addresses by Rev. M. F. Sydes of Providence, R. I., who called for the enforcement of the constitution and choice of a true leader, by E. E. Brown, Esq., Rev. W. M. Thornton, Rev. L. B. Brown of Rochester, home of Douglass. Then the afternoon session elected officers, decided to call a convention at Washington and adopted address to country. Then to Faneuil Hall.

REV. JOHNSON W. HILL
Elected Pres. Nat'l Liberty Conference

THE ... SUN ... 1917

"COLORED."

It Was Used in the Sense of "Negro" Before the Revolution.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* In reply to Mr. J. W. Redway's inquiry when and where the term "colored" originated, may I point out that it has been found in John Speed's "The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain," published in the year 1611? The particular passage cited from his work reads as follows: "Their coloured countenances and curled hair" (xxv.: 49, 1). The same word was used in a translation, in Juan and Ulloa's "Voyages," published between 1760 and 1772: "The negro women or the coloured women as they are called here" (I.: iii.; 3, 121). It was also used by Captain Frederick Marryat in his "Newton Foster," published in three volumes in 1832: "'Au cachot!' cried all the coloured girls." The term may also be found in Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1850), chapter 18, page 182: "Among the colored circles of New Orleans."

Thomas Jefferson made use of various terms to indicate the Afro-American. Writing to Benjamin Banneker (1791) he said: "Nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men." To John Lynch in 1811 he said: "You ask my opinion on the proposition * * * to take measures for procuring on the coast of Africa an establishment to which the people of color of these States from time to time might be colonized." Writing to John Adams, April 20, 1812, he said: "Christopher MacPherson is a man of color, brought up as a bookkeeper by a merchant, his master, and afterwards enfranchised." Elsewhere in his "Letters" he referred to them as negroes. In the Philadelphia *Aurora* of February 22, 1800, the phrase "A man of color of the Island of St. Domingo" may also be found.

The term "people of color" found favor with Bryan Edwards, the author of "The History of the British Colonies in the West Indies." In his "History of St. Domingo," published in 1791, he says, page 25: "The class which is called people of color originates from the intermixture of the whites and the blacks." The phrase occurs in "The Portfolio" published in Philadelphia in 1801 (i.:163): "People of color: This newfangled name for the black race which has crept into the vocabulary of the United States seems to have been borrowed from that fruitful source of innovations the philosophical school of Paris."

Thornton in his "American Glossary" cites the following other instances: Thomas Ash, "Travels in America," chapter 3, page 266, date 1806: "In the white ballroom in New Orleans no lady of color is admitted." "The Massachusetts Spy," November 29, 1815: "Died in Grafton, Sarah, a woman of color, age 113." J. K. Paulding, "John Bull in America," page 86, London, 1825: "We all read Massa Quarterly, he loved us people of color so much."

From the foregoing, it seems to me that the modern application of the term "colored" to persons of Afro-American descent is a natural one and has attained a very respectable age.

NEW YORK, December 29. F. H. W.

The Freeman, 8/11/17

THAT PARADE

The astounding march of the 10,000 New York Negroes is being variously treated in race publications at this time. We had something to say of the event in the previous issue. Since then much information has circulated which has helped in making plainer the intent of the demonstration, and which to some extent also shows the guiding hands—those that brought it about.

And there were guiding hands, evident enough without court proceedings to ascertain the fact. Circumstantial evidence is relied on. It says that very thoughtful men, perhaps those of the Society for the Advancement of Colored People, had to do with that splendid, well-ordered gathering. Its banners were, as a rule, most carefully worded, most skillfully worded, avoiding the treasonable, while they powerfully arraigned the country. Formidable as an army with banners, is a classic utterance that is full of force. The management doubtless knew its "stuff" when it gathered the 10,000, arming them with the utterances of the pen—mightier than the sword—civilization's noiseless dynamite.

The management is to be congratulated that it so adroitly worked around danger. At first blush, the inscriptions of the banners appeared somewhat dangerous, but in the analysis they turned out to be in the most part right and proper. However, this

does not explain away the possible deep intent of the parade at this time. Admittedly, there were sufficient provocation, Memphis, East St. Louis, New York and the disturbances in the state of Pennsylvania, and it may be that the silent uprising was no more or less than a spontaneous outgrowth in opposition to those happenings—an antidote that was suggested immediately and unanimously out of the very nature of things.

Following are the wordings of some of the banners:

"Make America Safe for Democracy," "Thou Shalt Not Kill," "Taxation Without Representation is Tyranny," "America Has Lynched Without Trial 2,867 Negroes in 31 Years and Not a Single Murderer Has Suffered," "200,000 Black Men Fought for Your Liberty in the Civil War," "The First Blood for American Independence Was Shed By a Negro—Crispus Attucks," "12,000 of Us Fought with Jackson at New Orleans," "From Bunker Hill to Carrizal We Have Done Our Bit," "The World Owes No Man a Living, But Every Man An Opportunity to Earn a Living," "We Are Maligned As Lazy and Murdered When We Work," "We Are Excluded from the Unions and Condemned for Not Joining Them," "3,000 Negroes Fought for Independence Under George Washington," "Were We the First in France? Ask Pershing," "Interpret for Us in Living, Loving Acts the Religion of Jesus Christ," "If Fault Is to Be Found With Color Blame God and Yourselves," "Your Hands Are Full of Blood," and "Put the Spirit of Christ in the Making and Execution of the Laws."

We are obligated to the New York Age for the foregoing list of inscriptions. They have, as we said before, been selected as a rule with the care. Notwithstanding that, however, there are a few which seek to assail the government as existing apart from the people. It will be very unwise to pretend that we do not know the difficulties in some particulars, meaning disaster to ourselves and surely in intent to the government if we persist in the pretense.

One of the banners displayed a picture of President Wilson, asking him to bring democracy to America before carrying it to Europe. The police objected to this one. It was ordered out of the parade. So it will be seen that there is some danger of overdoing the business. We must fight if we would win, but the method of warfare must be such as to insure the victory. And there is a certain way of proceeding which guarantees the best results. We are not to expect that same cordiality known between white people. We may expect the best result.

"Your Hands Are Full of Blood" is a striking declaration, and it is meant to reach those whose hands are full of blood. We must remember that every hand—every white hand—is not full of blood. If this were true, there would be but the remotest hope for us in this country. For effect, for rhetoric, we are much given to overshooting the mark, and it is all right if what is said is not seen in cold type. It is unaided by twists and turns of speech, when in print; and we are judged by what confronts the eyes. Our silent protests must not be of such a nature as to be construed as menaces, for in that event we may as well prepare now for the thing which is possibly foreshadowed.

The great parade was orderly enough, and one may judge by the inscriptions of the intent of those who made the parade possible. It is not the thing to glory in its success merely as a physical something. How did it touch on the times in which we live? How appropriate in all respects was it? are the questions and others yet, and which questions may at the same time be considered as declarations of caution.

"Why We March," as reported by the paraders, follows:

We march because by the Grace of God and the force of truth, the dangerous, hampering walls of prejudice and inhuman injustices must fall.

We march because we want to make impossible a repetition of Waco, Memphis and East St. Louis, by rousing the conscience of the country and bring the murderers of our brothers sisters and innocent children to justice.

We march because we deem it a crime to be silent in the face of such barbaric acts.

We march because we are thoroughly opposed to Jim-Crow Cars, etc. Segregation, Discrimination, Disfranchisement, LYNCHING and the host of evils that are forced on us. It is time that the Spirit of Christ should be manifested in the making and execution of laws.

We march because we want our children to live in a better land and enjoy fairer conditions than have fallen to our lot.

We march in memory of our butchered dead, the massacre of the honest toilers who were removing the reproach of laziness and thriftlessness hurled at the entire race. They died to prove our worthiness to live. We live in spite of death shadowing us and ours. We prosper in the face of the most unwarranted and illegal oppression. We march because the growing consciousness and solidarity of race coupled with sorrow and discrimination have made us one; a union that may never be dissolved in spite of shallow-brained agitators, scheming pundit sand political tricksters who secure a fleeting popularity and uncertain financial support by promoting the disunion of a people who ought to consider themselves as one.

The credo of the march, if we may take the liberty to so call it, is beautiful and beautifully put, being no less than the poetry of mean conditions. One thinks of the Jews in the Old Book, where they voiced their despair to God in trying times in language deep and profound, picturing their very woes. Let us hope that profundity in the instance means for the public weal, peace and security forever among us.

"Have Made Us One," in the sense of a rigid solidarity against all else, may be a doubtful note. It is a fact; but is it the note to harp on? Are the races to stand firmly apart in all things? Quo Vadis? is the question. Which way?

JULIAN STREET'S ARTICLE.

Dr. Henry M. Minton, who has written several interesting articles on the Philadelphia Negro, is of the opinion that the colored press should, in *Collier's*, dwell on the complimentary things said of the race than on the objectionable features. Writing from Philadelphia to THE AGE, Dr. Minton says:

The New York Age

2-15-17

The article in "Collier's" on 'The Negro" by Julian Street caused much favorable comment here. There is no doubt that the article was neither water nor air tight. I am not expecting any such thing from a white man except that he is especially interested in the Negro race. The article, taken as a whole, is complimentary, and in a journal with the large circulation of "Collier's", will do much good for us. It brings out facts not generally known to white people. More could have been said and some things might have been left unsaid. I have been a subscriber to "Collier's for about eight years and there have been few instances when they have spoken complimentary of the Negro. They ignored the death of Booker Washington. They also ignored the brave fight of the black soldiers in Mexico. Hence, it was a great surprise to us that they published the facts about the Negro as they did. Complimentary remarks about the Negro in a National journal does not increase the subscription list. This fact has been attested by other magazines.

Judging from the many letters THE AGE has received from Negroes who make complimentary reference to Julian Street's article, we are inclined to believe that members of the race have looked upon it with favor everywhere. Mr. Street tried to picture both sides of the race question in the South in the role of a neutral. In this he succeeded. We are sure he made statements to which both sides took exceptions. There was nothing he said that was new but there was much that he said in the Negro's favor that was new to white people. Viewed from a Negro's standpoint, the virtue of the article was its attempt at fairness—the acknowledgment that there is more than one side to the race question.

We confess that Mr. Street shows more accuracy on the subject when "presenting pictures than in advancing some opinions." When he tells us that colored people of this country have white blood in their veins because of the "owner or overseer who chanced to be a brute or a libertine," we are convinced that he is unfamiliar with his subject. Thousands of Negroes in this country are connected with some of the oldest and best families in America. To-day in the South one may find living in the same community colored families bearing the same names as some of the leading white families, and oftimes recognized as members of the white household.

Mr. Street errs again when he says: "The especial sin of the South was holding persistently to slavery; the especial sin of the North was giving emancipated slaves political power for which they were tragically unprepared." Agreeing with Mr. Street that the slaves were unprepared to govern, we disagree with him that the time was inopportune to give him the ballot. Lincoln said the Union could not exist half slave and half free. There will never be true democracy in this country as long as the member of any race is called a free man and then deprived of his right to vote as is the case in the South to-day. Giving the Negro the right of ballot had to be done some time, and had the colored man been kept in subjection and ignorance after slavery he would be just as unfit for citizenship as he was then.

But any inaccurate statements made by Mr. Street should be overlooked, for as Dr. Minton writes, the article in *Collier's*, taken as a whole, is complimentary. Heretofore "Collier's" has not been any too friendly to the Negro. There has even been talk that it did not want colored subscribers. So when an influential weekly which has consistently refused to speak of the Negro in a complimentary manner changes its policy and presents two sides of the race question we ought to appreciate its commendable change of attitude. In this case at least, half a friend is better than no friend at all; and maybe by rubbing Julian Street and *Collier's* the right way the race

SEPARATE PARADE

The two parades of Monday, one by the Negro school children and the other by the white school children, were truly a show of littleness on the part of those who were the promoters of the demonstration. The displays, both that of the Negro children and that of the white children, were for one and the same purpose, a boost for the Liberty Bond Loan, and there was no reason for the two separate parades. The commonness of America's cause today is felt by both black and white alike and any demonstration in behalf of our country's mighty effort to assist in bringing about world freedom should be participated in by both Negroes and whites together in one great big unprejudiced display rather than in the narrow spirit of the promoters of last Monday's parades in which the white children were ordered to parade on one side of the town and the Negro children on the other. The oneness of our country's stand at this critical period should have been uppermost in the minds of those who conceived the idea of this demonstration instead of the studied effort to show a division. How much more broad minded were the promoters of the Red Cross demonstration the following evening when the Negro members were invited to march with their white co-workers in one grand parade than those who were in charge of the school children's parade.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Racial Consciousness – 1917

"WE ARE COLORED PEOPLE, NOT NEGROES" SO SAYS DR. JOHN H. FRANK, PASTOR, PHYSICIAN, EDITOR

The Louisville News

The Louisville News: Dec 15, 1917

Gentlemen:—

Papers from all parts of the United States, and from England come to me weekly. Without any design of flattery, I say the editorial department of The News has no reason to apologize for either quality of editorials, their scope their up-to-dateness, their loyalty to race or their scholarship. Everybody knows that The News has clear-cut, well defined conviction not less the ability of advocate and the courage to defend them. 1918 should find 10,000 paying subscribers, honest and true.

Accepting an invitation from The News' editor to write for publication an expression as to the use of the term "Negro" and "Colored" as race discriminatory words, I depart from my usual reticence as regards local journalism to say a word, offering sincere thanks in advance for kindness shown. And I ask that you will kindly allow space to any one who can disprove what I herewith submit.

Repeatedly have I said from my pulpit "We are Colored people, not Negroes." They who read the National Baptist Union-Review, of which paper I have the honor of being editor, know that repeatedly, also, I have advised ,as The News has, that the splendid word "Colored" be used when reference is to Colored Americans. There are but few if any Negroes in Louisville. No disrespect whatever is here implied of the honorable folk rightly classed as Negro.

The question is a scientific one not that to be determined either by popular usage, personal preference, American or European authority. A scientist asks for facts, not theories, all the facts, not a part of them, and that all the facts involved be rightly co-ordinated. Ours is not a question to be determined by dictionaries, lexicon or encyclopedia; not even by the United States Census Bureau, which Department uses the word "Negro" to include blacks, mulattos, quadroons, octoroons, the word "colored" (small c) for Negroes, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, etc. In the celebrated anti-segregation deliverance of the United States Supreme Court recently announced the word Negro is not found. "Colored" is the term employed, and that rightly, for it is not only amply expressive, but is historically correct and scientifically true to the facts.

Greater ethnologists have not lived than Blumenbach, Latham, and Prichard. To their writings modern anthropologists and psychologists at once turn and their conclusions are supported by high-standard scholarship the world over. And what are the conclusions of that distinguished triumverate of analytic investigators? In substance:

"The word Negro is not a national appellation. It is not synonymous with the word African. Reference to the map will show that the true Negro area in Africa is exceedingly small when compared with many other African tribes. Negroes have black skin, unctuous and soft; woolly hair; thick lips; lower part of face projects forward, the skull being long and narrow, the forehead recreating, lips thick, cheek bones high, flat nose, other distinguishing anatomical conformations and a body odor possessed by no other human. The skulls of Negroes are so remarkably solid and thick, in fighting they butt like rams."

All Negroes are of black complexion. But, I add, all persons of black complexion are not Negroes. Let us not refute the facts of science because the Spanish-Italian word Negro finds its etymology in the Latin Niger, meaning black.

When it is known, the slaves landed in Jamestown, Va., in 1620, and at Boston in 1645, were from a larger district in Africa than that occupied by the Negro tribe, and that many African tribes supplied the American market, at once a distinction must be made, rather, must be recognized, for, in fact, there is a distinction.

We are Colored Americans. Any where from Maine to California, from the State of Washington to Florida, from the Atlantic to the Pacific the word "Colored" is at once recognized as expressive of racial distinction. It is absolutely a misnomer to call a mulatto, a quadroon, an octoroon a Negro. It is a historical and scientific absurdity. Not otherwise when speaking of a dark or black skin person whose physical conformation is European or American. The term "Colored" is beautifully suphonious. There is nothing in the harshness, the resentment, the incongruity experienced when the word Negro is misapplied. Then, too, the word "Colored," a participial noun, not an adjective, is verbally correct. When the advocate of the word Negro boldly avers, "I was not colored, I was born this way," he forgets that a number of people were "colored," some by climate conditions, some by race inter-minglings. Even in that sense we are "Colored People." I have known many dark complexioned people who resented the word "black," "darky" and of course the word nigger. One who knows himself or herself not a Negro, if he or she is at all sensitive, feels a resentment when addressed or referred to by the appellation.

I know the word Negro is quite popular in some regions, that quite generally white newspaper men have adopted it for use in their journals It is a term often applied to colored races and mixed breeds. In legal parlance, United States, he is a Negro who has in his veins one-sixteenth or more of Negro blood. But not by such consideration may this problem be solved.

It is remembered the great man, the late Dr. Booker T. Washington, extolled the word Negro and everywhere with delight proclaimed himself to be a Negro. But Dr. Washington was not an ethnologist, he was an expert in the realms of industrial education. Prof. Thomas Jesse Jones in his recent bulletin detailing statistics, etc., of colored schools, uses the words "Negro Education." A reading of his first sentence reveals an ambiguity in his use of the words "white," "colored," Negro. It is "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," not Negroes, though Dr. Du Bois often loosely uses that word in the Crisis. The Guardian (Boston), like The Louisville News eliminates the word, using always the all-comprehensive, the beautifully euphonious, the historically true and scientifically correct word "Colored" (capital C) and they are to be both congratulated and imitated.

If the highest court of our country, the court of last resort, composed of protestants, Roman Catholics, gentile and Jew, ex-confederates, democrats and republicans, men of scholarship and learning, matured in legal lore and statescraft, masters in the realm of the publicist, in a unanimous opinion says "Colored People," why should we say Negro?

With great respect, I am

JOHN H. FRANK.

We do not know of a word or a corruption of a word so insulting to Colored men as the despicable word "nigger." That is it is insulting when used by a white man or woman but it is common parlance and used freely in our own best circles.

A Colored man in Chicago has just killed a white man for calling him "nigger." Readers of the account of the affair in this paper will get indignant at the very thought of the thing and many of them will be so wrought over it we can hear them saying now "What do you think of that nigger killing that white man?" Far be it from us to defend or excuse any white man for using that term—at that killing is too much for it—but what we want to know is, if it is so insulting, rather SINCE it is so insulting, why do we use it ourselves? We have heard pastors in their pulpits call their congregations "niggers" and be repaid by laughter. We have heard prominent lecturers of the race tell "nigger" anecdotes and be applauded. We have heard it in libraries and schools, in shop and ball-room, from high and from low, in anger and in fun and even before white people. And yet when it is used by white people, men will shoot and throw up good jobs and blast their whole future.

Far be it, we repeat, from us to defend or excuse its use by white people. It is insulting, it is meant for an insult and it strikes the densest and most ignorant as such. But if we will not defend or excuse the white man's use of it, neither will we defend our own race men's use of it. Let us stop using it ourselves, then in good grace we may resent others using it.

And we are convinced that nothing gives the use of the term "niger" more impetus than the use of the word "negro" by our newspapers, authors and publicists.

For years this old question of whether "negro" or "Colored" should be used by and for the race has been debated. And the race is still divided. Why, we can not see. Booker T. Washington used "negro." Dr. Dubois has adopted it and a few leading race papers indulge it but the fact remains the word besides being etymologically wrong is in awful disrepute and even the men named can not dignify it. Here are a few commonsense applications: If "negro" is alright then "negress" is an excellent word. If "negro" is alright, why doesn't the white salesman or white politicians appeal to "you negroes" instead of to "you Colored people?" Euphony and harmon are both against "negro." It the delight of our enemies and critics to use the word and to see themselves successful in making us use it ourselves.

We are not digressing because it is a fact that "negro" makes a slip to "nigger" easy and "nigger" becomes an unpardonable insult when used by white people to us. But what we would like to know is why is it not insulting or offensive when used by ourselves?

LESLIE'S ATTITUDE TO COLORED SOLDIERS

Richmond Planet 12-22-17

527 N. Second St.,
Richmond, Va., December 7, 1917.

Mr. John A. Sleicher,
Editor Leslie's Weekly,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sir—In the issue of December 8th of Leslie's Weekly appear a number of pictures under the heading, "Making Negro Soldiers at Camp Pike" and photographed by Edwin Ralph Estep, Staff War Photographer. These pictures, while portraying some of the actual camp life of the soldiers, both white and colored, published with their descriptions underneath, do an injustice to thousands of Negro men in training for national service at various cantonments and lend unsavory impressions to their millions of kindred and well wishers throughout the country. Not all of the Negro men at these camps are of the coarse, crap-shooting. "jig" sort and not all spend their rest periods in jig dancing and gaming; not a few of them enjoy phonographs, magazines, wholesome recreation and the pleasure and the thoughts that the white man in the same khaki or olive drab enjoys. Numbers of them are grammar, high school and college graduates. Many of them are well trained professional men—lawyers, doctors, school-teachers and men of high standing of character and integrity, whom not alone we as Negroes are proud to send as a contribution to the defense of democracy among nations and in the interest of a truer democracy at home, but of whom millions of our white people, who are in the same struggle for freedom, are justly proud.

Similar pictures of white men might easily have been photographed in any cantonment in the South or North. Similar ludicrous sayings and actions might easily have been heard or seen in any cantonment where there are unlettered, backwoods white men. I tell you, Mr. Editor, it is a bit unfair to over ten millions of American citizens, handicapped in the march up the hill of progress in this country by black skins, proscribed, "jim crowed" and discriminated against,—yet bearing without dissension and unmutteringly their share of the burden in this execrable whirlpool of ebbing blood, which has flowed and must flow from the civilized people of today in stemming the tide of despotism and establishing a world democracy. I say it is a bit unfair to publish the uncouth, the coarse the ludicrous and almost absurd of these people as typical. The colored soldier does want and needs the phonograph, the reading room and writing materials. So long have they been denied him in the libraries, schools, theatres and places of public benefits and pleasures that it is only natural that a few, decidedly the minority have been neglected and do need only "themselves and a neighbor," but further denial will not remedy the situation. These men in khaki along with their training in military tactics should not be denied the education and pleasures essential to a good intelligent soldier. Such a question as "What does the colored soldier want of reading rooms phonographs and writing materials?" and the answer given, aside from being unfair are inimical to the work of the Colored Division of the Y. M. C. A. and Red Cross Society in their endeavors to provide wholesome amusements and pleasures for these Negro men.

Leslie's Weekly has long been considered by our people as a standard magazine of right and fairness to all people and propositions. If the pictures were published to show the comparative ease of life and satisfaction that obtains among the colored men in the camps or at Camp Pike please in the name of fairness to us and the 9,600 Negro men in that Camp make that explanation in one of your succeeding issues, or publish some pictures of the work of the Y. M. C. A. there among them, some of the men at drill or something that portrays the men differently, not as an apology, but as the patriotic duty of a national magazine published in a nation at war.

Dear Sir—Acknowledging your valued letter of December 7th, I regret that you have taken such an unfavorable view of the page of Camp Pike pictures.

There is no desire on our part to hold the colored race up to ridicule or to withhold from them any fraction of the great credit due them for the way they have supported this nation in its many emergencies.

I am sending you under separate cover a copy of an issue of Leslie's containing an article on the "Officers Training Camp" for colored soldiers, which I think will modify your views of our attitude toward colored men. Also, if you will look in the issue of December 22nd when it comes out, you will find a half page there that will probably go farther toward changing public opinion in the United States on a certain subject than any other piece of publicity that has ever been put out. I cannot tell you what this is, but I think you will agree that we are anxious to assist in righting one of the great wrongs against the blacks.

Very truly yours,
John A. Sleicher, Editor

WHITE SENTIMENT SHOWN

Like as the breakage from turbulent waters gradually clarifies to the surface and drifts to the shore, so the deeper attitudes of men, in times of extreme provocation and stress come to the surface and manifest themselves. Never was there more potent proof of this phenomenon than in the avowed and almost frank expression by the nation of its real attitude toward its ten million Negro citizens.

The stress of war has afforded the occasion for bringing to the surface the real sentiment of the American people with regard to the Negro. We had thought that racial distinctions were largely the products of ignorance and temporary social regime; that the real tip-top American character had no such deep-seated aversion to Negroes as a race as present day national tactics and parleying indicate. Surely, America must be ridiculously before the world, to be known to be spending its best brain, power and ingenuity in fixing the status of its Negro citizens in its war plans. The nation is so seriously and perilously involved as to make it almost inconceivable that so much time could be taken from the preparedness program to give to this tempest in a teapot.

The shibboleth seems to be about like this: We must incorporate the Negro into the war plan as to use his splendid resources of fighting men and productive power, but his relation must be such that after the war is over and things return to the normal, he may still know his place and return to it.

The seriousness of this attitude lies in the fact that there is almost unanimity on it, without any express concerted consideration and determination before hand. It seems to be the common American view on the subject. It means that all Americans either feel or have been brought to feel that the American Negro is an adjunct to the nation, a sort of supplement,—not part and parcel of the unit.

From without the nation, what can be more unnatural, yea, more foolish than this dickering and gubbling on this proposition of Negro army officers, Negro concentration camps with every governmental relation, as well as Negro regiments? It must be strange news to foreign people to hear that this government, in these trying times, is embarrassed because so many of a class of citizens are eager to fight under its colors. We have been held up to the world as a liberty-loving, democratic people. Few have advertised that we have a cancerous spot in our nationalism—the race question. Few still know that instead of being the land of full opportunity it is represented, we have a skeleton in the closet,—a class consciousness, which like a virile poison runs through the veins of the nation and poisons it. The nation admits, in its present behavio that it does not regard the America Negro as a full-fledged American. Everywhere in our social intercourse this distinction between white Americans and black obtrude themselves, and so distinct and radical is this at times that we frequently set up diverse moral laws and separate standards for the two peoples.

These representations are not exaggerated; they are manifest on every hand in our daily routine; and they are as insidious and as fickle as they are unnatural and illogical. We know that it is written and it is preached from every corner of the nation, and even by the Negro himself, that all is fair play and justice, but the preachment is far from the truth.

It cannot hurt the American Negro to make known his consciousness of these attitudes of his white brother; it cannot lessen his chances for overcoming his plight, it cannot lower his lot. Everything that could be is denied him as a man, the few individual exceptions notwithstanding.

THAT SILENT PROTEST

The Freeman, 12/17/17

It's not every person that knows that 10,000 Negro men, women and children paraded the streets of New York last Saturday afternoon by way of showing their displeasure at the race riots in that city, in East St. Louis and in other parts of the country.

The demonstration is spoken of as a silent protest parade, and in which respect it was most successful, for it must have been a most imposing spectacle as it wended its way spectre-like through the streets—the women being in white. What of the great demonstration? will be the question for many days to come. When 10,000 people of a single community can get together on any proposition they are worthy of thought.

That 10,000 people with grievances of which they spoke on placards and various devices could march through the streets unmolested was some proof that the governments, of the state, of the country, are right as they are possible to be. We say this for fear that the marching cue came from other demonstrations such as marked the efforts of the suffragists in this country and abroad. The managers of such movements will have to be careful that the appeals are properly addressed.

The suffragists march against the laws that restrain them. The New York 10,000 marched against a vicious element of the people if they marched to any purpose at all. The two conditions are wide apart. Perhaps there is as much to be gained in proceeding against the people as against the government. The point is that the difference should ever be kept in mind. The laws do not especially restrain our race.

The sight of 10,000 Negroes in a line of march must have been most spectacular—a bit theatrical, doubtless—but not without effect. The great unanimity, the great oneness was the thing. The Negroes have had the reputation of standing apart, never agreeing on anything of consequence to themselves. It ought to be a bit alarming to those that oppose the Negroes to see this sign of strength owing to unity.

The paraders, however, run some risk in making stronger race caste, when they ask for protection in the name of the race. While that could hardly be avoided, yet it can easily be seen that this tends to array the races in classes. In fact every demand made by the race for the race tends to emphasize the fact that there are distinct races among us instead of one—making fast the idea—perpetuating it.

What's to be done about it? That's the question .No one holds a brief as to the best method of procedure in order to have our cause best represented. No one knows whether the marching 10,000 has helped us or "messed us up." They have done something; and what it is will not show up today, or tomorrow, perhaps, but in time there will be a positive result.

In the first place the affair was extraordinary for Negroes. They were not suspected to have the nerve. Of course ignorance had something to do with the great solidarity. Many of the paraders could not have known of the significance of such a demonstration with its admixture of so much of the Socialistic idea—the uglier view that is held of those people, especially in Europe. We modify our observations of the Socialists here, for we note the toleration of Germany, the despot nation, now called, towards those outspoken people, those that do not conceal their aversion to anything that binds men, limiting their freedom of body or soul. The captains knew well enough in their own minds what they were trying to do. They knew that they were making a bold strike—rather audacious for Negroes—from the white man's viewpoint. They have caused the country to sit up and take notice. It is problematical whether we are helped or hurt by the display.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Racial Consciousness-1917

Nearly Ten Thousand Take Part in Big Silent Protest Parade Down Fifth Avenue

The N. Y. Age 8/2/17

(BY LESTER A WALTON)

Callous and indifferent Manhattan Isle, the largest and most wonderful of all American cities, where only the unusual excites a ripple of public interest for the moment, was given a genuine thrill and made to sit up and take notice last Saturday afternoon, when nearly ten thousand Negroes marched down Fifth Avenue, and without uttering one word or making a single gesticulation, protested in respectful silence against the reign of mob law, segregation, "Jim Crowism," and many other indignities to which their race is unnecessarily subjected in the United States.

It is doubtful if New York ever has seen such a parade of civilians — a parade marked by wholesome simplicity, void of the pretentious, dignified to a degree, and yet one making a strong and favorable impress. The glitter of gold braid and riot of gay colors, the playing of inspiring melodies and the martial mien of the participants—usual features of the Negro parade—were noticeably absent. All marched with measured step, with serious look and with heart-strings tuned to one key. The spirit of hilarity, supposed to be a racial trait, for once was missing. "Give us justice!" was their mute appeal.

Only the beating of muffled drums notified the onlookers that the marchers were near at hand, and the white dresses of the female contingent and the dark clothes of the men made a more striking picture than had an attempt been made to pale into insignificance the rainbow or rival Joseph's coat of many colors.

The day before Old Sol had made a record for dispensing heat, the weather forecaster announcing that it had been the hottest July 27th New York had experienced for twenty-five years. But Saturday this most luminiferous of bodies seemed mindful of the silent protest parade and cast its rays with less vigor. To make marching more comfortable, a friendly breeze from the Atlantic kissed those in line a fond greeting and encouraged them to march on.

A Democratic Gathering.

In pleading for a real democracy in America, the colored citizens of Greater New York showed consistency by forming a most democratic gathering. Members of the race representing all conditions and walks of life paraded. Negroes, colored people and Afro-Americans all joined in to register disapproval against the murders committed in East St. Louis, Ill., Memphis and Waco. For once the American Negro, West Indian Negro and Haitian worked in unison as black men; even advocates of the various ideas of education overlooked their petty differences and the Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian and Presbyterian ministers of the Gospel and those of other denominations marched side by side, actuated by one compelling thought. All social lines were obliterated and the question of morals temporarily put aside.

The coming together of all classes of Negroes to further a common cause is looked upon as a most encouraging sign, and many are hoping that it will lead to race unanimity on such a scale as to make it possible for the Negro in New York to do big things in the near future; for on vital matters affecting the race as a whole it never will be possible for any set of men or women to get results without co-operation. Quite a number of colored men and women were given a day off by their employers, who expressed themselves as being in hearty accord with the silent parade idea.

The line of march in Saturday's silent protest parade was down Fifth avenue, starting at Fifty-seventh street, and ending at Twenty-third street. On both sides of Fifth avenue interested spectators of both races looked on with studied concern. Everybody seemed to appreciate the seriousness of the occasion and there were no attempts at levity. Fully fifteen thousand Negroes, who should have taken an active part looked on.

An escort of mounted police led the parade, followed by little girls dressed in white, their bright, youthful countenances making a powerful plea for fair play and winning the sympathy of any fair-minded individual. Next came the women, who, as usual, made the best showing of all. Nearly five thousand brought to the public's attention that the colored women of the nation had been deeply touched by the East St. Louis massacre and other recent atrocities. As to their neat appearance, it is extremely doubtful if a similar body of women of any other race could have looked better in white dresses and white shoes.

The men were the last in line—several thousand of them. There were professional men, clergymen, business men, sporting men, elevator boys, bootblacks—all meeting on the same level and impelled by the same motive to walk several miles on a hot July day. Nobody tried to appear bigger than the rest; there were no horses ridden nor sashes worn as a mark of distinction.

Although the marchers walked in silence, banners with timely inscriptions spoke volumes and made known to the world what the Negro is thinking on the inside. Some of the banners read: "Make America Safe for Democracy," "Thou Shalt Not Kill," "Taxation Without Representation Is Tyranny," "America Has Lynched Without Trial 2,867 Negroes in 31 Years and Not a Single Murderer Has Suffered," "200,000 Black Men Fought for Your Liberty in the Civil War," "The First Blood for American Independence Was Shed By a Negro—Crispus Attucks," "12,000 of Us Fought with Jackson at New Orleans," "From Bunker Hill to Carrizal We Have Done Our Bit," "The World Owes No Man a Living, But Every Man An Opportunity to Earn a Living," "We Are Maligned As Lazy and Murdered When We Work," "We Are Excluded from the Unions and Condemned for Not Joining Them," "3,000 Negroes Fought for Independence Under George Washington," "Were We the First in France? Ask Pershing," "Interpret for Us in Living, Loving Acts the Religion of Jesus Christ," "If Fault Is to Be Found With Color Blame God and Yourselves," "Your Hands Are Full of Blood," and "Put the Spirit of Christ in the Making and Execution of the Laws."

A Few Incidents of the Parade.

Several incidents met my attention along the line of march which convinced me that interest in the parade was not common place and that beneficial results would surely accrue from this extraordinary demonstration. At Fifth avenue and Forty-sixth street I saw two well-dressed white women attentively listening to a young colored man explain why the parade was being held; at Forty-third street I saw a white and colored man standing side by side heartily applauding banners bearing inscriptions demanding a square deal;" at Forty-second street "Rep Caps" from the Grand Central Station took delight in telling the curious what it was all about, preferring to perform such service for the time being to making tips; at Fortieth street I heard a stylishly dressed white woman tell a police officer that he ought to sympathize with the colored people and not forget that Ireland has its troubles; at the famous Union League Club, which gave Lincoln and the anti-slavery movement strong support, and which is one of the most American of American institutions, I saw gray-haired aristocrats express sympathy for the marchers by frequent outbursts of applause; at the Waldorf-Astoria and other famous hostelries I saw elegantly costumed women and well-dressed men look on approvingly from windows, and all along Fifth avenue I observed that true Americans stood with uncovered heads and paid respects to Old Glory whether it was carried by black hands or white hands.

There were other flags besides the red, white and blue, among them belgn the colors of England, Haiti and Liberia. The flags of the two black republics occasioned no little curiosity and questioning.

Capt. W. H. Jackson was Grand Marshal. His aides were: J. Rosamand Johnson, head of the Men's Division; Allan Wood, head of the Women's Division; R. C. McPherson, head of the Children's Division, and Mrs. Daisy Tapley, of the Women's Division. The presence of well known physicians and trained nurses in automobiles to look after those who might become prostrated with the heat is one instance of how thoroughly the plans were perfected and the spirit of magnanimity prevailed.

Believing in law and order, there was not one act committed Saturday afternoon which smacked of outlawry, bitterness, disloyalty or radicalism. Even the banners told truth which were educational in character. There was nothing anarchistic, nothing un-American Quite a contrast to the conduct of some who have less cause to protest, but who do so by murdering the innocent, burning homes and making the term Christianity a misnomer in America.

Why They Marched.

The following reasons were given for holding the silent parade, under the caption, "Why we march":

We march because by the Grace of God and the force of truth, the dangerous, hampering walls of prejudice and inhuman injustices must fall.

We march because we want to make impossible a repetition of Waco, Memphis and East St. Louis, by rousing the conscience of the country and bring the murderers of our brothers, sisters and innocent children to justice.

We march because we deem it a crime to be silent in the face of such barbaric acts.

We march because we are thoroughly opposed to Jim-Crow Cars, etc., Segregation, Discrimination, Disfranchisement, LYNCHING and the host of evils that are forced on us. It is time that the Spirit of Christ should be manifested in the making and execution of laws.

We march because we want our children to live in a better land and enjoy fairer conditions than have fallen to our lot.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

We march in memory of our butchered dead, the massacre of the honest toilers who were removing the reproach of laziness and thriftlessness hurled at the entire race. They died to prove our worthiness to live. We live in spite of death shadowing us and ours. We prosper in the face of the most unwarranted and illegal oppression. We march because the growing consciousness and solidarity of race coupled with sorrow and discrimination have made us one: a union that may never be dissolved in spite of shallow-brained agitators, scheming pundits and political tricksters who secure a fleeting popularity and uncertain financial support by promoting the disunion of a people who ought to consider themselves as one.

The police arrangements could not have been improved upon. Police Commissioner Woods took a personal interest in the parade and instructed his men to use every means to protect the marchers. Thanks to Mayor Mitchel, for the first time in the history of New York the greatest thoroughfare in the world was closed to allow Negroes to parade. The wealthy and influential were compelled to drive their motor cars on side streets and seemed to take pleasure in doing so.

The members of the Executive Committee having the parade in charge were: the Rev. Hutchens C. Bishop, president; the Rev. F. A. Cullen, first vice president; James W. Johnson, second vice president; the Rev. Charles Martin, secretary; John E. Nail, treasurer.

STATEMENT FROM A. M. E. PREACHERS

Declare Their Position On Questions Involved In Great War

PLEDGE THEIR LOYALTY

Journal and Guider

But Ask Nation To Practice At Home Democracy We Would Spread Abroad

11/17/17

In a signed statement, issued under the authority of the Norfolk A. M. E. Preachers' Conference, the executive Committee, representing about fifty ministers and an aggregate church membership of ten thousand, with a following more than that number, sets forth in clear and unmistakable terms their attitude toward the government in the present national crisis affirming that they are "loyally and united in accord with the principles which govern our entrance into the war" for the protection of democracy in the United States and among other peoples against "autocracy and the whole brood of imperialistic propaganda as exemplified by the German government."

A Plea For Justice

Reciting briefly the traditional loyalty of the American Negro to the Nation in every crisis through which it has passed the statement follows that Negroes "are still willing and ready to bare their breasts against the enemy's steel, but find it hard to understand the peculiar process of reasoning by which our government, pledged to make the world safe for democracy, by this war opens every arm of the fighting forces of the nation to aliens, sometimes enemies, while it denies to the most loyal class of its citizens, their constitutional right to voluntarily bear arms in defence of the nation. It seems like a travesty upon the spirit of democracy to hale a man before the courts as a 'slacker,' who has been refused the privilege of enlisting in the army, for no other reason than his Negro descent.

Loyal Americans Denied Equal Chance

"It would seem folly to 'make the world safe for democracy,' while we deny the first principles of democracy, in the methods employed among our own citizens for establishing the machinery through which the country hopes to accomplish this worthy end. We believe and urge that all loyal Americans, without regard to race, color or previous condition, should have free and equal opportunity to give their best, do their best and be their best; unhampered by the prejudices and unjust judgments projected into government proceedure, regulation and legislation by petty politicians and local groups of narrow, biggoted, selfish men."

Ask Protection Guaranteed By Constitution.

The government is reminded that "every call made upon the people in this the Nation's greatest crisis, has met with calm, dignified and ready response on the part of Negro citizens" and that a million of our young men have been conscripted, while "No Negro has led or taken part in the many anti-draft movements which have threatened and disgraced many sections of the country. * * * * In view of all these present evidences of our entitlement to the consideration due every law-abiding peaceable citizen, we urge that some way should be found by those charged with the making and administration of the nation's laws, to guarantee to the humblest and blackest of its citizens, the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and all the means of protection offered by the Constitution of the United States. We believe that the same right which the National Government enters a State and drafts its citizens to fight in defense of national democracy, inheres in that government to enter a State and protect its citizens, even against the unjust laws and impotent administration of the laws, by which a citizen's constitutional rights are violated.

Theory And Practice Must Coincide

"We believe that the National idea upon which our country stands, is correct in theory, and that the time has come when theory and practice must co-incide; when those in authority must, with rigid insistence, and at any cost, promulgate the principles of a democracy which protects the rights of the weak, when crushed by the strong and powerful. We urge the Government to take advantage of the present military necessity and universal need of military discipline, for an immediate readjustment in the economy of our national machinery, such as shall destroy all mythical racial barriers and place all of our soldiers and citizens upon one common level of meritorious service :otherwise, our country enters this war hampered by the criticism that we assume sponsorship for democracy, while we foster the most poisonous, unholy, unreasonable and degrading form of caste, known in modern times. * * * *

The statement concludes with the hope that "Christian people everywhere may be led to pray more earnestly than ever before 'Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done'; and that whatever else may be the final outcome, men everywhere will be brought to their knees; and by the way of the Cross, may be led to a clear, intelligent, faithful recognition of a common Fatherhood, which removes all barriers between bond and free, race, color or nationality; or, resting upon superficial foundations; which realizes that no democracy is worthy of the title, or can hope to stand the test of time and serve the world, which does not find its root in the principles of the Christian religion."

The signers are Rev. S. S. Morris, President; Rev. T. W. Cotton, Secretary of the conference and the Executive Committee composed of Rev. E. H. Hunter, chairman; Revs. L. L. Berry, Geo. D. Jimmerson, J. H. Thomas and L. J. Watson.

DEMOCRACY MEANS SELF-GOVERNMENT

President Wilson, in his notable address to the Labor Convention in Buffalo Monday, said: "Democracy means, first of all, that we can govern ourselves." In the American States self-government is supposed to be no longer a theory, but a fact tried out and successfully achieved. Yet when applied to the forty-nine States composing the Union, it will be found that a number of them fall measurably, and some glaringly, short of self-government, and cannot be regarded as self-governing States. Lincoln used to say that no man was wise enough or good enough to govern another man without the consent of the one governed. And it is true today. Yet in a number of States in this boasted land of the free a large element of the population is excluded from all participation in government, and all share in its benefits. They are forced to bear an equal share of all burdens incident to the support and maintenance of government, but can neither hope for nor expect recognition as citizens from those who weild the scepter of power.

Following disfranchisement, the destruction of the highest attribute of citizenship, they are excluded from the jury box, are deprived of representation in the law-making bodies which expend the taxes paid by them, and which also, year after year enact statute after statute abridging their rights and privileges, until the condition of nine million of Negro people under our "democracy, which means that we can govern ourselves," is one of half slavery.

The President, in his solemn and urgent appeal for co-operation in waging war for freedom and justice for the people of foreign lands, and against Prussian domination, deprecates lawlessness and includes a protest against utterances on that question, are timely and fitting. Until mob law is checked in this country and courts administer justice fairly and impartially, and in an orderly way, without railroading accused prisoners to death or to prison, merely observing the forms of law, the conscience of the nation cannot be thoroughly aroused in behalf of the oppressed in other lands.

NATIONAL NEGRO HYMN

Tribune

There was something supremely majestic and inspiring about that Negro National Hymn which was rendered, for the first time in this city, at the mass meeting last Wednesday night. It seemed to grip the spirit of every thinking man and woman present, each one seemed to feel the "spell" and to enjoy it. In the thoughts of the past it resurrected the perils and hardships it recounted, the vision of better things it inspired and the tone of hope and loyalty to America it breathed,—all these and more, carried upon a soul-quickening melody, brought a curious rapture and soul-stirring emotion to the vast audience assembled.

Its theme classes it with all the great national hymns like "Die Wacht Am Rhein," "The Marseillaise" and "America", but it always savours of

Racial Consciousness - 1917

Negro Spokesman Arises to Voice His Race's Wrongs

N Y C MAIL
SEPTEMBER 19, 1917

Prof. Kelly Miller, in Remarkable Letter to President Wilson, Outlines Black Man's Demands and Pleads for Simple Justice and Protection.

By H. L. MENCKEN.

Unless I err gravely (in which case I recant and apologize), the ablest document the war has yet produced in the United States is the composition of a colored man, Prof. Kelly Miller, A. M., dean of the college of arts and sciences in Howard University, the Ethiop Sorbonne at Washington.

It is in the form of an open letter to the President of the republic and it bears date of August 4, but so far as I can make out its text was not made public at that time. Now, however, the learned senior Senator from Washington, the Hon. Wesley Livsey Jones, A. B., has spread it in extenso upon the instructive papyrus of the Congressional Record, and there, on pages 7631-34 of the issue of September 12, you will find it.

The epistle of the dark dean is, in form, a solemn protest against the late pogrom at East St Louis and a demand that the Federal government take measures to prevent such astounding massacres in future In this protest and demand, of course, there is nothing new, and nothing remarkable; all the Moorish synods, pleasure clubs, sodalities and orders of Elks, Odd Fellows and Galilean Fishermen have been inundating Congress and the White House with simi'ar papers

DEMANDS ARE DEFINITE.

But in two important respects Dr. Miller's confection transcends the ordinary.

On the one hand it is written in a style so suave, so persuasive, and withal so graceful and colorful that, even forgetting its content, it is a quite unusual work of art in words.

On the other hand it passes beyond a mere prayer for abatement and relief, and proceeds to the formulation of a definite political theory for the American negro—a theory that, for the first time in the history of the race, shows both a penetrating sense of what is wrong and an acute understanding of what may be done about it.

Dr. Miller wastes no time gabbling about Jim Crow cars, the laws against miscegenation and the rule forbidding negro hog-and-hominy parties at the Plaza Hotel. He does not argue that white society, such as it is, should throw open its doors to its negro cooks and chauffeurs. He looses no maudlin bawl about the exclusion of negroes from the Piping Rock Club, the University of Virginia, the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the B'nai B'rith.

His whole argument is confined to the field of political rights—rights specifically and unqualifiedly guaranteed by the organic law of the land.

VOICES RACE'S WRONGS.

He shows how those rights are invaded and made a mock of to-day, he demonstrates that the existing machinery is insufficient to restore them, and he gives dignified and respectful notice, but nevertheless plain and uncompromising notice, that, unless some better machinery is devised in a reasonable time, the negro will hold himself free to disregard the duties that go with them and are an integral part of them.

In brief, what he says is this:

We blacks are getting tired of this endless rowelling and persecution. We are getting tired of mobbing, lynchings, burnings at the stake. We are getting tired of having no representative in the government, and no means of obtaining common justice.

When we complain, we are put off. when we protest, we are reviled. The states either cannot or will not help us. We therefore call upon the Federal government, and we ask for attention. Heretofore, we have got only words. Asking for justice, we have been "given a theory of government"; asking for protection, we have been "confronted with a scheme of governmental checks and balances."

It is now time to do something. You ask us to be patriots, to die for our country, to protect it against aggression. Well, first show us that it is our country. First protect us. First, prove to us that we will get the same return from patriotism that other patriots get.

WOBBLE BETWEEN THEORIES

This in crude outline. The sagacious professor is far more courtly than I have made him appear, and far more convincing. His letter runs to four or five newspaper columns, and I recommend it to your very careful reading.

It bears out, in a striking way, what I have been predicting in various favorite periodicals for a dozen years past: that sooner or later the American negroes would hatch a leader capable of putting their discontents into clear simple and vivid words, and that the appearance of such a leader would give a new complexion to the race problem, and make it ten times more pressing than ever before.

The first part of the prognostication, it seems to me, is now fulfilled; the Miller manifesto is something quite new under the Afro-American sun. The second part, I venture, will be brought to term during the infernal uproars and readjustments that are bound to follow the war.

Down in the South, where the race question is forever on the mat, the difficulties of dealing with it have been steadily mounting up for two decades past, and despite all the alleged thought that has been lavished upon it by cornfed publicists the southerners are further from a solution than ever before. They wobble eternally between antagonistic theories.

NEED SETTLED POLICY

First, they proceed upon the assumption that all their woes would cease if only they could get rid of the darkey—and not infrequently they try to bring in that millennium wit hthe shotgun and the torch. Then, when the alarmed raccoons jump freight-trains for the North, they find their fields unplowed and their windows unwashed, and yell for them to come back.

And so in details. First they decide to educate the negroes, and then they decide that education ruins them. First they are in favor of Booker Washington's schemes, and then they are against them.

First they try kindness then they try force. First they pretend that the thing is easy—that any child, if uncontaminated by Yankee blood, can understand it—, and then they throw up their hands.

The trouble down there, at the bottom, is very simple. That section of the American people which has the most difficult and vexatious of all problems on its hands, and not only on its hands, but directly under its nose, is precisely the section which is least accustomed to clear thought, and hence least capable of it.

The southerner, whatever his graces otherwise, is almost destitute of the faculty of sober reflection. He is a sentimentalist, a romanticist, a weeper and arm-waver, and as full of superstitions as the Zulu at his gates.

PUTS BLAME ON SOUTH

There are whole areas in the South—are as quite as large as most European kingdoms—in which not a single intelligent man is to be found.

The politics of the region is vapid and idiotic—a mere whooping of shibboleths. Its literature is that of the finishing school. Its philosophy is the naif supernaturalism of the camp-meeting, the wind-music of the chatauqua. It has no more art than Liberia.

Add to this inteliectual emptiness, a bellicose and amusing vanity, and you have a picture of incompetence that is almost tragic. The whole machinery of so-called southern chivalry, the invention of the feudal aristocracy of ante-bellum days, now almost wholly extinct, has been taken over by the emancipated poor white trash, and the result is a wholesale preening and posturing that must needs make the judicious grieve.

The southerner who is chiefly heard from is apparently all toes; one can have no commerce with him without stepping on them. Thus he protests hysterically every time northern opinion is intruded into his consideration of his problems, and northern opinion, so often called to book, now prudently keeps out. The result is that he struggles on alone, and that he goes steadily from bad to worse.

POOR WHITES JEALOUS

He was in difficulties while the negro was yet a mere serf, legally freed but still tied to the soil. He is in ten times worse difficulties now that the negro has begun to find leaders, and is beginning to acquire property and self-respect, and is showing signs of demanding an accounting.

The economic progress of the colored brother, in fact, gives the whites of the black belt their worst disquiet. It was relatively easy to deal with the darkey separated from starvation by no more than one week's meagre wages, but what of the darkey who owns a farm, and has money in the bank, and is perhaps even one of its stockholders and directors?

Such blacks are no longer rare. In state after state of the South, the negro holdings of property are increasing faster than the white holdings, and the negroes are founding banks, merchandising companies, cotton gins, insurance companies, and even whole towns.

With property goes self-respect, and with self-respect goes aspiration. That aspiration irritates and outrages the poor whites. They view it as the Russian mouzhik views the accumulations of the village Jew. It is, at bottom, one of the chief causes of race antagonism and in the end, of race conflicts.

PROBLEM IS NATIONAL.

So the volcano keeps on smoking, and the more reflective Southerners, in the intervals of fustian, regard the occasional explosions with uneasy eyes. Worse, the disturbance throws out far ripples. As Prof. Miller wisely points out, the state of affairs south of the Potomac makes for trouble north of the Potomac; the Atlanta massacre was the father of the East St. Louis massacre.

The thing, in brief, takes on larger and larger aspects; it becomes, in the true sense, a national problem, for the southerners are quite unable to deal with it, and so long as their inability continues, the Northerners will have to bear a part of the burden Meanwhile, the negroes themselves begin to show signs of restlessness, and the Miller manifesto gives that restlessness definite voice.

"Mr. President," it says, "negroes all over this nation are aroused as they have never been before. It is not the wild hysterics of the hour, but a determined purpose that this country shall be made a safe place for American citizens to live and work and enjoy the pursuits of happiness."

A fair plea—and behind it there is an extremely able argument—perhaps the best argument that any southerner, white or black, has contributed to American governmental theory in half a century. What will be the answer of the national government?

RACE NOW HAS SPOKESMAN.

The Force bill was one answer—and it failed to answer. The two houses of Congress now jockey with the East St. Louis matter—a feeble scratching of the surface. One house, if I remember rightly, has appointed an investigating committee that will bring in a report heavy with meaningless words The other house has delicately put the dynamite behind the clock.

Perhaps it is a southerner, after all, who has seen farthest, and none other than the redoubtable negrophobe, the Hon. James Kimble Vardaman, of Mississippi. In the Senate, some time ago, he raised a warning voice against drilling the blacks. Teach them how to bring the Turk to account for butchering the Armenians, and they may come home to inquire into the butchering of their own relatives.

This, of course, is an extreme view, and perhaps an alarmist view. But the Miller manifesto shows that we have already come to the stage where we must give thought to it—that the negro has at last acquired a spokesman who can think clearly, disengaging non-essentials from essentials, and who can put his conclusions into clear and forceful English.

Altogether, that manifesto is a document of the utmost significance. Lost amid issues which seem to be greater, it is getting much less attention than it deserves.

NEGROES IN SILENT PROTEST PARADE

N Y C CALL
JULY 29, 1917

MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF DOWNTRODDEN RACE MARCH WITH MUFFLED DRUMS.

CITIZENS DEPRIVED BY TRICK OF CITIZENSHIP HOLD DEMONSTRATION AGAINST INJUSTICE.

In the midst of America's war for democracy 5,000 Negroes found it necessary yesterday to march down Fifth avenue as a protest against the barbarities, such as those of East St. Louis, practiced against them in this land of the free. The parade started promptly at 1 o'clock from 59th street and Fifth avenue, and ended at Madison square.

Except for the beating of muffled drums at the head of the male di-

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

vision of the silent protest, there was no music. Two American flags, one Cuban flag and a British flag were the national emblems carried by the paraders.

Trum, trum, trum-trum-trum beat the muffled drums as the Negroes marched down the avenue in silent indictment of the white man's civilization.

Not a word was spoken as rank after rank swung past, in step that called to mind a procession of mourners and at the same time gave the impression of outraged dignity, with a hint of power to repair the wrongs of centuries.

Little Tots March.

First came little girls, tiny tots, dressed in white and holding hands with childish friendliness, but on each little face was stamped an unnatural gravity. As one watched these little children, visions of green fields strewn with daisies, and merry children holding hands in ring-a-ring of roses, sprang before the eyes—childhood in all its happiness. And the Negro children marched on in protest at the murder of their kind. In their midst walked a boy with a sign, "Thou shalt not kill."

Next, rank after rank, came women dressed in white, some in the first flush of young womanhood, with firm step and head erect, and some in the sear and yellow leaf of old age, with tottering steps, bowed with the weight of years and eyes sad with the sorrows of their race. In front marched a boy bearing a sign, "Color, Blood and Suffering Have Made Us One."

Men Are Dignified.

Then came the men, erect, dignified and manly. Working men, they were, conscious of the justice of their cause without one trace of bitterness or hatred. The personification of self-reliance. Entirely absent was the servility which prejudice has dubbed the outstanding characteristic of the Negro race. Here were men awakened to the consciousness of the power and potentialities of their race, physically splendid specimens of humanity. No bravado marked their bearing, no evidence of the childish love of show that their exploiters have spoken so much about; no trace of anything that would mark them as an inferior race.

Silently and in perfect alignment, these citizens, deprived by every trick of their citizenship, gave the lie to the accepted statements of race superiority by which the white man has attempted to justify his treatment of his colored brother. No collection of men could make a better showing than did these colored men in their silent march.

At the head of the parade were many men prominent in educational fields. Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, Revs. Bishop, Daniels and Martin followed the drums. At intervals throughout the parade automobiles bore doctors and nurses, but, by judicious halts, the marchers, including the tiny tots, completed the journey from 59th street to Madison square without mishap.

No trouble attended the parade. As early as noon many Negroes had gathered along the line of march. [illegible] parade swung down Fifth avenue the Negro sightseers applauded, but there was little or no applause from the white people who saw the protest. The steps of the Public library at 42d street were filled. Several members of the Union League club watched the parade, and an old Negro sevitor was allotted a private balcony from which to see the marchers pass. During the time that the parade marched by the clubhouse no flags were displayed from it, but immediately after it had passed that point the allied flags were flung to the breeze.

Banners Are Carried.

Four mounted policemen, followed by four drummers, headed the procession. Behind them marched the colored women and children, with the men bringing up the rear.

Many of the paraders carried banners with varying inscriptions on them. An aged Negro who watched them march by wore a G. A. R. button on his coat.

At the head of the men's division a banner was carried with an inscription from the Declaration of Independence which was crossed out, with a notice at the bottom which read, "All of African descent tear off this corner." The inscription from the declaration said, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal."

Here are some of the signs which the paraders carried:

"If fault is to be found with our color, blame God and yourselves."

"India is abolishing caste; America is adopting it."

"Make America safe for democracy."

"Are Memphis and Waco centers of America culture?"

"Taxation without representation is tyranny. (The Negro pays poll taxes down South, but is not allowed to vote.)"

"Patriotism and loyalty presuppose protection and liberty."

"Repelled by the unions, we are condemned as scabs."

"Pray for the Lady Macbeths of East St. Louis."

"We are maligned as lazy, and murdered when we work."

On many of the other banners were details of the services which the Negro race has performed during the various crises which have faced the American people, including the civil and the Spanish-American wars.

The parade was arranged by a number of Negro preachers, among whom was the Rev. Charles Martin, who recently issued a statement explaining "Why We March." This statement was summed up in the first paragraph, which read:

"We march because, by the grace of God and the force of truth, the dangerous and tampering walls of prejudice and inhuman justice must fall."

WASHINGTON DAILIES.

The Bee

The one-third colored population of Washington gets scant encouragement from the daily newspapers published in this city. If a colored man is arrested for some crime, no matter whether it be first degree murder, a plain drunk, or for an auto accident in which the injured one's negligence was responsible for it, the race is featured in big, black-face headlines as "Negro," "Negress," or "Colored," and suitable space is given the article to, perhaps, increase anti-race sentiment. But if a splendid civic movement is promoted; if some colored man or woman does something really worth while, Washington's dailies, as a rule, crowd it into a few lines, and bury it among "local briefs," or more frequently give such no space at all.

Why feature the unworthy and ignore the worthy? Why headline, sensationally, petty offenses committed by colored men while massing the same offenses when committed by whites in a few lines devoted to police courts?

In proportion to their numbers the colored people of the District are as numerous and reliable reading patrons of the white dailies as are the whites. As patrons they should have consideration, rather than insults and ignoring.

This mighty world war that is toppling over thrones, changing dynasties, creating new boundary lines, and making it possible for a realization of the Biblical injunction, "the first shall be last, and the last shall be first," ought to prompt the two-thirds of this city to a conservation of the interests of the other one-third, and ought to, since this one-third is splendidly represented in this war "to make the world safe for democracy," at least influence the daily newspapers to a fairer treatment of the race. The high intelligence of the colored people of Washington, their civic pride, their patriotism, and their obedience to law, as a class, commands respect, rather than insults.

Let us hope that during the coming new year the newspapers of Washington will cease the practice of making "Negro," "Negress," and "Colored," black-face 18-point type feature of headlines every time one of the race is so unfortunate as to be arrested for some petty offense. Let us hope, in return for the forming of a large reading clientele of their publications that the white dailies during the coming new year will cease burying, or ignoring altogether, things worth while achieved by the race in a secluded part of the paper, and condensing same in two or three lines when a similar achievement among the whites, is given a front page space with a No. 1 head.

Colored people of Washington only ask fairness at the hands of the white dailies. The Bee would advise the colored people to support their own papers, and then they would have no cause to complain. Give The Bee a circulation of fifty thousand and it would make Rome howl.

OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL COLORED LIBERTY CONFERENCE.

President—Rev. Johnson W. Hill, Boston.

1st Vice—Rev. A. C. Powell, N. Y.

2nd Vice—Rev. L. B. Walters, Worcester, Mass.

3rd Vice—Rev. S. S. Crockett, N. J.

Recording Secretary—Rev. M. F Sydes, Providence, R. I.

Asst.—Mrs. M. Cravatts Simpson Everett, Mass.

Cor. Sec.—Rev. D. S. Klugh, New Haven, Conn.

Asst.—Miss Bessie Smith, Hampton, Va.

Treas.—Mrs. S. J. Allen, 366 Treman street, Boston, Mass.

Board of Managers.

Chairman, Hubert H. Harrison, N. Y.; Sec. to Board, Rev. Simms, 112 Water street, So. Norwalk, Conn.; Rev. Chas. Sumner Farries, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Rev. W. B. Reed, Hartford, Conn.; Rev. L. B. Brown, Rochester, N. Y.; Rev. L. W. Boynton, Providence, R. I.; Rev. Robert Barkley Fla.; Rev. W. L. Taylor Washington, D. C.; Rev. B. T. Moore, Wilmington, Del.; H. A. Carey N. J.; G. A. Noyes, Mass.; Rev A. A. Childs Phila. Pa; Rev P. C. James Jersey City, N. J.; Rev. R. B. Harris Conn.; Arthur B. Johnson, Mass. Mrs. Ida B. Wells, Chicago, Ill.; Rev W. B. Ball, Segum, Texas; Rev. Geo E. Stevens, Va.; W. M. Trotter Mass.; Rev. W. A. Harrod, Phila Penn.; Rev. John A. White, N J.; Rev W. T. Watkins, N. J.; Rev. C. M Tanner, Washington, D. C.; Rev Sampson Brooks, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. A. W. Puller, Boston, Mass.; Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, D. of C.; Rev. J. M. Waldron, Wash. D. C.; Rev W B Johnuson, Wash, D. C.; Rev. Charles Blackwell, Phila. Pa.; Rev. H. Y. Arnett, Wilmington, Del.; Rev. A. J. Carey, Chicago, Ill.; Emery T. Marris, Boston, Mass.; Daniel Horley, Mass.; Rev. M. A. N. Shaw, Mass.; Rev. B. W. Swain, Mass.; Rev. E. B. Jackson, N. J.; Mrs. Virginia Trotter, Mass.; Mrs. E. E. Hill, Mass; Mrs. Mary J. Harris, Maine; Dr. Higgins, Providence, R. I.; Rev. J. C. Jackson, Phila. Jenn.; Dr. R. R. Wright, Penn.

MRS. M. CRAVATH SIMPSON, MASS.
Asst. Rec. Sec'y of Nat'l Colored Liberty Conference.

Grand Organizer and Deputies.

Grand Organizer Prof. A. W. Whaley, 40 Warwick street, Boston, Mass. Deputies, W. M. Trotter, 34 Conhill, Boston, Mass.; Rev. L. B. Brown, 133 Adams street, Rochester, N. Y.; (appointed by the Grand Organizer) who was authorized to appoint deputies.

Racial Consciousness—1917

WOULD ORGANIZE ENTIRE RACE

Journal & Guide

Ambitious Plan of Negro American Alliance Recently Chartered

10-13-17

DEFINE OBJECT AND AIMS

To Break The System Of Repression Exercised Against American Negroes"

Atlantic City, N. J.—After many months of careful planning the Negro American Alliance has begun its great campaign to organize every man, woman and child of Negro birth in the United Sattes into one great federation.

The alliance was founded and is being pushed to success by men of broad vision and rare ability who have the time to devote to the work. The president is James A. Lightfoot, a practicing attorney of Atlantic City, a member of the New Jersey Bar.

NON-PARTISAN AND NON- SECTARIAN

The alliance has no political affiliations and no political intentions. It will never ally itself with any of the great political parties. To do so would seriously hamper its work. It is non-sectarian. Al denominations are urged to give their support as the Alliance has no creed save the broad creed of equal opportunity for the Negro with other races and nationalities.

In order that responsibility might rest somewhere and give the Alliance legal standing and protection it is incorporated under the laws of the State of New Jersey and is a chartered institution of that state.

ITS REAL OBJECT

The real object of the Alliance is to break the system of repression exercised against Negroes in this country. Negroes have got to do this themselves. No member of the Caucasian race will never do this for them. The Alliance will advertise the Negro to the country and the world in his true light and not as his detractors picture him to be. It intends to send a force of young Negroes abroad when the war is over to grow up with the new nations and thus create sentiment in the Negro's favor with other nations.

ONE MILLION MEMBERS BY FEBRUARY.

The great drive for members has begun. The Alliance plans to have a million members enrolled by February 1st, 1918.

WILL INCREASE CIRCULATION OF NEGRO PAPERS.

The Alliance will endeavor to have every family in the country subscribe for at least two Negro newspapers. It believes that the Negro newspaper will be the greatest factors in breaking the system of repression exercised against Negroes in this country and every Negro will be urged to subscribe for at least two.

THE WAY THE JEWS DO IT.

There are many ways to do almost any thing, but there never is but one real way, and that is usually straight and narrow, as the Scriptures affirm it to be; but most people do not look at it in that way, and seek to obtain what they desire, whether they should have it or not, by crooked rather than by straight ways, by dishonest rather than by honest ways. What a nice and agreeable place the world would be to live in if everybody should "do unto his neighbor as he would that his neighbor would do unto him." As it is with races so it is with individuals; if they do not hang together they invariably hand separately, as a signer of the American Declaration of Independence put it as he scrawled his signature to it.

Journal & Guide 10/28/17

It is estimated that there are not more than 10,000,000 Jews in all of the world, while there are that many Afro-Americans in the United States, with an unlimited number of their far-off kith in Africa and the islands of the seas. Well, the few Jews we have in this country have pledged themselves to give $10,000,000 for the relief of their brethren in Europe who have been made destitute by the way. Their condition is deplorable, and appeals to the charity of universal mankind, but universal mankind, just like the individual man, is more disposed to help those who help themselves than those who wait patiently for others to do for them what they can and should do for themselves, Well, at a little dinner party in New York, recently, given by Jacob H. Schiff, a good friend of the Afro-American people, $2,000,000 was subscribed towards the $10,000,000 fund, by a handful of men, in a jiffy. What do you think of that, you, readers of The Journal and Guide?

There are two phases of this incident of the Schiff dinner that Afro-Americans should profit by: The Jews do not disown and run away from Jews. They are proud of themselves and their race, in prosperity as well as in adversity, and, being men and brethren, they love and assist one another in all reasonable ways when it is necessary to do so; they, in the second place, have money, got by despoiling the American Gentiles as they despoiled the Egyptian Aethiops at Goshen in the times of Moses and when they were departing the country. Having money, and loving one another, and standing together at all times and in all conditions, those or them who have plenty give of their abundance in all conditions, those of them who have little.

Moral: Afro-Americans, study the Jews and the way they do things and learn of them.

RACIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

3-17-17

Certain prominent changes, now going on among the people of this community involving a better co-operation and coordination of civic, business and religious enterprises, are both significant and salutary. Significant,—that we are growing in intelligence and ability to merge our efforts to greater effectiveness,—salutary, in that we are growing in breadth and bigness of heart and character.

3/17/17

Hitherto, our various efforts,—isolated and unrelated, and thus weak and insignificant—have fallen short of their aim, have availed little if any thing. We, as indivduals, or disorganized nuclei, have been neglible factors in the market-place of life because we lacked foundation and background. We have been exploited by designing and unfriendly interests in the past, because those interests could count on racial dissension, and capitalized the practice of putting one individual and one class of us against the other. Fortunately, we are rapidly overcoming this group weakness as evidenced by many examples of group co-operation, campaigns in this city and section, and many of these explorters will be put to other means to succeed or be backed off the boards entirely.

It some times seem amazing that we have so long thus allowed ourselves to be handled. The very hard conditions which we had to undergo, seem enough to have long ago driven us together. There is some excuse to be found in our ignorance, but not sufficient excuse.

But let us not pause to explain, but rather let us continue to press forward for a more successful and more highly respectable position than we now enjoy. We have done well, and right now we are going splendidly, but let us not be content until we have eliminated all weaknesses, removed every stumbling block from the path of our upward march.

In doing this we must have the courage to rid the ranks of malcontents, formenters of discord and promoters of confusion. We can have no patience or place for them and we must get them out of the way. Their motives are either selfish or revengeful, and in a final estimate they can have no force with the great body of the thinking people.

Let us go on record before the state and nation as a united peopl., differing in matters becoming to us, but solidly together on matters which affect our status as a people and as a class of the citizenry of the United States.

We have gone beyond the stage where we may be longer exploited, either by other people or by our own, acting as agents for others. It is now idle for such people to choose us as victims for that purpose. We are thinking; we are saving; we are accomplishing; we are growing in intelligence; we are taking our places in the ranks of skilled labor: we are educating our children and trying to bring them up in the fear of God and obedient to the laws of the land; we are developing those finer and rarer qualities of humanitarianism, self respect and self-reverence; and our movement is onward and upward.

OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT ON BEHALF OF THE NEGRO

WASHINGTON D C STAR

AUGUST 22, 1917

Prof. Kelly Miller Insists That His Race Is Subjected to Continued Injustice.

Directing attention to recent race outbreaks and urging President Wilson to take some action, Prof. Kelly Miller of Howard University has sent an open letter to the President.

Referring to the recent occurrences in Memphis and East St. Louis, the writer says: "These outbreaks call attention anew to the irritating race problem of which they are but eruptive symptoms, which break forth ever and anon with Vesuvian violence."

Prof. Miller says that for fully a generation American statesmanship has strived to avoid, ignore or forget the perplexing race problem, "but this persistent issue will not down at our bidding, and cannot be shunted from public attention by other questions, however momentous or vital they may seem to be."

Continuing, the letter says: "There are 10,000,000 loyal citizens of African descent in the United States. They are rigorously excluded from a voice in the government by which they are controlled. They have no regularly constituted organ through which to present their case to the powers that be. They have no seat nor voice in the council of the nation. The late Dr. Booker T. Washington was the accepted spokesman and mediator of the race, but he has no successor. Under former administrations there was a small appointive official class of negroes. Though derisively designated as the black cabinet, they were on the inside of the circle of governmental control, to which they had ready access in presenting the claims of the race. But under the exaction of partisan exigencies even these have been excluded from official position under your administration."

The writer stated that several weeks ago a delegation of colored men from the state of Maryland sought an interview with President Wilson concerning the crime at East St. Louis, but "you were good enough to write Senator France that you were too busy with other pressing issues to grant the request of an interview." He states the failure of all other methods is his only excuse for resorting to an open letter as a means of reaching the President.

The letter closes with the following appeal to the President:

"Mr. President: Ten million of your fellow citizens are looking to you and to the God whom you serve to grant them relief in this hour of their deepest distress. All moral reforms grow out of the people who suffer and stand in need of them. The negro's helpless position may yet bring America to a realizing sense that righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE.

To Ten Million Coloured Citizens of the United States:

Jan 21 1918

Greetings of the Seasons:

The world is engulfed in the red ruin of war. The present titantic conflict is not due to the inherent deviltry of one nation or the innate goodness of another. The accumulative ethical

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

energies of society for generations have been damned by the hatred and greed. The stored up power is now breaking through the barrier with cataclysmic outburst. The social fabric is being shaken to its very foundation. As outcome of the war, the readjustment of the social structure will be scarcely less momentous than the Emancipation Proclamation.

The democratization of the world, coined as a fitting phrase, will be translated into actuality. The Declaration of Independence, penned by a slaveholder, sounded the death knell of slavery, although three-quarters of a century elapsed between promise and fulfillment. The democratization of the world is but a restatement of this doctrine in terms of present day attitude of the world. Political autocracy and race autocracy will be buried in the same grave. Hereafter, no nation, however strong, will be permitted to override a weaker neighbor by sheer dominance of power; and no race will be permitted to impose a ruthless regime upon the weaker breeds of men through sheer assumption of superiority. Hereafter, England will treat the East Indians, the Negroes, with a fuller measure of justice and consideration than heretofore.

The people of all lands who are heavy laden and overborne will be the chief beneficiaries of this war. The Negro problem is involved in the problem of humanity. The whole is greater than any of its parts. The Negro will share in the general momentum imported to social welfare.

Already, he has been admitted to industrial opportunity in the North with manifest reaction upon the harsh regime of the South.

National prohibition, which is borne forward on the wave of the world war, will immensely improve his moral status. Eighty thousands Negro soldiers have been enlisted, and seven hundred Negroes have been commissioned as officers in the army of the United States. A Negro has been made assistant Cabinet officer, whose function is to adjust harmoniously the race's relation to the pending struggle.

The improved attitude of the white race towards the Negro is apparent in two affirmative decisions rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States with unanimous concurrence.

The Negro will emerge from this war with a double portion of privilege and opportunity.

Every Negro should be loyal and patriotic, although there are injustices and discriminations which try our souls. If we overcome, these trials and tribulations will work out a more exceeding weight of advantage. But if we allow them to overcome us, woeful will be our lot indeed. To fan sickly by in plaintive aloofness, because of just grievances, would be of the same kind of folly as to refuse to help extinguish a conflagaration which threatens the destruction of one's native city because he has a complaint against the Fire Department. Let us help put out the conflagaration which threatens the world, and then make the world our lasting debtor. We must stand shoulder to shoulder with our white fellow citizens to fight for the freedom of the world, outside of our own national circle, and then we must hold them to moral consistency of maintaining a just and equitable regime inside of that circle. Democracy, like charity should begin at home, or at least it should prevail there. Let us fight to the finish to the effect that no nation shall hereafter dare attempt to make an international treaty a scrap of paper. It must therefore follow then, as corollary, that no nation will hereafter allow its own constitution, which is an intra-national treaty, to be made a scrap of paper.

The tide of democracy is sweeping through the world like a mighty river. The race problem and other social ills are but as marshes, backwaters, stagnant pools, estuaries, which have been shut off from free circulation with the main current. But the freshest of freedom is now overflowing its bed and purifying all the stagnant waters in its onward sweep to the ocean of human liberty and brotherhood. Fortunate, indeed, are we to be born forward upon its beneficent bosom at such a time as this.

KELLY MILLER.
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Bruce Grit Columns

The Star of Zion

Mr. Rufus L. Perry of Brooklyn, New York has favored me with a handsomely bound and tastefully printed copy "De Luxe," of a work from his facile pen entitled "Sketch of Philosophical Systems" with photo gravure illustrations of ancient and modern philosophers. The book is finished on the best book paper and the art of the printer is shown on every page from cover to cover.

I have not seen in years any book by a Negro author so well printed and bound, so pleasing and attractive to the eye, in form and make up. Author and publisher stand on a parity in this work, and congratulations must be equally divided between them. In the "Foreshadow"—as Mr. Perry styles—the old fashion Preface or Introduction to this book, he permits Job to sum up the arguments advanced by these various philosophers thus:—

"Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven, what canst thou do? Deeper than hell, what canst thou know?"

These questions are pointed and pertinent. Since philosophers like ordinary mentals can think no higher than their heads, the inexactness of their philosophy is obvious the Ptolonaic theory as to the form of the earth was smashed to smithereens thousands of years before he was born; for it is Isaiah who wrote: "It is he that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers etc. If scientists and philosophers were a little more familiar with the Book of Books, their dogmatic art giving would not be subject to so much criticism and revision.

"Philosophers Systems" show deep research, wide reading and careful reflection. There are philosophers and philosophers and the greatest among them are those who have learned to read aright the greatest text book in all the world. The book of books. Mr. Perry is the son and name sake of Dr. Rufus L. Perry the author of "The Cushite."

The Hamitic League of the world, with headquarters at 933 W. 22 St., Omaha Nebraska, who seems to be headed for a successful career. Its objects are stated to be: (1st) To quicken the self consciousness of our race and arouse in it a powerful race pride. (2) To spread the knowledge by the part played by Hamitics in the development of human civilization. (3) To work for the revision of text books that falsify and delete the truth concerning the Hamitic race. (4) To strive for the Universal admission of the equality of all races. (5) To oppose all forms of prejudice against the race as well as all forms of prejudice within the race. (6) To rebuke all magazines and newspapers which endeavor to harm the race by inflamatory news untruthful articles and disparaging dialect. (7) To fight for the capitalization of all terms used as an ethnic definition of our race etc.

This organization has recently published a pamphlet of 31 pages written by George Wells Parker, and bearing the title "The Children of the Sun, which is going to be widely read in this country and throughout the West shores and Africa where the "children of the sun do most abide, because Mr. Parker who is a forceful writer and careful student of all history has gathered together some facts about the sons of Ham of the most interesting and illuminating character and which holds the readers interest until the last paragraph in it has been read. I have no hesitation in saying that this is one of the most useful historical pamphlets dealing with the black and colored races now on the market, and that few who are fortunate enough to secure copies will want to part with it.

The race owes Mr Parker a vote of thanks for the unanswerable argument he has advanced in this book, which establishes beyond the shadow of doubt the Primacy of the Hamitic Race, in all that makes for civilization, religion and government. Black and colored men who read it will feel a few inches taller. Mr. Parkers proofs for all that he has written, like the testimony advanced by Wendell Phillips in his lect re, or Toussaint L'Overture, is taken from white men and some of them enemies of the black race. This makes the myth which it contains more valuable and more effective, as testimony bcause those who gave it were compelled to acknowledge the truth as they found it and to admit that the Negro is A Man.

WOULD PREVENT AFRICAN DODGER

B'klyn Lawyer Heads Move to Secure Citizens

The Amsterdam News
Mar. 1—17

BILL FOR STATE SENATE

Rufus L. Perry Drafts Measure Which Senator Murphy, of Kings, Will Be Asked to Introduce

Lawyer Rufus L. Perry, 375 Fulton street, who has engaged in the practice of law for some years in Brooklyn, has revived the effort which he made about two years ago to prevent the disgraceful scene of colored men posing as "African Dodgers" at amusement places during the summer. Lawyer Perry has again taken the initiative in the matter of heading this move which he is desirous of getting support from all thoughtful colored citizens, for the bill which he has drafted and which Senator Murphy of Kings wil be asked to introduce into the State Senate. The Perry-Murphy bill reads as follows:

STATE OF NEW YORK
IN SENATE
February, 1917.

AN ACT

To amend the penal law, in relation to public health and decency.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1: The penal law is hereby amended by inserting therein a new section, to be section seventeen hundred and fifty-six-a, to read as follows:

1756-a: Disgraceful practices offending health and decency. A person who exhibits himself or another in public, and invites, solicits or allows others to throw or release a ball or other article at his head . . . or other portion of his body, or the head or body of another, for compensation, reward or otherwise, or publicly engages in or takes any part in a game commonly known as "ball dodger" for a consideration or otherwise, or employs a person for such purpose, or at such place or places, for himself, or for another, invites, solicits or allows others to throw a ball or other article, to release a spring or other object or device whereby a person is thrown from a distance to a body of water or any receptacle, or commits any act or acts whereby any race of citizens of this State is held up to contempt or ridicule, is guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not more than five hundred nor less than one hundred dollars, or by imprisonment for a term of not more than one year or less than three months, or both.

2. This act shall take effect immediately.

There is a greater enemy to the Negro race than that one who will cast a ballot that would put liquor in his grasp. Cheap, rotten liquor is destroying the average Negro body and soul. No price is too dear for him to pay for it. He'll travel from Florida to Pennsylvania for it. He'll spend his last dollar and then one that is not his for it. He'll sell the very clothes off his back, yes he'll sacrifice even the roof over his head and his little innocent children and too often he flirts with death for the last time as a price paid for value received in a glass of rotten rum.

It looks very much like a whole lot of us are trying hard to make the declaration of an enemy true when he said: "In a few years the Nigger will destroy himself." But with just a little forethought on our part we can offset this prediction. A lack of knowledge is destroying us as a people. Let us think just a little of our foolish extravagance in excursions, liquor and what we call a GOOD TIME. And what does it all amount to? More often it's an empty pocket-book and a heavy heart or something worse. Quit it! Quit it! For God's sake quit for the peace and safety of your own life and the good of the Race.

Racial Consciousness-1917

15,000 PROTEST RACE'S WRONGS

The Amsterdam News.

Colored Men, Women and Children Smarting Under Rank Injustices and Tired of Lynching, Mob Murders, Segregation, Jim Crowism and Disfranchisement in Huge Demonstration on Fifth Ave.

8/11/17

Fifteen thousand colored men, women and children joined in the "Silent Protest" parade down Fifth avenue on Saturday afternoon to protest this nation's treatment of its colored citizens and to give those in authority due warning of the new spirit that has permeated the colored race throughout the country.

They marched solemnly and to the sound of muffled drums. There was no talking in the lines and no one smiled. There was no speech-making before or after. The banners told the tale. Little kiddies dressed in white led the way in a protest of the lynching of children in this civilized land and the making illegally of orphans by the barbarous murder of men and women. They protested, too, the black future before them. They carried banners with the legends: "Suffer little children to come unto me," "Thou shalt not kill," etc.

Following the children were the women, all in white. Fully two-thirds of the paraders were women and children. Behind the women came the men, all in dark clothes. The flags of Hayti and Liberia, Great Britain and the United States led the way. Banners bearing various spicy legends followed. Those that attracted the most notice were "Yours hands are full of blood," "We are excluded from the unions and condemned for not Joining," "We are Maligned as lazy and murdered when we work," "Pray for the Lady Macbeths of East St. Louis," "From Bunker Hill to Cer al we have done our duty," "We fought for the liberty of white Americans in six wars and East St. Louis is our reward," "Memphis and Waco centers of American culture?", "So treat us that may love our country," "Give us chance to live," "The world owes no man a living, but every man an opportunity to earn a living," "The first blood for American independence was shed by a Negro, Christus Attucks," "Race prejudice is the offspring of ignorance and the mother of lynching," "We were first in France, ask Pershing," "Repelled by the unions we are called scabs," "A square deal for everybody.—T. R.," "Ten thousand of us fought in the Spanish-American War," "Put the Spirit of Christianity into the making of the laws."

A delegation of boy scouts, under Colonel Nichols, helped along the line. Many in line wore the United States uniform, veterans of her wars and protestors of her injustice.

The Executive Committee led the line and consisted of: Rev. Dr. Hutchins Bishop, Dr. Charles Martin, James W. Johnson, Rev. F. Cullen, Prof. De Bois, F. Mottley, J. S. Nail and the Rev. Everard Daniel. The idea of the protest parade emanated from the prolific brain of Dr. Charles Martin and was given the instant co-operation of Rev. Dr. Bishop, with all of the others promptly falling in line. This paper nor anyone on it had anything to do with organizing the parade, as was erroneously reported a few days ago by one of the white dailies. The only credit this paper claims in the matter was that it was the first New York newspaper to give its support to the parade and that it gave the heartiest and most sustained of any. But, for the idea of the parade credit must be given to Dr. Charles Martin and to Dr Rev. Bishop for its development and for its success to the entire executive committee and the organizations and people of Greater New York, who staunchly supported the idea once launched and contributed of their time, labor and money towards its success.

The parade was well directed and a marvel of efficiency. The children ending up first at Madison Square were detained there by appointed matrons until their parents arrived. The women following next, lined up with their children and gave the men marchers a rousing demonstration as they filed through from lines of six teen to lines of four.

COLLIERS' ARTICLE.

The Guardian

An intensely interesting article in Colliers' of this week entitled "The Negro, the World's Peasant Supreme"—is a masterpiece of descriptive art in literature. It not only pictures with concrete examples every type and class of southern Colored American, but classifies the whites among whom they live, giving their respective opinions, views and attitudes toward the Colored people, also exposing many extreme views heretofore concealed or denied. 1-27-17

The fairness of the writer, Mr. Julian Street, in this respect and in giving space to describe the nobler types, and picture the evidences of real progress in that seeming land of the substantial and picturesque "Peasant Class" is gratifying and honest, and compensates much for the uglier side given.

He gives credit for the wealth acquired and also delineates the progress made in literature, music and art. The business development is touched upon, and the efforts in the southern cities to overcome and neutralize the embarrassments of segregation and discriminations by opening up parks, roof gardens and social settlements there are pointed out with many suggestions, appreciative of the self-reliance and internal development of the "World's Peasant Supreme" whose destiny must be worked out largely through his own evolution, growth, stamina and manliness of spirit in every resenting being kept down and classified permanently as alien and outside the brotherhood of Equality of Rights and Citizenship.

SOCIAL HYENAS.

Boston Guardian

It is of the first importance to every people that they protect themselves, as far as they can, from the members of the social organism who belong to the canine race in their fixed habits and ways of thinking and doing things. It is a notorious fact that the human canine, like his four-legged namesake, has no public morals and no private virtues; he is simply a predatorial vampire that sucks the blood of everything that has any that he connects with and that gives no blood in return for that he sucks, the rather returning poison for blood, and death for life.

Journal & Guide

Happily for Norfolk, the dance halls and places of resort where men and women, young folks and old folks, can go and "have a good time," have been wiped out of existence. It will be good for the Nation when they are wiped out everywhere by appropriate legislation, and it is urgently needed that it be done in the large cities of the country. There should be no such places anywhere where males and females can drink and dance together "the dog" and other serpentinely suggestive "ragtime" phantasms, lewd in their contact and movement of the persons engaged in them, and irresistibly immoral and debasing in their ultimate outcome.

Unfortunately the Afro-American people do not seem to have reached the point where they can draw the social lines as closely as other race groups can and do draw them, but they have got to get to the point, and The Journal and Guide purposes to help them do so. We should know more about the people our sons and daughters associate and make common with than we do, and where and how they spend their time when they are away from the parental observation.

The worst of the social hyenas, and the most dangerous, are those whose occupations take them from place to place, and who are always "out for a good time." They dress well; they have smart ways; their conversation is "snappy and fetching," generally of the "smutly" sort that should be kept out of the hearing of respectable people; they have money, and are "good spenders." Young women of good morals and families take to such people all too readily, and go with them to places and drink, dance and make merry with them in a way that they would be ashamed to have their parents know about. The end of it all is often a hasty and bad marriage that lasts only so long as the man does not tire of the "giddy thing" that allowed him to impose upon her; then, too, there is sometimes no marriage at all between them, except "one of convenience," which ruins the female but seldom phases the male, until his sins "find him out" in the long run,—and they never fail to do it. Their sins are just as inexorable as Nemesis.

Most of these strolling social hyenas, like many of them who are denizens of every city and town, are men "who are married but do not live with their wives," and who always find the women when they arrive in a place who are also "married, but do not live with their husbands." These women are all the more dangerous because they occupy a certain social position and lure young women "to join them" and their "male friends" in late suppers and automobile rides and shows and dances that lead straight to the worst temptations and the direst consequences. The sublist enemies that young women can have, or "scrape acquaintance with," and allow to persuade them to "join us and a few male friends," are these same "married women who do not live with their husbands," or "designing widows out of the Can." They know "the ropes" alright, and having been hung themselves, socially, by them, they certainly, in a short time, hang dead, socially, any young woman with a character and reputation who associates with them and meets their "male friends" often enough.

Readers of The Journal and Guide young women: Do you know any of the social hyenas among you, or who come and go,—the male and female sort "who are married, but don't live together," and "who are out of the Can and in for a good time," and who have it, and pay for it, and make the innocent persons they lure into their ways, do so, with moral death and frequently, with physical death? If you know them, beware of them.

(BY LESTER A. WALTON)

ON Broadway, between Fifty-first and Fifty-second streets, 1661 Broadway, to be more accurate, is a novelty shop where sheet music and novelties are sold. It is not unlike the hundreds of other novelty shops in Manhattan and Brooklyn, save that the windows contain "novelty" pictures which are an insult to the colored people of this community.

The first picture to meet my gaze was that of a black baby in a bath tub, bearing the inscription "HOW INK IS MADE." The next picture to set my blood boiling was labeled "NIGGER MILK," showing a little black child nursing from a bottle of ink. "A NIGGER IN THE WOODPILE" depicting a Negro infant peeping out of a pile of wood was the third artistic contribution used to make light of the race that came to my notice.

Upon closer inspection I learned that the pictures were copyrighted by the Mars & Bendien Company, New York, but the various local directories fail to disclose the present whereabouts of the firm. It may be that it has ceased doing

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

business. Let us hope so.

Can you imagine how long the show windows of this novelty shop would remain out of harm's way if babies of the Irish race were so maligned and ridiculed? Or if the Jewish or Italian babies were held up to scorn would the people in the novelty shop be permitted to sell their wares without becoming involuntary principals in some exciting and perhaps sanguinary controversies? New York Age

That shopkeepers in New York are brazen enough to prominently display on sale pictures such as "HOW INK IS MADE," NIGGER MILK" and "A NIGGER IN THE WOODPILE" is almost inconceivable, but it is being done, nevertheless, and the novelty shop at 1661 Broadway is not the only place in Greater New York where these pictures which grossly abuse our babyhood may be seen.

The attention of the Society for the Prevention of Vice, which is active in the suppression of objectionable pictures, is directed to "HOW INK IS MADE," "NIGGER MILK" and "A NIGGER IN THE WOODPILE." If the society fails to see any impropriety in the vulgar display of these misrepresentations, then drastic measures ought to be taken by the colored people of New York to see that they are removed from the public's view.

THE AFRICAN DODGER BILL.

Concerted effort gets results. This fact has been clearly demonstrated by the successful fight waged by the colored citizens of New York State against the "African Dodger." Two years ago a bill was introduced at Albany but failed to win the favorable consideration of the lawmakers. At this session of the Legislature the same bill was introduced and passed both branche of the Legislature.

Readers of THE AGE will recall that Senator Gilchrist, of Brooklyn, last February, in declining to champion the measure, informed the dramatic editor of THE AGE that while he would support it, he would under no circumstances introduce it, as the Negroes had not given him any encouragement two years ago when he prevailed upon his colleagues to pass the measure. Members of the Legislature, he said, did not take the bill seriously, as the colored people had evinced no concern in its passage.

When Senator Charles F. Murphy became convinced that the colored people would heartily cooperate with him in a fight to put the "African Dodger" out of business, he readily consented to introduce the bill in the Senate. Assemblyman Fred M. Ahern also declared his willingness to stand sponsor for the measure in the lower branch of the Legislature. The race was also fortunate in having the support of Senate Leader Elon R. Brown and Speaker Thaddeus C. Sweet.

While THE AGE led in the agitation for the passage of the African Dodger bill, success was attained by members of the race pulling together. Counselor Rufus L. Perry, of Brooklyn, drew up the measure which was passed just as he wrote it. Organizations and individuals substantiated the statements made in THE AGE that the Negroes of the State were deeply concerned over the measure becoming a law by urging the legislators to vote for it.

At no time was an attempt made to play politics or to promote selfish ends. And for once our good white friends were not bothered about lending their support to a worthy cause which Negroes should have and did bring to a successful conclusion without seeking outside aid.

The victory achieved in the "African Dodger" fight furnishes an object lesson from which much should be learned. It is an answer to what the Negro can do when personal ambitions are buried and all work for a common good. It is a shining light to which we may well point with pride in the future as an achievement which the Negro accomplished by himself for himself.

3,500 NEGROES JOIN IN A SILENT PARADE

N Y C WORLD
JULY 29, 1917

Impressive Protest Against Lynching Made by Men, Women and Children Marching in Fifth Avenue.

Leaders among the negroes of New York City decided that a silent parade would be the most dramatic and effective way to make felt the protest of their race against injustice and inhumanity, whether growing out of lynch law, race riots, segregation or disfranchisement.

And this silent parade was staged with real impressiveness and dignity and with an indefinable appeal to the heart in Fifth Avenue yesterday afternoon.

From the time that the 3,500 or 4,000 men, women and children marchers left Fifty-sixth Street shortly after 1 o'clock until they were completing their dispersal in Twenty-fourth Street about 3 no note of discord was struck.

Police Inspector Morris, who, with upward of one hundred policemen, was in charge of the arrangement down to Forty-second Street, expressed his warm admiration for those in the silent lines.

"They have done everything just right," he said to a reporter for The World. "They have been lovely."

And it might be mentioned that this was the first time that the reporter, who has observed many parades in the past few years in New York, ever heard a police official use the adjective "lovely" to describe those whom it is his task to keep in order.

One Placard Put Aside.

Of the many printed signs prepared by the marchers, Inspector Morris doubted the good taste of only one. It showed a colored mother crouching protectively over two cowering children with the caption, "East St. Louis." And then it showed a photograph of President Wilson and his assertion that the world must be made safe for democracy.

"I asked them if they did not think it was in bad taste too," the Inspector said. "And they agreed that it was and put it aside. They made every effort to have this parade exactly what it was planned to be."

The only sound as the marchers passed down the avenue was the slow, —Tum, tum, tum—tum—tum. And except for little cries of sympathy and admiration from women when they saw a tiny, bright-eyed, kinky-haired baby peeping solemnly over the moist neck of its marching mother, the silence of the parade spread to and enveloped the watchers on the sidewalk too.

There must have been as many colored men and women and babies on the sidewalk as there were in the parade. Probably there were more.

And they too showed the same restraint and sense of decorum that governed the marchers.

The parade was led by a drum corps of boys in khaki. Then there were fourteen lines of young girls. After them were six rows of boys, eighty-five rows of women, many of them mothers with babies in their arms, and fifty-five lines of men. The lines appeared to average twenty persons.

This count, which was made by a reporter for The World, would give 120 boys, 280 girls, 1,700 women and 1,100 men, a total of 3,200. But the count did not include deputy marshals, standard bearers, several small groups between the lines and several men and women who rode in autos.

In the line of march were doctors, lawyers, ministers, school teachers and trained nurses. Many veterans of the Spanish-American War were there too. The Grand Marshal Capt. Hubert Jackson, served in Cuba and the Philippines as Captain of Company L of the Sixth Massachusetts. Clifton G. A. French, a lawyer, was in the Twenty-third Kansas. He explained the purpose of the parade this way:

"We love our Government. And we want our Government to love us too."

The Banners.

The banners carried aloft bore the following inscriptions:

"Thou shalt not kill."

"Unto the least of these, my brethren."

"Mother, do lynchers go to heaven?"

"Suffer little children and forbid them not."

"Give me a chance to live."

"Mr. President, why not make America safe for democracy."

"The first blood for American independence was shed by a negro Crispus Attucks."

"Put the spirit of Christ in the making and the execution of laws."

"Your hands are full of blood."

"We have 30,000 teachers."

"Race prejudice is the offspring of ignorance and the mother of lynching."

"Ten thousand of us fought in the Spanish-American War."

"Three thousand negroes fought for American independence under George Washington."

"No negro has ever betrayed his country or attempted to assassinate a President or any official of the Government."

"Patriotism and loyalty presuppose protection and liberty."

"America has lynched without trial 2,867 negroes in thirty-one years. Not a single murderer has suffered."

"Memphis and Waco, centres of American culture?"

"Twenty thousand black men fought for your liberty in the Civil War."

"The world owes no man a living, but every man an opportunity to earn a living."

"Thirty-four negroes have received Carnegie hero medals."

"Our music is the only American music."

"A square deal for every man."

And there was another one to the effect that if there is any fault to be found with color, either white people or God is responsible.

One tall, well formed young woman marcher had a mass of blonde hair, and her eyes were blue. And there were many others also who in only slightly lesser degree showed the strain of white blood that is strong in their veins.

The Rev. Dr. N. C. Bishop was President of the parade. The Rev. Dr. Charles D. Martin was Secretary. The Rev. F. A. Cullen was Vice President. The first Deputy Marshal was J. Rosmond Johnson. Others were A. B. Cosey, C. H. Payne, formerly a member of Troop A, Ninth Cavalry; the Rev. E. W. Daniels, Allen Wood, James W. Johnson and John Nail jr.

Negro Boy Kicked Out of Jew Store

The Liberator 7/24/17

Once again the Meyer Nachlas dry goods store is the scene of racial trouble. This time a Negro boy, about 12 years of age, went into the store to buy a pair of pants to match his coat. As they failed to match after being brought to the sunlight, the boy naturally objected and returned same, only to be told nothing doing. The boy sought the aid of the patrolman on that beat, a real man by the name of Wilkins, who immediately gave the case his attention.

He accompanied the boy to the store and asked him did he want the clerk arrested; but the boy told him no—he only wanted the right color of pants or the money back. Whereupon the said officer started to walk off. In the meantime the Jew clerk handed the pants back to the lad, and with an oath kicked him out of the store. Some Negroes standing near called the officer back and he arrested the cowardly clerk, much against his protest. There is a rumor afloat that they are attempting to have the patrolman discharged for arresting a white man for kicking a Negro boy. How long will our people make such men rich?

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

Racial Consciousness—1917

Stummer Notschrei.

Große Negerparade als Protest gegen Rassen-Vorurteile.

15,000 Farbige im Zug.

N Y C GERMAN HEROLD
... 29, 1917

Hinweis auf Vorgänge von East St. Louis. — Eindringliche Bannersprüche.

Einen stummen Notschrei, einen eindrucksvollen Protest gegen die Niedertretung ihrer Menschenrechte, gegen solch schmachvolle Vorgänge, wie die von East St. Louis, Waco oder Memphis, gegen ungerechtfertigte Diskriminierung und Unterdrückung aller Art haben gestern etwa 15,000 Angehörige der dunkelfarbigen Rasse in Gestalt einer „stummen Parade" an ihre weißhäutigen Mitbürger in der Metropole gerichtet. Pünktlich zur festgesetzten Zeit, um 1 Uhr 30 nachmittags, setzte sich der Zug, unter gedämpftem Trommelwirbel als einzige Musik, in Bewegung, um mit Fahnen der Ver. Staaten und der Alliierten von der 57. Str. die 5. Ave. entlang bis nach dem Madison Square zu ziehen und auf dem Wege durch Plakate mit entsprechenden Inschriften, die von den Paradierenden getragen wurden, dem Publikum auf den Straßen die Wünsche der farbigen Bevölkerung ans Herz zu legen. Sei es nun, daß die Passanten von diesen Wünschen nicht sehr erbaut waren, sei es, daß sie sich dem Geist der „stummen" Parade anpaßten, — mit Hurrageschrei, wie sonst Demonstrationen solcher Art, wurde der Umzug nicht begrüßt. Aber ohne nach rechts oder links zu blicken, ernsten Gesichtes, auch die Frauen und Kinder, die vielleicht die Hälfte der Paradierenden bildeten, zogen die dunklen Massen ihres Weges.

Frauen und Kinder voran.

Eröffnet wurde der Zug durch Polizeikapitän Jackson von der Verkehrsabteilung, Bischoff Cullen und einigen Geistlichen. Die Tête der Parade bildeten die Frauen und Kinder in heller Kleidung, Automobile mit hervorragenden farbigen Geistlichen, Vertretern von Negerorganisationen und schmucken Pfadpfindern — Boy Scouts — in Khaki mit Bannern, auf denen zu lesen war: „Behandelt uns so, daß wir unser Land lieben lernen", „Lasset die Kindlein zu mir kommen", „Du sollst nicht töten" u. a. m. Die Banner der Frauen enthielten Inschriften wie „Unsere Musik die einzige amerikanische Musik", „Betet für die Lady Machbeth von East St. Louis".

In tiefem Ernst.

Vorzügliche Erscheinungen bildeten die Männer, zum Teil in der Uniform der amerikanischen Armee, hier und da ein ergrauter Veteran aus früheren Kämpfen, wacker Schritt haltend mit den jüngeren Kameraden und alle mit unbewegten Zügen, stramm geradeaus blickend, eingedenk der Weisung, auf dem Marsche weder zu scherzen noch zu lachen. Die Banner, die die Männer trugen, waren in ihren Inschriften etwas kräftiger gehalten. Sie fragten: „Kain, wo ist dein Bruder Abel?" oder sagten „Wir waren die ersten in Frankreich, fraget Pershing", oder „Das erste Blut für Amerika's Unabhängigkeit wurde von einem Neger, Crispus Attucks, vergossen". — „Rassenvorurteil ist der Sproß der Unwissenheit und die Mutter des Lynchens", — „Leget den Geist des Christentums in die Abfassung und Ausführung von Gesetzen", — „Wir werden als faul geschmäht und werden ermordet, wenn wir arbeiten", — „Zehntausende der Unsren haben im Spanisch-Amerikanischen Kriege gekämpft" und „Von den Unionen zurückgewiesen, werden wir „Scabs" geschimpft".

Der tiefe Ernst, der auf dem ganzen Weg gewahrt blieb, wich der Fröhlichkeit erst, als an der 24. Str. die Auflösung des Zuges erfolgte, und sich alles um die Leiter drängte, um sie zu dem würdigen Verlauf der Kundgebung zu beglückwünschen. Die Teilnehmer erhielten Weisung, sich sofort heimzubegeben und nicht unterwegs herumzulungern, und sind der Weisung anscheinend getreulich nachgekommen. Wie die Polizei, die in starker Zahl aufgeboten war, erklärte, hatte sie während des ganzen Umzugs keine Veranlassung zu irgendeinem Einschreiten. Auch die Ambulanzen wurden nicht in Anspruch genommen, wenn auch vielen Teilnehmern, besonders den Frauen, Kindern und Greisen, die drückende Hitze den Marsch zu einem ziemlich beschwerlichen gestaltete.

THE GAZETTE AND HER NEGRO FRIENDS

The Appeal, 7/20
7-20-17

The Akansas Gazette, the greatest daily journal in the State of Arkansas, read by more people possibly, than any other two journals in the state, and therefore stands first as a molder of public sentiment and the creator of public policy, is not in the judgment of the People's Defender, treating the public right, and especially the Negro contingent of the public. The Negroes are readers and lovers of the Arkansas Gazette, and in many instances must look to it for protection against a public sentiment that would be destructive to them, but the Negroes feel a little grieved at the readiness that the Gazette offers its columns, or permits its columns to be used for expression and moulding of sentiment that humiliates, and puts in the wrong light the Negro people.

The expression found in the columns of the Gazette the morning of July 4th, in its write-up of the East St. Louis riots, the "Buxom Wench" referring to a young colored woman who had been driven from her home by rioters and anarchists is so distasteful to all respectable and self-respecting colored people until they regard that the Gazette surely hath forgotten her friends. A careless fling of that kind at the women of a race of people who may in many respects be helpless and unable to defend themselves, is to say the least unfair and shows the advantages that might takes over right. It is such write-ups, such references to a civil people, such references to a race of tax-payers, to a race of people who have cleared up the forests and tilled the field, such references that are entirely uncalled for and help to form public opinion and race feeling and bad conditions, and to set in motion winds that ultimately will grow into whirlwinds. For be it understood that whatever my be said or done, that the strong man never stays strong forever, nor the weak man never stays weak forever. The best policy is that the man who is strong today should at least give his brother who is weak today, a living show, for tomorrow under the providence of God, he himself may be the weaker, and the other may be the stronger, and he will have meter out to him what he has meted out to his weaker brother. For saith God we shall reap that which we sow.

RACE CONGRESS ISSUES ADDRESS

OFFICERS ELECTED FOR THE ENSUING YEAR—DR. JERNAGIN HEADS MOVEMENT

Washington, D. C.—Under the leadership of Dr. Jernagin, the new head of the National Race Congress, there has been an amalgamation of forces. As is stated here by both meetings there was a veritable consolidation so it was expected that the two organizations combined would touch more people and render greater service. In the election of the officers to serve for the ensuing year is noted the following:

President, Rev. W. H. Jernagin. Washington, D. C.

Vice President, Bishop I. N. Ross, of A. M. E. Church, Washington, D. C.

Recording Secretary, Rev. Wm. Alexander, Baltimore, Md.

Corresponding and Financial Secretary, Rev. A. A. Graham, Hampton, Va.

Treasurer, Rev. W. A. Taylor, Washington, D. C.

National Chaplain, Rev. E. A. P. Cheek, Newark, N. J.

National Organizer, Lawyer Robt. L. Vann, Pittsburg, Pa.

Sergeant-at-Arms, Rev. J. J. Nickerson, Hinton, W. Va.

National Lecturer, Rev. L. G Jordan, Philadelphia, Pa.

One of the last but perhaps regarded as the most imperative work of the recent meeting was the issuance of their address to the country as follows:

"At this, the second annual session of our Congress, we, your committee, beg leave to submit the following report on the present state of the country:

1. Together with the whole nation, our group is sharing its quota of the burden of the greatest war known to the world, and in proportion to the contribution we make to secure to the world the much sought peace, we shall share the benefits of the "New Democracy" recently declared to be the ultimate objective of the war.

2. Out of the world war have grown economic conditions and problems that affect us directly and indirectly. At present, we are confronted with an unusual economic nesessity. We are being forced by necessity and circumstance to transplant, in unusually large numbers, our accustomed place of abode in the southland to new and untried localities in the northland. We are migrating in numbers heretofore unknown.

3. Our migration has given rise to labor problems, political problems and social problems calculated to affect every phase of our national life. In the North, we are face to face with opposition in the labor world and no little criticism is being expressed in an apparent effort to disturb the Negro in his new field of labor. We are the victims of one of three agencies. Either the labor unions of the North are opposed to Negro labor in the various industries of the North; or there is at work a secret agency from the South, seeking to so disturb labor conditions by labor riots as to frighten the Negro back to southern soil and southern employment; or the Negro is encountering extreme difficulty in readily adjusting himself to new employment and the attendant high wage.

4. We note the general necessity for a constant course of instruction to our people who have been affected by this new change of habitation and occupation. We recommend that the press, the pulpit and the platform be dedicated, at least in part, to a continued course of instruction to the thousands who have come North to live under entirely new conditions and new laws that obedience of the law be taught at every opportunity, efficiency and reliability be held before them as essential; that thrift and economy be urged generally.

5. We call attention to the peculiar situation arising out of the draft of our men for the National Army. There is danger of unwise comment upon the method of procedure adopted by the administration relative to the encampment, training and ultimate employment of Negro soldiers. We urge the exercise of caution in our remarks, and the cultivation of loyalty to the country forever, and especially at this time when it is evident that deceptive agencies are at work seeking to arouse us to disloyal expression and general disruption.

6. Nor must the abnormal condition of the markets of the world be overlooked. Money is plentiful, but prices are abnormal, and there is danger of a period of extravagance, due to the unusual flow of money, and a corresponding danger of a distrubance of credit due to a lack of appreciation of the extremely high cost of living.

7. Our educational institutions generally, and the public schools especially in the south, are suffering because of the unprecidented demands of the world war. We exhort the nation to a vigilant practice of economy and good judgement in order that our educational system may not be rendered less efficient. Especially do we urge a strict watchcare over those sections of the South where appropriations for public school education are made without due and equal consideration of the Negro children.

8. The extraordinary burden of our national tax is a subject for serious consideration. To meet the increasing demands of our government for money with which to prosecute a successful conclusion the world war, and at the same time be able to appropriate our usual amounts to education, the spread of Christianity and the maintenance of our homes in keeping with the American standard, will tax us for all we have of economy, fortitude and race loyalty.

9. We regret to keep before you the fact that our republic is still cursed with the presence of a spirit of lynch law and rioting of a virulent type. We recommend a renewed effort toward a successful abolition of this curse, and we urge that the subject be kept forever before our National Congress for legislation calculated to put down forever the lynchers and mob leaders now operating with apparent sanction in the various sections of our republic.

10. We call for a united effort to secure to our group a fair, strict and impartial interpretation of the laws of the land, and especially do we demand that impartial accommodation for travel in the southern states

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 7

be provided at once; and that the Supreme Court be invoked by proper appeals and proceedings to enforce the laws of the several states as well as the amendments to the Federal Constitution guaranteeing to the Negro his rights as an American citizen. We are being unfairly dealt with by the railroads and transportation companies of the south, and we urge immediate action looking to a relief of conditions.

11. The ghetto is another menace to our rights to property, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Steps must be taken to prevent summary segregation and the imposition upon us of unlawful and unconstitutional laws and ordinances in the various cities of the south.

12. The question of better housing conditions, the country over, demands immediate attention. We recommend that the various civic bodies of the several cities be approached, and their co-operation secured in making living conditions sanitary and tolerable as much for the Negro as for any other citizen.

For the ultimate accomplishment of all of which, we commend our people of whatever creed or belief, the world over, to a stricter and more faithful service of Him who alone can give to the world the New Democracy so devoutly desired, and the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, the sole prerequisite to Democracy and peace.

Respectfully submitted,
Com. on Address to the Country:
G. B. Howard, Pa., Chairman.
Robt. L. Vann, Pa., Sec'y.
H. J. Callis, Dist. of Columbia.
W. C. Brown, Dist. of Columbia.
E. A. P. Cheek, New Jersey.
C. C. Summerville, Va.
J. J. Nickerson, W. Va.

W. H. Jernagin, Pres,
Washington, D. C.
Wm. Alexander, Sec'y,
Baltimore, Md.

TER?

The New York World a week or two ago carried a strong editorial on "Race Prejudice and the War." A writer, presumably white, in a subsequent issue, sent a letter to the World commending it for the fairness and spirit of justice displayed. He then makes this remarkable statement: "In conclusion allow me to suggest that you consider the advisability of throwing the great influence of the World into a movement to have the press cease calling attention to the race of a Colored person accused of committing a crime.

"Race prejudice comes from a perception of the difference in race. If the press should generally call attention to the race of any of our different nationalities when individuals are accused of crime, it would be quite as much disliked as the Colored people now are."

There is a world of truth in that reasoning. Which leads us to ask again what does it profit us, as a race, if the big dailies carry hi-fa-lu-tin editorials and in sweeping generalities or even specific instances denounce race-prejudice and its attendant evils if in their news columns they carry prejudice breeders and the seeds of race hatred and distrust?

For instance what effect did the World's strong editorial on "Race prejudice" have when in its same issue it headlined "Negro Assaults White Girl," "Negro Robs Aged White Woman," etc.?

There is absolutely no use in recording the color of a criminal in a news item. The crime is the thing. The fact that the culprit was Colored or White, Jew or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic, Union Man or Non-Union Man, Odd Fellow, Mason or No-Lodge-At-All doesn't matter in the least and is only recorded when the criminal is not white. And as the writer says the very fact that the race is mentioned increases and spreads prejudice.

To the reader of a paper the fact that a woman was robbed and the culprit was either caught or escaped is the main thing but when it is emphasized that the victim was an aged **white** woman and the assailant a **burly black man** then unconsciously that reader's mind is inflamed against all Colored men. Such reporting is unnecessary as well as unjust and for our part we do not call that paper fair and square no matter how high the ground it takes editorially in race discussion, if in its news columns it spreads the seed of race prejudice, suspicion and distrust.

HOLD NEGRESSES IN SCHOOL FRAUD

TAMPA, FLA., DAILY TIMES
JUNE 22. 1917

SAID TO HAVE HAD ADVANCE QUESTIONS.

Women Deny the Accusation and Are Held Separately to

Answer Charge.

Two negresses, Rosa Moses and Katie Posey-Williams, were arrested last night by Chief Deputy A. C. Logan, in connection with examination frauds, the Moses woman being placed in the county jail, while the Posey woman was placed in the city jail. The women failed to furnish $500 bond.

The Moses woman is said to have had illegally in her possession copies of the examination given last week to applicants for teacher's certificates and the Posey woman is alleged to have assisted her in obtaining the questions. How the questions were secured in advance of examination has not been learned but the officers think by keeping the women separated, they can trace the frauds.

The arrest of the women is said to have been made possible by a negro man, who told officers he paid $10 for questions. The negro signed a statement that he had previous knowledge of the questions, though he failed to pass the examination. He said he did not know whether other negroes had purchased questions, but said he copied the questions from a typewritten carbon copy. He said three other applicants were at the home of the woman who sold the questions.

Superintendent Knight said this morning all teachers who now held certificates were eligible to appointment on their old certificates, and he hoped the papers turned in by the white teachers would not be thrown out because he was of the firm belief they did not come into advance possession of the questions. To quote Mr. Knight:

"I shall ask State Superintendent Sheats, that the examination papers turned in at this office by the white teachers be not thrown out because I do not think they had questions prior to the examination."

If the examination given last week is thrown out, the teachers will have another opportunity to be examined in September.

The new system of examination will come into effect in October when a body of three state examiners is to be appointed, known as the "flying squadron," according to Superintendent Knight. It is the duty of the state examiners to go from county to county and conduct the examinations of applicants for teacher's certificates. The state examination to be conducted in September will be handled under the old system.

15,000 NEGROES IN 'SILENT' PROTEST

N Y C HERALD
JULY 29, 1917

They Parade with Muffled Drums as Demonstration Against Race Feeling.

Fifteen thousand negro men, women and children paraded down Fifth avenue yesterday afternoon to the step of muffled drums in silent protest against race feeling which evidenced itself in the East St. Louis (Ill.) riots. The protest parade, arranged by clergymen of negro churches, was directed also at "Jim Crow" laws of Southern States and other discriminating legislation.

The marchers adopted the suffragist "silent sentinel" system. They bore placards which protested against lynching and anti-negro rioting and which told of what the American negro has done for his country. "We Were First in France—Ask Pershing," read one banner. "Ten Thousand of Us Fought in the Spanish-American War," said another.

In the ranks marched many men wearing the military uniform. The children's divisions were escorted by Boy Scouts. Fully one-half of the marchers were women. The parade formed at Fifty-seventh street and marched down the avenue to Madison square. It was disbanded in Twenty-fourth street.

The demonstration was arranged by the Rev. Hutchens C. Bishop and the Rev. Charles D. Martin. They headed the procession with several other clergymen and officials of negro organizations. The parade was conducted without accident or disorder either during or after the marchers disbanded. Hundreds of negroes and negresses who did not march flocked to the avenue from all districts of the city to watch the parade pass.

HARTFORD CONN COURANT
JULY 8, 1917

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE.

Negro and Negress.

To the Editor of The Courant:—

I very much regret to see some of the reporters in general news in "The Courant," lately, not only affix "negro" whenever a colored man is named, but when a colored woman is named affix "negress." In the write up of Monday's storm in Tuesday's issue, it was stated that, "Mrs. Joseph Shine, a negress, of this city" fainted, Again this morning in the East St. Louis news, "Another negress with an infant."

I beg to say the word is very offensive to our people generally, and many leading dailies have forbidden the use of "negress" in their columns. Knowing the greatness of "The Courant" I feel it would rather encourage than embarrass a people who read the paper as a matter of choice. I hope you will give this matter a favorable consideration.

If the names of other people are all that is necessary why does not this rule prove good for colored people?

Yours with great respect,
(Rev.) W. B. Reed.

Hartford, July 4.

Our correspondent opens up a difficult question, involving in large degree the whole race problem. To neglect to say that the cruel and disgraceful St. Louis butcheries were against colored persons or negroes would have been absurd. To neglect to say that a suspect was a negro would be failing to give one clue to identification. The dictionary gives three classes of people: White, black and colored. It is a question, therefore, whether "colored" is as technically correct as "negro." The man of African descent has a right to be indignant when he is referred to as a "nigger." An Irishman resents being called a "Paddy." An Italian objects to "Dago" and so on, and all of these nicknames are undignified and should not be used. But it would be broader policy for the clergyman who writes this letter to advocate a willingness to accept negro than to protest against it. However, "The Courant" as a rule uses the word "colored", but there can be no valid objection to "negro." The dictionary gives "negress," too, but the papers usually say "colored woman" or "negro woman." It is often necessary to draw these race distinctions in the publication of news.

COLORED FOLKS ARE WAKING UP

Daily Herald

To The Danger Of Improper Epithets.

The New York World is sponsor for the following story, which illustrates the awakening of colored people to the danger of improper names as applied to them:

"PROTEST TERM NIGGER

Colored Soldiers Disapprove Use By Negro Composer.

"One of the volunteer singers from Montclair, N. J., at entertainments in the Jersey camps is going to revise his songs. This man, who is a well-known barytone, rendered a Negro melody this week. It is a pleasing song, but contained the word "nigger."

"It happened that the night he appeared there had arrived in the camp a big contingent of Negro soldiers from Alabama, who resented the song. The man in charge explained to one of the objectors that the song was written by a Negro.

"We don't care, boss," said the soldier. "We don't want to hear that word. We are all Uncle Sam's boys now, and we don't want to be called "niggers."

Racial Consciousness—1917

VICES AND VIRTUES.

An esteemed correspondent writes to THE AGE complaining that some of our preachers are continually showing up how bad the Negro is, instead of proclaiming the virtues of the race. He insists that better conditions would follow if more emphasis was laid on the virtues and less prominence given to the failings to which all humanity is prone.

We are inclined to agree with our correspondent in his plea, as the force of suggestion is apt to make a man or a race act up to the reputation that is attached to the individual or the mass. It is better to dwell on the virtues of the race and thus encourage its members to believe in and emulate the good qualities attributed to them, than to emphasize the failings and make them believe that they cannot be overcome.

The same thing applies with equal force to the newspapers published by the race. Too much prominence is given by some of them, in the quest for sensations, to matters of crime and scandal. Of course this is true of the daily press, whose example our journals blindly follow, forgetting that their mission is not only that of news getting and giving, but of racial uplift as well.

The Negro newspaper should be a continual source of inspiration toward better things. Emphasis should be laid on the virtues and achievements of the race along constructive lines. The wideawake editor who seeks this kind of news will not be at a loss for material to feature, and he will be under no necessity to use billboard type for shootings and divorces.

Let the preachers and editors dwell on the brighter side. It will inspire their hearers and readers to better things.

ISSUES CALL FOR RACE CONGRESS

The Amsterdam News 8/1/17

National Equal Rights League Advises Getting Together for Protection

H'lburn, N. Y., July 30.—Byron Gunner, president National Equal Right League, issued a call for the tenth annual convention of the League, also for the Second National Congress of all Colored Americans to convene in September.

In his letter, President Gunner says in part:

In view of unjust and unbearable conditions that continue, with increasing horror, to afflict all Colored Americans, we challenge the nation, and the world, to show why we have not just and sufficient cause for a speedy and general getting together at this time, in self-interest and self-defense boasted Christian Democracy, it is nevertheless, the truth, and nothing but the truth.

The party in power has its iron heels on our necks. Our nation's chief executive and his associates in power has not only done less for us, but has done more against us, than any other administration since the days of Abraham Lincoln. The ruthless disregard for our civil, social and political rights; the fiendish destruction of our hard-earned property; the shameful segregations and humiliating discriminations everywhere enforced against us; the horrible butchery of colored men, women an dchildren in both southern and northern states, and the sleeping apathy of the American conscience present a picture so infernally horrible as must cause laughter in hell and weeping in heaven.

The fresh, warm blood of innocent men, women and children of color, that clods the clay in East St. Louis, Ill calls aloud to our racial leaders to our great mases, TO GET

COLORED TEAGHERS DEMAND EXPLANATION

INDIANAPOLIS IND TIMES
NOVEMBER 3, 1917 Ledger

They Wish to Know Who Authorized the Crawfordsville Principal to Originate the Organization Styled the "Colored Teachers Association."

(Special to The Ledger.)

After nearly half a century of harmonious working of the two races in the State Teachers' Association, during which time the Colored children have been recipients of the benefits of these splendid lectures to teachers of the race, it has remained for a Negro—the principal of the Crawfordsville school, to originate an organization styled, "The Colored Teachers' Association," which gives a program and banquet Friday evening for Colored teachers.

Below are a few questions which thinking people would like answered:

1. Who authorized the organization of such a body?
2. Why were not the Indianapolis teachers, who form the largest single teaching corps in the state, asked to express themselves as to the wisdom of such a movement?
3. What excuse is there for such an association?
4. In as much as all sessions of the state organization are open to Colored teachers, what is to be gained by the separation. Have we money or influence which would enable us to secure such notable speakers as those named in the State program? Can we afford to be satisfied with anything less than the best?
5. In these times of prejudice and racial antipathy, is it wise to provide any wedge that may give our enemies the opening which may ultimately mean professional segregation for our teachers, and a lower standard for our children? Who is more in need of what is best in teaching than our children?

We mean to be conservative, but we deplore such a misguided effort, and we hope the gentleman may receive a much needed rebuke by being left in eloquent isolation with his ill-egotten movement.

SYRACUSE N Y POST STANDARD
AUGUST 1, 1917

A Protest.

The "silent demonstration" staged by New York Negroes as a protest of the treatment of their race was a dignified and peaceful way of remonstrating against injustice. So well was it conducted that it undoubtedly aroused much sympathy for the participants, yet it is to be doubted whether any such parade would have any permanent effect in restraining men carried away by race hatred—even in New York.

The only unfortunate sentiment connected with the affair was the implied suggestion that unless fair treatment is accorded the Negro, he will refuse to support the country in its crisis, nor aid in the nation's defense.

That is not the attitude Booker Washington would have taken, nor is it, we believe, the attitude of the majority of Negroes. Nor can we believe that, except in a few instances where German influences have been at work, the Negro will seize this crisis as his opportunity to make trouble for the white population. The enlistment of Negro volunteers and the recruiting of new Negro regiments indicate more surely how the race feels.

Nevertheless, his right to demonstrate is unquestioned. The riots of the last two months have been not only regrettable, but criminal. Part of the fault has been in the communities where the rioting took place. And part of it has been in the failure of the South to keep the Negro, by fair treatment, in his natural habitat, where he is most contented and better adapted to serve his country and himself.

THE WORD NEGRO

Many persons dislike the term Negro. This is due to the fact that the Caucasian uses the term with approbrium. Often times names that have lost their disagreeableness when the real meaning has dawned upon one, so our race can by producing real men and women whose intrinsic worth cannot be impeached live down this opprobrium attached to the word Negro.

History shows that the condition of affairs have been just the reverse. Egypt is a striking example of the supremacy of the darker race. The earliest culture of Babylon and Nineveh was that of the Negro. The liberator of Haiti was a Negro. There are countless men of note in the Negro race. Booker T. Washington was one of the greatest men that the Twentieth Century has produced. Hon. W. E. Du Bois is one of the leading authors and linguists of his age. Hon. Emmett J. Scott is a member of the Cabinet in the War Department, and is the first Negro to hold that position and is proving his efficiency. The Negro race is a progressive race, and is always faithful to the flag under which he lives. To be a Negro is not a disgrace. But to cast opprobrium upon him is a gross disgrace. Help prove to the world the true worth of the Negro. There's nothing in a name. Prepare yourself to uphold the standards of your race by getting an education.

Pearl High Voice.

NEGROES MARCH TO DRUM'S BEAT

Parade as a Protest to Riots and Race Discrimination in General.

"Not Arms, But Opportunity," read one of the first signs in the silent protest parade of the negroes of this city Thursday afternoon on Broad street. Another read, "Pray For the Lady Macbeths of East St. Louis," and still another, "We Expect a Square Deal From New Jersey."

Men, women, children and infants in arms made up the parade. It was dignified and impressive. Just twenty-five minutes were taken for the parade to pass the corner of Broad and Market streets. The women marched first.

One of the features of the protest parade was the lack of music. The only sounds to which the marchers could keep time was the beat of a muffled drum at intervals. Most of the women were dressed in white and marched with military precision. They also carried signs. One of them bore the words: "If Fault Is To Be Found With Color, Blame God and Yourself."

The parade was a protest against the Waco, Memphis and East St. Louis race riots, and against all discrimination in the case of negroes in work, suffrage and housing conditions

and children marched down Fifth avenue with muffled drums, and placards stating the wrongs committed against the race.

The Advancement Association now comprises ninety branches scattered all over the country with a membership of neorly 9,000. The largest and strongest branches are located at Boston, Washington, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Columbus, St. Louis, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Northern California. The decision arrived at at last week's meeting will place New York in the list of these strong branchts.

SILENT PROTEST PARADE MOVEMENT IS MERGED

The organization that brought about the Silent Protest Parade was made permanent at a meeting held at St. Philip's P. E. Church, 134th street, on Thursday night, October 4. It was also voted that the movement be merged into the National Associotion for the Advancement of Colored People and that a strong branch of that organization be established with headquarters in Harlem. The effective demonstration made by this movement was in the nature of a protest against the East St. Louis rioters, when some ten thousand men, women

THE SILENT PARADES.

The Richmond Planet 8/4/17

We don't know who thought out the idea of the silent parade staged by the colored people of New York last Saturday, when anywhere from five to ten thousand of them marched down Fifth Avenue in solemn protest against the East St. Louis massacre. It was admirably handled from start to finish and it must have had its effect.

It may be that the idea was borrowed rom the suffragettes. It would

not be a bad idea to carry this plan out in other sections of the country. The people in that parade did not speak, but their banners did. It may be that this divided race of ours will yet come together to the extent of stop fighting among themselves and to the extent of "turning their guns upon the enemy."

We are having a hard time of it, but God is raising up white friends for us. We should prove ourselves worthy of their friendship. We must work out our own salvation and our organizations must take charge of the rising generation when it is born and train it along the paths of honor and rectitude from the cradle to the point of self-support and righteous living.

Wisconsin Weekly Blade

PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS.

The problems confronting the colored people of this country are substantially the same today in all sections, differing less in kind than in degree. Their solution, if ever to be attained, must be sought by practically the same methods; for, whatever is able to convince the white people of one section that the colored man possesses all the inherent qualities belonging to the human race, will appeal strongly to those of every other section, and will go far toward securing for him all his inherent rights.

The Race is today passing through the most critical stage of its career. The North has gradually undergone a change in its attitude toward it, and no longer accord it that paternal consideration as of yore. Its members are compelled to rely more upon their own resources—to employ their own ingenuity in their battle for existence.

It is therefore of prime importance that they possess themselves of all the attributes of true manhood, maintain themselves with dignity and poise, and bring to whatever they undertake, all their skill, power and fidelity, that they may thereby convince the other race of their right to be treated as real men.

MANY NEGROES MARCH IN RACE RIOT PROTEST

N Y C EVE SUN
JULY 28, 1917

Thousands Respond to Appeal for Remonstrance.

As a protest against the race riots in different parts of the country thousands of negroes of the city marched in a silent procession to-day from Fifth avenue and Fifty-ninth street to Madison Square. It was estimated by the committee of negro preachers who had the affair in charge that more than 5,000 men, women and children were in line.

Led by four mounted policemen and four drummers, the procession passed along without any semblance of a disturbance. Because of the great number of children in line the parade took some time to pass by. Two American flags, one Cuban flag and a British flag were carried by the line of marchers.

Banners bearing the following inscriptions were also on view: "Thou shalt not kill!" "Treat us so that we may love our country!" "We were first in France. Ask Pershing!" "The first blood for American independence was shed by a negro, Crispus Attucks!" "Your hands are full of blood!"

No cheering greeted the negroes along the line of march. Only when Madison Square was reached was there any demonstration. At this point a large number of negroes had gathered and the protesting marchers were noisily received.

PRESENTS INSULTING SIGN; UPHELD BY HIS EMPLOYER

Brooklyn, N. Y., March 16.—Why speak to a man six days and ignore him on Sunday? That sounds very good, now listen at this: "Why do you say 'Good morning' to your Negro elevator boy and not greet your next door neighbor, who is 'white' the same way?" This sign which was meant to be comical, appeared on a window of a cigar store at 69 Wall street, New York, last Saturday morning. Mr. Francis Giles, who is connected with the Weis Drug company at the same address, became so enraged at such effrontery on the part of the writer of the sign, who, by the way, is a Jew by the name of Maasdoff, that he tore the sign from the window. Mr. Giles was reported to the manager of the Weis Drug company, who leases space to the cigar dealer, and when Mr. Giles stated his action to his employer he was justly vindicated and the would-be brilliant cigar dealer was informed that such acts would not be tolerated in the future. Mr. Giles, who is a brother of Dr. Roscoe Giles, is a graduate of Lincoln university and resides at 67 Troy avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. He is to be highly complimented for his stand in this case.

N Y C GLOBE
JULY 28, 1917

The Silent Negro Parade.

Editor Globe: The silent parade by colored men, women, and children down Fifth avenue last Saturday, in memory of those of our race who have fallen victims to mob rule, was to my mind a fine demonstration. The world must respect us for honoring our dead. We must all admit that the wrongs inflicted upon the people of color in this country have been enough to make our hatred keen toward our white brother; but in spite of all our one earthly aim and desire is to convince the American ruling power, which is the white man, that we wish to be loyal to America first and last.

Instead of rising up with blood and fire in our eyes against the white man, for lynchings, burnings, and the destruction of our humble homes, we marched down your street of commerce and wealth with bowed heads and aching hearts, to let you know just how we feel about the conditions of our people. Mr. Editor, I vow to you that such a move is too great to be ignored, and too wonderful to be laughed at. There is a great meaning back of the whole affair, and I pray to Almighty God that the American white people will heed the warning. God knows that if ever a people has been wronged it is ours. But it's sound philosophy to reason that there must be a reparation for every unjust act. It is no time to give up hope nor to languish in despair. It is my earnest desire that we lay aside all differences and fight as a united people.

HENRY ALLEN.

Stamford, Conn., July 29.

N Y C GLOBE
JULY 28, 1917

NEGROES PARADE AS LYNCHING PROTEST

The Negro protest parade, consisting of 10,000 men, women, and children, under the supervision of Grand Marshal Jackson, started from Fifth avenue and Fifty-seventh street, headed by a police escort, shortly after 1:30 o'clock this afternoon and disband on reaching Twenty-fourth street.

Aside from a fife and drum corps there was no music, but hundreds of banners were carried bearing inscriptions protesting against the race riots in the west and south.

With Captain Jackson in the vanguard were the Rev. Dr. Hutchins Bishop, the Rev. F. Cullen, J. W. Johnson, the Rev. Dr. Charles D. Martin F. Mottley, J. S. Nail, and the Rev. S. Daniel, executive committee of the parade organization. The women and children were given the place of honor in the formation, and were clad in light colored dresses. Several automobiles, with prominent Negro clergymen and officers of Negro organizations as their occupants, were next in line.

OBJECTS TO TERM "DARKEY"

BROOKLYN N Y EAGLE
NOVEMBER 8, 1917

Editor Brooklyn Daily Eagle:

I read with a great deal of interest your article in the issue of Sunday October 28, under the heading "Banks Sell Few Bonds After Noon Hour Rush," until I came to the paragraph, "Many colored people in line." Your news writer there refers to a colored man as an old darkey. Other persons in line were spoken of as "people" or "subscribers." Italians were not mentioned as "dagoes," but Italians—capital I. Perhaps you might explain for the benefit of an interested and sorely perplexed reader why colored folk should be styled negroes (small n) or old darkies?

Colored people themselves look for disparagement and condescensions from Southern white folk. They look for it with the same expectancy as they look for sneers from enemies or evil from the devil. In the Columbus, Ga., Ledger; New Orleans Times Picayune or Memphis Commercial-Appeal the above mentioned article might appear in its expected setting. My question is, how did such an article get in a newspaper like The Eagle? Would you mind explaining it?

CARL J. MURPHY.

Howard University, Washington, D. C.

DALLAS TEX NEWS
AUGUST 4, 1917 Express

THE COLORED MAN HAS HIS REMEDY.

The average white newspapre printed in the South considers it a crime to speak of colored folk in a respectable manner. One of the best remedies for this lies in the hands of the Negro. If the colored people would just quit subscribing for them, or buying them or reading them, they would accomplish much. If the Dallas Express should adopt a rule to speak of white people disparagingly, how many white people would take it? How many would read it? The answer is, **None—not One.** The colored man complains of the jim crow car, the jim crow theatre and other things. He is right to complain. He must do more. He must wherever it lies in his power, refuse to give support to those Southern institutions which discriminate against him—be sure to put no money in the hands of the man who desires to oppress and berate you. One other thing, when white men ask you why you refuse to patronize those things which seek to degrade your race tell them why. Don't grin and act like a Nigger—stand up. don't stammer. Talk. Explain yourself. The white man will at least remember that he had been talking to a man.

Some time ago a Chicago newspeper started a movement to have colored workers leave all positions with firms that discriminated against colored people. As a result it is reported that several pullman porters have resigned their positions when told that colored travelers could not receive accommodations on their cars. In Atlanta, Georgia, a similar movement has been started, colored folk are asked to stop doing business with firms in buildings that have elevators, "Jim car for colored people and packages."

"We can not fuss at these people," say the Georgians, "about their rules, but we can stay out. If you like that kind of treatment, keep on going up there and paying your money to be insulted and humiliated; if you do not like it stay away."

The Use of "Colored" in the West Indies.

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* In the United States a person referred to as "colored" may be of unmixed negro blood or may be of mixed white and black blood. In the West Indian islands but a small percentage of population is of pure white blood; almost all are either of mixed blood, white and black, or of pure black blood.

In these islands the term "colored" is invariably applied to those of mixed blood. Sometimes the "colored" person is also referred to as "brown." A negro is never referred to as "colored." He is always spoken of as a "black" or negro. Nor in these islands is a "colored" man ever spoken of or called a negro.

Each of the above terms has a distinct meaning and usage in the West Indies.

E. L. BEACH.

Newport, R. I., December 29.

COLORED EDITOR TURNS DOWN AD FOR WHITE SKIN DOPE FOR NEGROES

Rev. John Collins, editor of the Western Review, a paper devoted to the interests of the colored people of Sacramento and the country, Friday, showed his spirit of justice to his own people when he wrote to a Kentucky concern that professes to have a preparation to make dark skins white, that wished to advertise in the Review, as follows:

"Dear Sirs—I am an admirer of the American white man. Admitting that they have some very bad ones among them, they have done a great many noble things for the Negro, and the latter can always find a real friend among them, but I have never seen the day when I had a desire to change my color; and I have very little respect for those Negroes who wish to change theirs. I would not insult my Maker nor my own manhood by publishing an advertisement like yours."

PROVIDENCE R
OCTOBER 19, 1917

Protest Parade Cost Only $71.48

An animated meeting of colored citizens was held last evening at the Winter Street A. M. E. Zion Church to hear reports on the recent "Silent Protest Parade," and an effort to turn over the committee of 100 and the cash balance in hand to the Providence Branch of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People provided a discussion which lasted until after midnight.

It was finally voted to form a new organization to be known as the Citizens' Association, on motion of the Rev. Thomas E. Roach, pastor of the church.

The treasurer's report showed that the cost of the entire demonstration, including the banners in the line, was only $71.48, materials only being paid for, as the necessary labor, skilled and unskilled, was contributed freely.

A strong address was made by the President, B. T. Montgomery, who was chief marshal of the protest parade, and brief talks were made by the Rev. Major F. Sydes, Dr. W. H. Higgins, E. Philip Oliver, Miss Mary E. Jackson, Dr. J. J. Robinson, Mrs. W. H. Higgins, Rev. W. Boynton and others.

SILENT PROTEST PARADE HELD IN PROVIDENCE

(Special to the New York Age)

Providence, R. I.—The Negro Silent Protest Parade held on Sunday was the grandest and most inspiring scene in the history of Rhode Island. Fully 1,800 participated and delegations from Newport, Boston and many New England cities joined in with the Providence contingent. The marchers were accorded every courtesy by the large throngs of white people. Many appropriate banners spoke in volumnes. The press spoke in words of high commendation of the parade. The marshal was Mrs. A. J. Evans of Attleboro, Mass. Marshal B. T. Montgomery and the assistant